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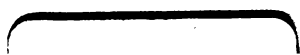
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Dr E M Hall
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OF

HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA;

OR,

RECORD OF THE EVENTS OF FIFTY-SIX YEARS,

FROM

1512 TO 1568.

BY

BARNARD SHIPP.

PHILADELPHIA:
ROBERT M. LINDSAY, 828. WALNUT STREET.
1881.

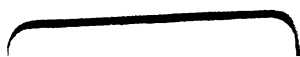
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P R E F A C E.

THE Peninsula of Florida was discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon on Pascua Florida, Palm Sunday, in the year 1512; and because of the day in which he discovered it, he gave it the name of Florida. It was at that time the only part of North America known, from the Gulf of Honduras to the Island of Newfoundland. But the name of Florida was not confined to the country to which Ponce de Leon had given it, as appears from the following: Bernal Diaz states that Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, about the year 1518 petitioned the emperor "that the discovery of all countries which might lie to the north of the river St. Peter and St. Paul might be granted to him;" "and obtained the appointment of adelantado and governor of all the provinces bordering on the river St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the provinces he should discover." As this river was south of that of Tuspan, this grant would have embraced the country on both sides of the river Panuco. Cortes, in 1524, wrote to the emperor Charles V.: "Nothing seems to remain but to explore the coast lying between the river Panuco and Florida, the latter being the country discovered by the adelantado Juan Ponce de Leon, and then the northern coast of Florida as far as the Bacallaos" (Newfoundland). Alvaro Nunez Cabeça de Vaca says: Pamfilo de Narvaez, in 1527, was appointed adelantado and governor of Florida, with "full power to conquer all the country from the river of Palms (Santander) to the cape of Florida." And Narvaez's proclamation is: "To the inhabitants of the countries and provinces from the Rio de Palmas to the cape of Florida." It thus appears that in 1527 the ocean boundary of Florida extended from the river of Palms (Santander) to Bacallaos (Newfoundland). It is the accounts of the events which occurred in this vast country, from the year 1512



80-12
200
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Bernal Diaz was a follower of Cordova, Grijalva, and Cortes. Verazzani wrote the account of his own voyage. Alvaro Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, who accompanied Narvaez to Florida, tells the story of his expedition, and of his own wanderings. Biedma, and the "Portuguese gentleman of Elvas," accompanied the expedition of De Soto to its end. Garcilasso Inca de la Vega was contemporary with the veterans of De Soto, and associated with them in Peru and in Spain. Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourgue relate the stories of their expeditions to Florida. Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales, who accompanied Menendez, tells the story of his expedition to Florida; and Fontanedo relates what he saw and learned during the seventeen years of his captivity among the Indians of Florida. To that precious treasure of the early history of our country, the "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," by B. F. French, member of the principal Historical Societies of the United States, I am especially indebted for much of the most interesting and most important portions of this work. Such are some of the sources of information; the others are the best authors who have written on the subjects treated of. Thus have I endeavored to give from original sources and the best authorities a full and correct account of Hernando de Soto, and of the events which occurred in Florida from the year 1512 to the year 1568.

As this work has been compiled from different authors, the orthography of some of the proper names is not uniform throughout it; yet the differences in these names are not so great but that the same persons and places may be recognized in the different forms. The work of Garcilasso Inca de la Vega, entitled "Conquest of Florida," is here given complete, with numerous notes to illustrate and confirm what he relates in regard to "Florida." This work of Garcilasso is given in the same plain, unostentatious style and form in which it is found in the French translation of Pierre Richelet, who appears to have aimed to give it in all its original simplicity.

There is probably no Spanish hero of America whose fame is more widespread throughout the United States than that of Hernando de Soto, and yet, at the same time, of whom so little is known. The expedition of De Soto into "Florida" was, in fact, the beginning of the history of this country, whose vast

domain is now the unrivalled region lying between the oceans, the Mexican gulf, and the great lakes. It is to make more particularly known the first great expedition that revealed to the world the interior of our country; to trace the route by which De Soto travelled; and to tell the names and indicate the locations of the Indian towns and tribes of "Florida," first mentioned in history, that has led me to compile and publish this book; where can be acquired a knowledge of nearly all the particulars of one of the most daring expeditions ever undertaken by the bravest of the early Spanish adventures in America, and which has but a single parallel in the annals of the new world.

BARNARD SHIPP.

PHILADELPHIA, September 5, 1881.

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HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA.

VOLUME I.

HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN Columbus, in 1498, had shown the way to the American continent, daring adventurers, following in his track, soon penetrated to the farthest limit of the west; each succeeding navigator extending the discoveries of the preceding, until finally the Isthmus of Darien or Panama was reached. Columbus, on the 30th of July, 1502, discovered the Island of Guanaja at the entrance to the Bay of Honduras. Thence he sailed along the coast of Central America to the Isthmus of Panama. Thus was the continental coast of the Caribbean Sea, from the mouths of the Orinoco to the Bay of Honduras, explored within the four years and three months that elapsed from the 31st of July, 1498, when Columbus discovered the Island of Trinidad, to the 2d of November, 1502, when he anchored in the harbor of Puerto Bello.

The extravagant reports of the wealth of the countries thus discovered induced enterprising Spanish adventurers to solicit the colonization of the regions remarkable for their reputed wealth. For this purpose a vast extent of territory extending from Cape Vela to Gracias a Dios was formed into two provinces. That extending from Cape Vela to the Gulf of Darien was named New Andalusia, the other Veragua.

In 1510, Martin Fernandez Enciso founded, near the head of the Gulf of Darien, on the west side, a town which he named Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien. This town was the first of any

duration that was ever established by Europeans on the American continent; all other attempts to found settlements had proven abortive, but Santa Maria remained the capital of that province till 1519. Vasco Nunez de Balboa by his superior abilities became the chief of the colony, and on the 29th of September, 1513, discovered the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, and thus was a new maritime world opened to the enterprise of Spain.

In 1514, Ferdinand appointed Pedro Arias de Avila—same as Pedrarias Davila—governor of Darien. He gave to him the command of fifteen vessels with twelve hundred soldiers, the greatest armament that to that time had been sent to America. Pedrarias sailed from St. Lucar on the 12th of April, 1514, taking with him his wife, Donna Isabella de Bobadilla, and, without any remarkable accident, arrived in the Gulf of Darien in the month of June.

At the time of Pedrarias' appointment to the government of Darien, Santa Maria de la Antigua was, by royal ordinance, elevated into the metropolitan city of Castilla del Oro, or Golden Castile, as the country was then called, and a Franciscan friar, named Juan de Quevedo, was appointed as bishop, with powers to decide all cases of conscience. Santa Maria de la Antigua remained the metropolitan city of the colony until the year 1519, when the seat of government was removed to the Pacific coast, and the town of Panama built where a settlement had been previously made by Pedrarias, and thus Panama was the first town ever built by Europeans on the Pacific coast of the American continent.

During this period, from 1498 to 1519, within which occurred the preceding events, St. Domingo, a town on the southern coast of the Island of Hayti, was the capital of the Indies, as this portion of the continent was then called. Here Christopher Columbus resided from September, 1498, to August, 1500. Here Nicholas de Ovando resided from 1501 to 1509. It was during his administration that Sebastian de Ocampo circumnavigated the Island of Cuba, and thus demonstrated that it was an island, of which previously there were doubts. And here, in 1509, Diego Columbus, the son of the Admiral, arrived, as governor, and remained until 1515, and from 1520 to 1523; during whose administration settle-

ments were attempted in New Andalusia and Veragua, Santa Maria de la Antigua founded, Jamaica settled, the pearl fisheries established at the Island of Cubagua, and Cuba conquered and settled.

In 1517, the Cardinal Ximenes, regent of Castile, without regard to the rights claimed by Diego Columbus and to the regulations of the late king (Ferdinand), determined to send to America three superintendents of all the colonies. For this purpose he chose three monks of the order of St. Jerome. He associated with them Zuazo, a laywer of distinguished probity, to whom he gave full power to regulate justice in the colonies.

I.

THE VOYAGE OF FRANCISCO HERNANDEZ DE CORDOVA TO YUCATAN.

1517.

On the 30th of June, 1514, Pedrarias landed at Darien, with the largest body of men that till then had been sent to America. The provisions brought by the fleet having been damaged, and a scarcity of food occurring in the colony, sickness soon began among the new-comers. From the effects of these two causes, famine and sickness, soon half of the men of Pedrarias miserably perished. Of the remainder, some removed to less unhealthy localities, and some obtained permission to go to Cuba, which Diego Velasquez had recently conquered. Those who went to Cuba, besides improving their condition, expected to receive fortunes there. But after remaining a couple of years without realizing their expectations, some of the more energetic of them united with some of the wealthy and enterprising inhabitants of the island, to form an expedition to discover new lands.

The peninsula of Florida had been discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1512, yet it was still considered as an island, and as the new adventurers of the proposed expedition had lately come from the continent, it is probable that their views were turned westward as the direction in which they could hope to reach some portion of it, where they would have a more extensive field for their enterprise than the narrow limits of an island. Or, it may have been that they had heard some vague rumor of a wealthy empire to the west. For it is probable that there had been at times an intercourse between the island of Cuba and the continental province, Yucatan, to the west.*

The expedition consisted of three vessels and somewhat more than one hundred and ten men, commanded by Francisco de Cordova. It sailed from the harbor of Ajaruco, or Jaruco, on the northern coast of the island of Cuba, in the early part of the year 1517. About the first of March they came in sight of land. From their ships they could perceive a considerable-sized town,

* The Spaniards found on the island of Cozumel, a few hours' sail from Yucatan, an Indian woman who, in a canoe, had been carried there by the currents from the island of Jamaica.—DIAZ.

larger than any town in Cuba, which lay about six miles from the seashore. On the 5th of March, in the morning, five large canoes came alongside the ships, and more than thirty of the Indians climbed on board the principal ship. After satisfying their curiosity, they left.

Very early the next morning the cazique called again. He made known to Cordova, by signs, that he might come to his town; saying in his language, *Con escotoch, con escotoch*, which means, Come with me to my house yonder. The Spaniards, therefore, called this spot Punta de Cotoche.

Continuing their course more westwardly along the coast, they discovered many promontories, bays, reefs, and shallows. They all considered this country an island, because their pilot, Anton de Alaminos, persisted in it. After sailing for fourteen days they discovered another town of considerable size. Here was a bay with an inner harbor. It happened to be Sunday Lazari when they landed, and they, therefore, named this place in honor of that day, though they were well aware that the Indians called it the land of *Campeachy*. After they had taken in water they re-embarked,¹ and continued their course for six days and six nights without interruption, the weather being very fine. They finally espied a village from their ships, and about three miles further on was a kind of inner harbor, at the head of which it appeared there might be some river or brook; they, therefore, resolved to land here. The water being uncommonly shallow along this coast, they were compelled to anchor their two large vessels at about three miles' distance from the shore. They then proceeded with their smallest vessel and all the boats in order to land at the inner harbor.

It was about midday when they landed. The distance from here to the village, which was called Potonchan, might be three miles. Here they found some wells, cornfields, and stone buildings. The water casks were soon filled; but they could not succeed to get them in the boats, on account of an attack made upon them by great numbers of the inhabitants, in which attack Cordova received arrow wounds in no less than twelve different places. Diaz received three, one of which was very dangerous, the arrow having pierced to the very bone. Others of the Spaniards were wounded, and two were carried off alive. After they had gained their vessels, they found that fifty-seven of their men were missing, besides the two whom the Indians had carried off alive, and five whom they had thrown overboard, who had died of their wounds and extreme thirst. The battle lasted a little more than half an hour. The spot where it took place was certainly called Potonchan. The seamen,

however, gave it the name of *Bahea de mala Pelea* (the bay of bad battle). None of the Spaniards had escaped without two, three, or four wounds. They, therefore, determined to return to Cuba, but, as most of the sailors were wounded, they had not sufficient hands to work the sails; they were, therefore, forced to set fire to their smallest vessel, and leave it to the mercy of the waves, after distributing the sailors who were not wounded equally among the two other vessels. They had, however, to struggle with another far greater evil. This was the great want of fresh water.

They now kept as close in to shore as possible, to look out for some stream or creek where they might take in fresh water. After thus continuing their course for three days, they espied an inlet, or the mouth of some river as they thought, and sent a few hands on shore, in the hopes of meeting with fresh water. But the water in the inlet was salt, and wherever they dug wells it was equally bad. They, nevertheless, filled their casks with it, but it was so bitter and salty as to be unfit for use. The water here swarmed with lizards; they, therefore, gave this place the name of Lizard's Bay (now the Bay of Terminos). They then weighed anchor, and steered in the direction of Cuba. In a consultation of the pilots it was decided that the best way to go there was to get in the latitude of Florida, that by so doing they would have a better and speedier sail to Havana. It turned out exactly as they had said.

As soon as they arrived off the coast of Florida, it was determined that twenty of the men who had almost recovered from their wounds should go ashore to procure water. Of that number were Diaz and the pilot Alaminos. They landed in a creek, and the pilot again recognized this coast, which he had visited ten or twelve years previously, with Juan Ponce de Leon when he discovered these countries. They had here fought a battle with the natives, and lost many of their men.

The Spaniards therefore took every precaution lest the natives should also fall upon them unawares. They posted two sentinels at a spot where the stream had a considerable breadth. They then dug deep wells where they thought fresh water was likely to be found. The sea was just ebbing, and they were so fortunate as to find fresh water there. They then washed the bandages of the wounded men. A good hour's time was spent in this, and as they were on the point of re-embarking with the casks of water, one of the men whom they had placed sentinel on the coast, came running towards them in all haste, crying aloud: "To arms! to arms! numbers of Indians are approaching, both by land and sea." The Indians came upon them almost at the same time with the sentinel.

The Indians had immense-sized bows, with sharp arrows, lances, and spears—among these were some shaped like swords—while their large powerful bodies were covered with skins of wild beasts. They made straightway for the Spaniards and let fly their arrows, and wounded six of the men at the first onset. Diaz was also slightly wounded in the right arm. The Indians, however, were received with such well-directed blows that they quitted those who had been digging the wells, and turned towards the creek to assist their companions, who, in their canoes, were attacking those left behind in the boat. The latter had been forced to fight man to man, and had already lost the boat, which the Indians were towing off behind their canoes. Four of the sailors had been wounded, and the pilot Alaminos himself severely in the throat. The Spaniards, however, courageously faced the enemy and went up to their waists in the water, and soon compelled them by dint of their swords to jump out of the boat. Twenty-two Indians lay dead on the shore; three others who were slightly wounded were taken on board the vessel, but they died soon after.

Having taken the water on board the vessels, they hoisted sail and stood direct for the Havana. The day and following night the weather was most beautiful as they passed the Martyr Islands and sand banks of the same name.* They had only four fathoms where the water was deepest; their principal vessel consequently struck against rocks and became very leaky, so that all hands were engaged at the pumps without their being able to get the water under, while they every minute feared the vessel would go down. They had alternately to work the sails and pumps until they entered the port of Carena where now the town of Havana stands, the latter being previously called Puerto de Carenas, and not Havana.†

The commander, Francisco Hernandez de Cordova, journeyed overland to San Espiritu, where he had an Indian commandery; he, however, died of his wounds ten days after his arrival there. The rest of the men became dispersed over the island, and three died of their wounds at the Havana. The vessels were taken to Santiago de Cuba, where the governor resided.

When they brought forth the treasures and curiosities they had

* The islands of Cape Florida were at that time called Martyr Islands, or rather by the Spanish word that so signifies; on account of the vessels that were shipwrecked on them, and thereby the loss of so many lives.

† So called because Sebastian de Ocampo here careened his vessels when he was making a circumnavigation of the island of Cuba, in the year 1507, to determine whether it was an island or not.

collected on their voyage and related what they had discovered, these became the topics of common conversation throughout the islands of St. Domingo and Cuba; indeed, the fame thereof even reached Spain. There it was said that none of the countries which had hitherto been discovered were as rich as this, and in none had there been found houses built of stone. The earthen gods which they brought from these countries, it was said, were the remains of the ancient heathen times; others again went so far as to affirm that the inhabitants of these countries were descendants of the Jews, whom Titus and Vespasian had driven from Jerusalem, who had been shipwrecked off this coast. Peru was then unknown and not discovered until the year 1527, and in so far the countries discovered were justly considered of the greatest importance.*

II.

THE VOYAGE OF JUAN DE GRIJALVA TO MEXICO.

1518.

Captain Diego Velasquez was then governing the island of Cuba. He had gone there as the lieutenant of Diego Columbus, second admiral of the Indies, the conquest of this island was regarded as the work of his valor, and the colonies that were established there as the effect of his cares. This island being the most western of all those that had been discovered, and the nearest to the continent of America, the lands of this continent were better known there; nevertheless they still doubted whether it was an island or a continent; but they spoke of its riches with as much certainty as if they had been assured of them by ocular witnesses.

The knowledge and fame of this country were much increased at this time by the reports of the soldiers who had accompanied Cordova in the discovery of Yucatan. Velasquez, seeing the minds of the people prepossessed with the idea of the great advantages that the conquest of Yucatan promised to him who should accomplish it, formed the design of raising himself to the rank of governor in chief; for although his dependence on the admiral Diego Columbus rested upon nothing more than a mere title, of which the

* Bernal Diaz del Castillo's Discovery and Conquest of Mexico.

admiral made not any use, nevertheless Velasquez found himself incommoded even by that, because a subaltern rank did not sufficiently sustain, in his opinion, the high hopes which he had conceived, and rendered his happiness imperfect. With this view he resolved to prosecute the conquest of Yucatan.*

For this purpose he selected four vessels, two of which had accompanied Cordova on his recent voyage to Yucatan. Velasquez gave the chief command to Juan de Grijalva. There were two hundred men, and the same three pilots that had accompanied the former voyage, and a fourth. Each pilot had charge of one of the vessels; but the first in command as chief pilot was Anton de Alaminos.

The instructions which the commanders received from Velasquez were, that they should barter for as much gold and silver as they could get, and if they deemed it advisable, settle a colony, but left this entirely to their judgment.

The place of rendezvous was the harbor of Matanzas† on the north coast of Cuba, not far from the old Havana; the present town of this name at that time was not built. Here the vessels were provided with provisions. On the 5th of April, 1518, the squadron left the harbor and, after passing Cape Guaniguanico or San Anton, the western extremity of Cuba, they continued on their voyage until they came in sight of the island of Cozumel. The currents this time had carried the vessels further south than in the preceding voyage of Cordova. The consequence was that they now landed on the south coast of the island, where they found a good anchorage perfectly free from all rocks. They found that the inhabitants of the island spoke the same language as those of Yucatan, from which country it was distant only four hours' sail.

From the island of Cozumel, Grijalva continued his voyage the same route that Cordova had taken, and after eight days' sail arrived off the coast of Champoton. The next place he came to was the Boca de Terminos, the western limit of Cordoba's voyage. Sailing along the coast by day and lying to by night, on account of the shallows and rocks, and occasionally landing, Grijalva arrived at an island about two miles from the continent, where they found

* History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Anton de Solis.

† A vessel bound from the island of St. Domingo to the Luccas (Bahamas) was, during a storm, wrecked near this river and harbor. There were thirty Spaniards and two Spanish ladies. The Indians, in carrying them across the river, treacherously upset their canoes and drowned them all except three men and one woman; hence the name Matanzas (Massacre).

a temple* on which stood the great and abominable-looking god Tetzcatlipuca, surrounded by four Indian priests dressed in wide black cloaks, and with flying hair, who had that very day sacrificed two boys whose bleeding hearts they had offered to the horrible idol. Upon inquiry they learned that this sacrifice had been ordered by the people of Culua, but as it was difficult for the Indian interpreter to pronounce this word he kept constantly saying "Olua, Olua."† From the fact of the commander's Christian name being Juan, and it happening to be the feast of San Juan (St. John), they gave this small island the name of San Juan de Ulua.‡ Grijalva had disembarked on the continent near this island, and had constructed huts there, from which point he had visited this island.

As they had now been so long at sea, and had convinced themselves that the country they had discovered was not an island but a continent, and as their provisions were scant and damaged, and moreover their numbers too small to make a settlement here, they determined to forward to Velasquez an account of the state of their affairs, and desire him to send them succors. Pedro de Alvarado was selected to go on this mission with the ship San Sebastian that had become very leaky; this vessel could be refitted there and return with succor and provisions. He also took with him all the gold they had bartered for, the cotton stuffs presented to them by the Indians, and their sick.

After Alvarado had set sail for Cuba, Grijalva and his officers held a consultation with his pilots, when it was determined that they should continue their voyage along the coast and push their discoveries as far as possible. They therefore weighed anchor and continued their course along the coast until they arrived at a wide projecting cape, which, on account of the strong currents, they found so difficult to double that they considered their further course now impeded. The chief pilot, Alaminos, here told the commander that it was no longer advisable to sail on at a venture. This matter being duly considered in council, it was unanimously agreed that they should return to Cuba, where they arrived at the port of St. Iago de Cuba, the 15th of September, 1518.

Velasquez was highly delighted with the additional gold that Gri-

* What Diaz here calls a temple was a truncated pyramidal structure, called by the Mexicans, Teocalli, which word means house of God : Teo, God ; calli, house.

† Culua—Culuaans, subjects of Montezuma.

‡ It still retains the name and forms the harbor of Vera Cruz, Mexico.

jalva brought. Altogether it was well worth 4000 pesos (dollars); so that, with the 16,000 brought by Alvarado, the whole amounted to 20,000 pesos. Some make the sum greater, others less.

III.

THE VOYAGE OF HERNANDO CORTES TO MEXICO.

1519.

After the arrival of Alvarado with the gold which had been received in the newly discovered country, Velasquez began to fear some one at court, who might have received private information of all this, would anticipate him in forwarding to the emperor (Charles V.) the first news of this important discovery, and so rob him of the reward. He, therefore, dispatched one of his chaplains, named Benito Martinez, to Spain, with letters and a few valuable presents to Don Juan Rodriguez Fonseca. He wrote at the same time to the licentiate Louis Zapata, and the secretary Lope Conchillos, who at that time had the control of all Indian affairs under Fonseca. Velasquez was quite devoted to these persons, and had presented them with considerable Indian villages in Cuba, with the inhabitants of which they worked their gold mines. But he took particular care to provide for the archbishop (Fonseca), troubling himself very little about the emperor, who was at that time in Flanders. He moreover sent his patrons a great portion of the gold trinkets which Alvarado had brought with him, for everything that was determined in the imperial council of India depended upon these men. Velasquez, therefore, sought by means of his chaplain to obtain unlimited permission to fit out armaments at any time he might think proper, to make voyages of discovery, and to found colonies in the new countries, as well as in those that might hereafter be discovered. In the accounts he transmitted to Spain, he spoke of the many thousands of gold pesos he had already spent in like undertakings; thereby giving such a favorable direction to the negotiations of his chaplain, Benito Martinez, that his expectations were more than fulfilled, for his chaplain even obtained for him the additional title of Adelantado of Cuba. This latter appointment, however, did not arrive until the new expedition under Cortes had left.

The knowledge which Velasquez had now acquired of the vast

extent and great wealth of the newly discovered country, determined him to fit out a powerful armament for its conquest and colonization. He lost not a moment in search of the means to achieve this conquest, to which the name of New Spain gave a high reputation. He communicated his design to the monks of St. Jerome, at St. Domingo, in a manner which seemed to seek their approbation.

Velasquez had already purchased some vessels and planned the preparative of a new fleet, when Grijalva had anchored in the port of San Iago de Cuba. He caused to be promptly refitted the vessels which had been used in the voyage of Grijalva, which, with those which he had purchased, comprised a fleet of ten vessels of eighty to a hundred tons. He used the same diligence in arming and equipping them; but he hesitated in the choice of the person whom he should appoint to command them. He was some days in deciding. The public sentiment was in favor of Grijalva, whose competitors were Anton and Bernardino Velasquez, near relatives of the governor, Baltazar Bermudez, and Vasco Porcallo,* a captain of great renown and related to the Earl of Feria. This man, however, did not suit Velasquez. He feared his daring spirit, and was apprehensive that, once in command of the armament, he would declare himself independent of him.

Velasquez knew not upon which to decide. He esteemed their merit, but he feared that such an office would beget in them ideas of independence. In this uncertainty he consulted his two confidants, Andres de Duero, secretary of the governor, and Almador de Lares, the royal treasurer. These two men, who had the entire confidence of the governor, and who knew him thoroughly, proposed to him Hernando Cortes, who was their intimate friend. They spoke of him in terms very reserved, in order that their counsel might not appear interested, and to make the governor believe that their friendship had not the least part in it. The proposition was well received, and they contented themselves for the present with this favorable inclination of Velasquez, leaving time and reflection to do the rest, hoping with this assistance to entirely convince him in another conversation.

When they returned to Velasquez, armed with new reasons to convince him, they found him wholly declared in favor of their friend, and so strongly prepossessed that Cortes was the only one

* These names De Solis gives. Diaz gives Vasco Porcallo, Augustin Bermudez, Antonio Velasquez Borrego, and Bernardino Velasquez. The three last, he says, were relatives of the governor. Vasco Porcallo accompanied De Soto to Florida, but very soon returned to Cuba, not having gone beyond Tampa Bay.

to whom he could confide the care of this expedition, that they discovered they had nothing more to do than applaud his choice. They agreed with him that it was important to declare promptly this choice, in order to free himself from the importunities of the aspirants to this office; and Duero, on whom devolved the duty, in all haste drew up the commission. It was conceived in these terms: That Diego Velasquez, as governor of the Island of Cuba, and promoter of the discoveries of Yucatan and New Spain, appoints Hernando Cortes captain-general of the fleet, and of the countries discovered, or which shall be discovered in the future. The friendship of Duero for Cortes obliged him to add to it all the most honorable and favorable clauses that he could imagine, in order to extend his powers under pretext of conforming to the ordinary formalities in such instruments.

This news was very soon published, and received with as much joy by those who wished to see this irresolution ended as it caused mortification to others who were intriguing for this office. The two relations of Velasquez were the boldest in declaring their discontent. They made great efforts to create suspicion in the mind of the governor. They said to him that it was very hazardous to grant so much confidence to a man whom he had so little obliged; that if he would examine the conduct of Cortes he would find in it but little security, because his promises rarely conformed with the results; that his agreeable and flattering manners, and his liberality, were but artifices which ought to make him suspected by those who did not allow themselves to be won by only the appearances of virtue; that he showed too much eagerness to win the affections of the soldiers, and that friends of this sort, when they are numerous, they easily make partisans of; that he remembered the mortification which his imprisonment had caused him;* that they could never make real confidants of persons to whom he had given such subjects of complaint, because the wounds of the mind, as those of the body, left impressions which awakened the remembrance of the offence when the injured saw themselves in power to avenge themselves for it. They added other reasons, more specious than substantial, to the prejudice of good faith, because they disguised under a show of zeal what was but pure jealousy.

Nevertheless Velasquez sustained with vigor the honor of his judgment in the choice which he had made, and Cortes thought only of hastening his departure. He hoisted his standard, which

* Velasquez had on one occasion imprisoned Cortes.

bore the figure of the cross, with these words: "Let us follow the Cross; we shall conquer in virtue of this sign."

The reputation of this enterprise and that of the general made such a noise that in a few days there were enrolled three hundred soldiers, among which were Diego de Ordaz, chief confidant of the governor, Bernal Diaz, who wrote a history of the conquest of Mexico, and others.

The time of departure having arrived, orders were given to assemble the soldiers, who embarked at noon. At night, Cortes, accompanied by his friends, went to take leave of the governor, who embraced him and gave him many other caresses. The morning having arrived, Velasquez conducted him to the port and saw him on board his vessel.

The fleet left the port of Santiago de Cuba the 18th of November, 1518, and coasting westwardly the island of Cuba, arrived in a few days at the town of Trinidad, where Cortes had some friends, who here joined him. About this time there also arrived in the port of Trinidad a vessel, belonging to a certain Juan Sedeño, of the Havana, laded with cassava bread and salt meat, which were destined for the mines of Santiago. Cortes purchased the provisions and vessel, so that now there were eleven vessels in all.

The fleet had scarcely left the port of San Iago de Cuba, when those who were envious of Cortes made new efforts to awaken the suspicions of Velasquez, who finally took the resolution to break with Cortes, in taking from him the command of the fleet. He immediately dispatched two couriers to the town of Trinidad, with letters for all his confidants, and an express order to Francisco Verdugo, his cousin and judge royal of that city, to judicially dispossess Hernando Cortes of the office of captain-general, since his appointment had been revoked and given to Vasco Porcallo.

As soon as Cortes got information of this, he had a secret interview with Ordaz and all those officers and inhabitants of Trinidad who, he thought, might feel inclined to obey the orders of Velasquez. To these he spoke so feelingly, and in such kind terms, accompanied by such great promises, that they were all soon gained over to his side. Diego de Ordaz even undertook to advise Verdugo not to put his commands in immediate execution, and to keep them secret. He assured him that it would be impossible to deprive Cortes of the command of the squadron, in which he had so many friends among the cavaliers, and Velasquez so many enemies. Besides, Cortes could rely upon most of the soldiers, and thus it would be useless to attempt anything against him. By these arguments Ordaz prevented all violent measures.

Verdugo, being sufficiently convinced that they did a wrong to Cortes, and feeling a great repugnance to become the instrument of such violence, offered not only to suspend the execution of the orders of Velasquez, but even to write to him in order to oblige him to change his resolution, which could not be executed without causing all the soldiers of the army to mutiny. Ordaz and the other officers of the army, confidants of Velasquez, offered to do the same offices to Cortes, and wrote immediately. Cortes also wrote, complaining of the distrust which Velasquez had manifested for him, and expressed his utter astonishment at the resolution he had taken, particularly as he had no other design than to serve God, the emperor, and the governor. He earnestly advised him not to listen any further to his cousin Velasquez. Cortes at the same time wrote to his other friends, and in particular to his two confederates, the secretary and the royal treasurer.

Cortes left it to the choice of his soldiers to proceed to Havana either by sea or by land. Alvarado, with Diaz and fifty other soldiers and the horses, took the land route, on which they were to recruit their forces. He also sent a vessel, under Juan de Escalante, in advance to the Havana. He then embarked, and proceeded with the whole squadron to the same port. When the fleet arrived off the island of Pinos, the vessel of Cortes during the night ran aground, while the other vessels, being ignorant of it, proceeded on their course, and did not perceive that the commander's vessel was missing until the morning, when they had advanced so far that they continued on to the Havana, where they were well received by Pedro de Barba, governor under Velasquez.

Five days passed away, and the vessel of Cortes did not appear; they, therefore, determined to send out three small vessels in search of him; but two more days were spent in making this outfit, and Cortes still did not appear. All manner of artifices were now resorted to as to whom the command should be given until some certainty was gained in regard to the fate of Cortes, in which Diego de Ordaz, as steward over the house of Velasquez and secret observer of the movements of Cortes, was most active. The arrival of Cortes put an end to these contests. He had to discharge his vessel, in order to lighten it sufficiently to put it afloat, and then to replace a portion of the cargo; this had been the cause of his delay. On his arrival at the Havana, the soldiers showed more true joy at the return of their general than has seldom ever been manifested for another.

The number of the soldiers increased every day; several of the inhabitants of the Havana enrolled, and among the gentlemen

Francisco de Montejo, who was afterwards Adelantado of Yucatan and Honduras, and Diego de Soto, of Toro, afterward Cortes's steward in Mexico.

In the mean time Cortes every day made his soldiers exercise, as well with the arquebuse as with crossbow and pike; he also made them practise all the different evolutions; he instructed them himself. He employed the same diligence in collecting provisions, and each one looked forward with pleasure to the time of their departure, when Gaspar de Garnica, of the household of Velasquez, arrived with dispatches from the governor to Barba, imperatively commanding him to take from Cortes the command of the fleet, and to send him prisoner to Santiago, under a safeguard. The governor also commanded Ordaz and Juan Velasquez, of Leon, to assist Barba in executing what he had commanded.

As soon as Garnica arrived, it was immediately guessed for what purpose he came. Cortes was even apprised of it by means of the very bearer himself; for one of the Brethren of Charity, who was much in company with Velasquez and greatly in favor with him, had forwarded by this same Garnica a letter to a brother of the same order, named Bartolome de Olmedo, who had joined the expedition. By means of this letter Cortes was apprised of the whole posture of affairs by those interested with him, Andres de Duero and Almador de Lares, the royal treasurer.

Although Cortes was a cavalier of invincible courage he did not fail to be moved by this new blow, so much the more felt as it was the least expected; for he was convinced that Velasquez would have been satisfied with all that his friends had written to him in regard to the first order sent to the town of Trinidad. But on seeing arrive another armed with every thing that could mark an extreme obstinacy in the mind of the governor, he began to consider with more attention and less *sang froid* the resolution he should take. On the one side he saw himself exalted and praised by those who followed him; and on the other pulled down and condemned as a criminal. It was upon these reflections and in this conjuncture that the spirit of Cortes, justly irritated, took the first resolution to break with Velasquez. Seeing that it was no longer time to conceal the subjects of his complaint and that policy was no longer of any use, he resolved to make use of the forces he had at his command, according to the necessity of the conjuncture in which he might find himself. With this design he took measures to send away Ordaz before Barba should decide to publish the orders which he had received from Velasquez. Cortes was not ignorant of the efforts which Ordaz had made to have himself made

commander in his absence, and that created in Cortes's mind a suspicion of his fidelity. So he ordered Ordaz, who was the governor's steward, to embark to go and get provisions (which they had left) at Guaniguanico, a port the other side of Cape Anton, where Velasquez had an estate, and to await in that place the rest of the fleet. Then he went to see Velasquez de Leon, whom he easily drew into his interest.

After having taken these precautions he showed himself to the soldiers, to whom he declared the new persecutions which threatened him. They all offered themselves to him, equally resolved to assist him ; but the soldiers appeared so exasperated that the emotion which showed itself in their discourse, and their acclamations gave uneasiness to Cortes, although they were made in his interest. Pedro de Barba, knowing that it would be too late to attempt to appease this spirit when it had reached its climax, sought Cortes, and, with him appearing in public, calmed everything in a moment by saying aloud that he had no intention of executing the orders of the governor, and that he should never participate in so great an injustice. Thus the menaces were turned into applause, and Barba, wishing to show the sincerity of his intentions, publicly dispatched Garnica with a letter to the governor, in which he informed him that it was no time to think of arresting Cortes, followed by too great a number of soldiers who would not suffer any wrong to Cortes. He very adroitly exaggerated the commotion which his order had caused among the soldiers, and concluded by advising Velasquez to retain Cortes by placing confidence in him, and by adding new favors to those which he had already conferred on him, and that at all events it was better to hope from his gratitude what he could not obtain by persuasion nor force.

Cortes, having made this dispatch, thought only of hastening his departure, which was necessary to appease the minds of the soldiers, who, not being entirely recovered from their irritation, showed new restlessness upon the report that was spread, that Velasquez was coming in person to insult their general. In fact, some authors say that he had taken this resolution. Cortes finally left the port of the Havana the 10th of February, 1519.

When he arrived at Cozumel he reviewed his forces, and found that he had five hundred and eight soldiers, and sixteen horses, eleven vessels of different tonnage, one hundred and nine sailors, and some heavy guns and four falconets. The number of crossbow-men was about thirty-three, and of musketeers thirteen. There were also two chaplains, viz., Juan Diaz and Bartolome de Olmedo, who accompanied the general to the end of the conquest of Mexico.

On the 4th of March, 1519, the fleet left Cozumel, and on the 12th arrived at the mouth of the river Tabasco. On Holy Thursday of the year 1519 the whole fleet arrived in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua, where ended the voyage. On the 8th of November, 1519, Cortes for the first time entered the city of Mexico. .

Before Cortes set out from Vera Cruz to march to the city of Mexico he had forwarded, July 16th, 1519, to the emperor Charles V. letters giving a complete account of everything that happened since his departure from Cuba, all the gold they had bartered for, and the presents received from Montezuma. The agents chosen to be dispatched with these to Spain were Alonzo Puerto-carrero and Francisco de Montejo. The best vessel of the squadron, manned with fifteen sailors, was selected to convey them. The charge of the vessel was given to two pilots, one of whom was Anton de Alaminos, from his being well acquainted with the passage through the Bahama Channel, and the first who had ventured that route. On the 16th of July, 1519,* they sailed from San Juan de Ulua, and arrived soon at the Havana. There Montejo, who had a settlement along the coast, persuaded Alaminos to sail close in shore, where he pretended he could take in a fresh supply of bread and bacon. This was done, and the night following a sailor secretly swam ashore and forwarded to Velasquez letters from his adherents, giving him an account of all that had passed.

When Velasquez received these letters he immediately fitted out two small but very swift-sailing vessels well manned and armed, and gave the command of them to Gabriel de Rojas and Guzman, who were ordered to repair to the Havana, and to capture the vessels which conveyed the agents and the gold. Both vessels arrived, after two days' sail, in the Bahama roads, but upon inquiry learning that the wind had been constantly favorable and that the vessel must have passed, they cruised about, and discovering no trace of her, returned to Cuba.

* Diaz says 26th, Cortes, 16th.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXPEDITION OF PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ TO MEXICO.

1520.

VELASQUEZ, having now learned the substantial evidences of the wealth of the newly discovered country, the existence of the great city of Mexico, and the empire of Montezuma, regretted more than ever his failure to arrest Cortes, and was stimulated with renewed energy to put forth all his power to accomplish this purpose. With this view he gave orders to fit out every ship in the island, and to enlist officers and men; indeed, he spared no trouble; he travelled himself from one settlement to another, and invited all his friends to join the armament. In this way he succeeded, after ten or twelve months, in collecting and equipping a powerful army and a great number of vessels.

In the mean time he received letters from his chaplain, Benito Martinez, with the rank of adelantado in the name of the king, not only of the island of Cuba, but of all the lands discovered, or that should be conquered, under his directions. His chaplain also informed him of the zeal with which Fonseca defended and embraced his interest, and the incivility with which he received the envoys of Cortes; but at the same time, he also told him of the favor which the emperor had shown these envoys in giving them an audience at Tordesillas, of the noise the wealth they had brought had made in Spain, and of the high opinion there conceived of the newly discovered country, which they valued far above all others.* The new dignity elevated the ideas of Velasquez, and the favor which he had received from the president Fonseca augmented his presumption. The praises that had been given Cortes affected him, and although he was not sorry to see this conquest so far advanced, yet he could not endure that another should rob him of the credit of it, which he regarded as his own: putting so high a value upon the part that he had had in the projecting of this expedition, that he assumed the name of Conqueror without any other foundation, and believing

* Peru was not then known, being discovered in 1527. The city of Mexico was taken August 13th, 1521, and the war ended.

himself so absolutely master of this enterprise that he regarded all the exploits achieved to that time as if he had done them himself.

The monks of St. Jerome,* who presided at the royal audiencia of St. Domingo,(1) were informed of these movements and preparations of Velasquez by the licentiate Zuazo, their agent in Cuba. As they had supreme jurisdiction over the other islands, and as they wished to prevent the inconveniences which would result from so dangerous a collision, they sent the licentiate Lucas Vasquez d'Aillon, judge of the royal audiencia, to endeavor to bring the governor to reasonable terms; and in case gentle means did not succeed, the licentiate was to show him the orders he bore, and to command him, under the heaviest penalties, to disarm the soldiers and the fleet, and not to bring trouble or embarrassment to the conquest in which Cortes was engaged, under color that it belonged to him, or under any other pretext whatsoever.

This minister, having arrived in Cuba, and found there the fleet ready to leave, and Velasquez very eager to embark the troops, endeavored to control him in exposing to him as a friend all the reasons which presented themselves to his mind, in order to calm that of the governor, and to give him confidence. But as he saw that Velasquez was no longer capable of receiving good advice, because everything that did not tend to the ruin of Cortes appeared to him impracticable, he produced his orders, and had them read to him, by a clerk whom he had brought with him, which he accompanied with divers requests and protestations, but all that could not cause Velasquez to change his resolution. The title of adelantado sounded so grand in his imagination, that it appeared he would not recognize a superior in his government; and his disobedience became a kind of revolt. Aillon let pass some transports of Velasquez, without wounding his feelings, in order not to push him too far upon the precipice; and when he saw him determined to hasten the embarkation, Aillon showed some desire to see a country so famous, and offered to make the voyage through pure curiosity. Velasquez gave him permission to do so, in order that they might not know too soon at St. Domingo the insolence of his replies, and the licentiate embarked with the approbation of the whole army.

Andres de Duero, who, as secretary of Velasquez, had rendered such kind service to Cortes, embarked in the same fleet. Some say that he undertook this voyage in order to take his share of the riches of his friend, in virtue of the services which he had rendered

* Luis de Figueroa, Alonzo de Santo Domingo, and Benardino de Mancañedo.

(1) For this series of references, see Appendix.

him. Others maintain that the design of the secretary was to render himself mediator between the two commanders, and to prevent as much as he could the ruin of Cortes.

The fleet consisted of nineteen sail, carrying fourteen hundred soldiers and sailors, eighty horses, and forty pieces of artillery, with an abundance of provisions, arms, and munitions. There were twelve large ships, and seven a little larger than brigantines. There were ninety crossbow-men and seventy musketeers.*

Velasquez appointed to the command of this fleet a cavalier named Pamfilo de Narvaez,† a man of high stature and great bodily strength, with a voice amazingly powerful, and an imperious look in his countenance; he was a native of Valladolid, a city of Spain; a man of reputed ability, and of great wealth and distinction in Cuba. He was a man of merit, highly esteemed, but attached to his opinions, which he sustained with some asperity. Velasquez gave him the rank of lieutenant-governor, reserving to himself that of governor, at least of New Spain.

Narvaez also received secret instructions from the governor, who especially commanded him to seize Cortes and send him under a

* Diaz gives in one place 18 sail, in another 19; he gives in one place 1300 soldiers and sailors, in another 1400; and he gives 40 pieces of artillery, but also says that Narvaez had 18 pieces of artillery in front of his camp. To explain these apparent discrepancies, it must be considered that one ship was lost, on which there may have been one hundred soldiers and sailors, which would reduce the number of men (at first 1400) to 1300, and the number of vessels (at first 19) to 18. In regard to the artillery, there may have been, in addition to the 18 field pieces, 22 pieces on the vessels, including those in the vessel that was lost. Cortes says there were 10 or 12 pieces at Narvaez's quarters. Cortes's expedition consisted of 617 soldiers and sailors, 16 horses, and 11 vessels of different tonnage—from 80 to 100 tons. Diaz does not give the number of cannon.

† In November, 1509, when Ojeda was about to leave the port of St. Domingo, to make a settlement on the Gulf of Uraba (Darien), he threatened Juan de Esquivel that, if ever he found him on the island of Jamaica, he would cut off his head. Notwithstanding this bravado, Esquivel proceeded to Jamaica and took possession of that island as governor for Diego Columbus, by whom he had been appointed. When Ojeda, returning from his settlement in 1510, was shipwrecked off the coast of Cuba, Diego Ordaz, one of his companions in misfortune, went in a canoe from Cape de la Cruz, in Cuba, to the island of Jamaica, to inform the governor of that island of their misfortune. When Esquivel had heard his story, he immediately dispatched Captain Pamfilo de Narvaez with a vessel to bring the unfortunate men to Jamaica. Narvaez received Ojeda with all honor, and conducted him to Esquivel, who, notwithstanding Ojeda's former threat, received him kindly and furnished him with transportation to St. Domingo. This is the first mention I find made of Narvaez, who probably went from Jamaica to Cuba when Velasquez conquered this island in the year 1511.

secure escort to him, in order that he might receive at his hands the punishment he deserved; that he should treat in the same manner the principal officers who served this rebel, unless they should abandon him; that he should take possession in his name of all that they had conquered, and annex it to his government.

Narvaez sailed with a favorable gale in the month of April, 1520. When the flotilla arrived off the mountains of San Martin, a north wind arose, which is always dangerous on these coasts. One of the vessels, commanded by a cavalier named Christobal de Morante, of Medina del Campo, was wrecked during night-time off the coast, and the greater part of the men perished. The other vessels, however, arrived safe in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua.

This armament was, first of all, seen by some soldiers whom Cortes had sent out in search of gold mines. Three of these—Cervantes, Escalona, and Carretero—deserted, and did not hesitate a moment to go on board the commander's ship, and are said, as soon as they stepped on board, to have praised the Almighty for having rescued them out of the hands of Cortes and the great city of Mexico, where death stood daily before their eyes.

Narvaez ordered meat and drink to be set before them, and, as their glasses were abundantly filled, Cervantes, one of them, who was a low buffoon, addressed Narvaez, exclaiming, "O Narvaez! Narvaez! what a fortunate man you are, that you arrive just at the moment when the traitor Cortes has heaped together more than 700,000 pesos, and the whole of his men are so enraged at him for his having cheated them out of the greater part of the gold, that many even disdained to accept their share." They expatiated on the general disaffection of the soldiers under Cortes, misrepresented facts, and flattered the hopes of Narvaez, who believed every syllable of their false relation. They informed Narvaez that, thirty-two miles further on, he would come to a town called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, built by the Spaniards, which had a garrison of sixty men, all invalids, under an officer named Sandoval.

As it was not probable that Sandoval, the governor of the settlement, would attempt, in the present desperate situation of affairs, to oppose so powerful an armament, Narvaez sent one Guevara, a clergyman, to receive his submission. When the priest Guevara and his companions arrived in the town, they walked straightway into the church to pray, and then repaired to Sandoval's house.

After the first greetings had passed between them, the priest began his discourse by stating to Sandoval what large sums of money Velasquez had expended on the armament which went out

under the command of Cortes, who, with the whole of the men, had turned traitors to the governor; and concluded by saying that he had come to summon him, in the name of Narvaez, whom Velasquez had appointed captain-general, to deliver up the town to him.

When Sandoval heard this, and the expression which reflected dishonor on Cortes, he could scarcely speak from downright vexation; at length he replied: "Venerable sir, you are wrong to term traitors men who have proven themselves better servants to our emperor than Velasquez has, or your commander; and that I do not this instant punish you for this affront, is merely owing to your being a priest. Go, therefore, in the name of God, to Mexico; there you will find Cortes, who is captain-general and chief justice of New Spain. He will answer you himself; here you had better not lose another word."

At this moment the priest, with much bravado, ordered the secretary, Vergara, to produce the appointment of Narvaez, and read it to Sandoval and the others present. Sandoval, however, desired the secretary to leave his papers quietly where they were, as it was impossible for him to say whether the appointment was a lawful one or not. But as the secretary still persisted in producing his papers, Sandoval cried out to him: "Mind what you are about, Vergara! I have already told you to keep your papers in your pocket; go with them to Mexico! I promise you, the moment you proceed to read a single syllable from them, one hundred good lashes on the spot. How can I tell whether you are a royal secretary or not? First show me your appointment, and if I find you are, I will listen to your papers. But even then, who can prove to me whether your papers are true or false?"

The priest, who was a very haughty man, then cried out, "Why do you stand upon any ceremony with these traitors? Pull out your papers and read their contents to them."

To which Sandoval answered, "You lie, you infamous priest!" and ordered his men immediately to seize the priest and his party, and carry them off to Mexico.

He had hardly spoken when they were seized by a number of Indians employed at the fortifications, bound hand and foot, and thrown upon the backs of porters.* In this way they were transported to Mexico, where they arrived in the space of four days, the Indian porters being constantly relieved by others on the road.

* This must not be taken literally. They were placed in a kind of palanquin, each borne on the shoulders of four Indians, who were relieved at regular stages.

Sandoval sent, by an express courier, to Cortes a letter informing him of everything that was going on at the coast, and of the name of the captain who commanded the flotilla. This letter arrived in Mexico before the prisoners, so that Cortes was apprised of their approach when they were still at some distance from the town. He immediately dispatched some men with a quantity of the best provisions, with three horses for the most distinguished of the prisoners, with orders that they should be immediately released from their fetters.

The priest and his companions had not been more than a couple of days with Cortes before he succeeded so well in taming them by kind words, fair promises, jewels, and bars of gold, that they who had come like furious lions, now returned to Narvaez as harmless as lambs, and offered to render Cortes every assistance in their power.

Cortes now dispatched by an Indian courier, to Narvaez, a letter written in the most affectionate tone, with offers of his service to him, informing him how both he and all his men were rejoiced at his arrival in New Spain, and particularly himself, as they were old friends. To make a good finish to the letter he begged to say that Narvaez was at liberty to dispose of his person and his purse, and he would wait his commands.

Cortes at the same time wrote to Andres de Duero and Vasquez de Aillon, and accompanied these letters with some gold for themselves and his other friends. Aillon, besides this, privately received some other gold bars and chains. He also dispatched Father Olmedo to Narvaez's head-quarters with a good stock of these persuasive articles, consisting of various trinkets of gold, and precious stones of great value.

The first letter which Cortes sent by the Indian reached Narvaez's quarters before Guevara returned there. This Narvaez read aloud to his officers, and kept the whole time making merry at the expense of Cortes and his men. One of his officers, named Salvatierra, even blamed him for reading the letter of such a traitor as Cortes was, and said that Narvaez should immediately march out against him and his men and put them all to death; that the letter ought not to be answered.

In the mean time the priest Guevara and his companions had returned, and the former gave Narvaez a circumstantial account of Cortes. He spoke about the great power of Montezuma, and said that Cortes would gladly submit to him. He also added that it was for the advantage of both to remain on friendly terms with each other; that New Spain was large enough to afford room for them both, and that Narvaez might choose which part of the country he would occupy.

These statements, which Amaya and Guevara had accompanied with some good advice, so greatly incensed Narvaez that he would neither see nor speak to them from that moment. The impression, however, which it produced upon the troops was various; for when they saw the gold these two men returned with, and heard so much good of Cortes, and heard them speak of the wondrous things they had seen, and the vast quantity of gold, and how Cortes's men played at cards for gold only, many of them longed to join them. Shortly after this Father Olmedo likewise arrived at Narvaez's quarters with bars of gold and secret instructions. When he called upon Narvaez to pay him Cortes's respects, and said how ready he was to obey his commands, and to remain on terms of peace with him, Narvaez grew more enraged than before. He even refused to listen to Olmedo, and called Cortes and his men traitors, and when Olmedo denied this and told him that they were the most faithful of the emperor's servants, he grossly insulted him. All this, however, did not deter Olmedo from distributing the bars of gold and golden chains among those for whom Cortes destined them, and he strove in every way to draw over Narvaez's principal officers to the interest of Cortes.

The auditor Aillon, after he had carefully perused Cortes's letters and received the bars of gold, no longer made a secret of his sentiments, but spoke, without any reserve, of the injustice which had been perpetrated in fitting out an armament against such well-deserving men, and was so eloquent in his praises of Cortes and his companions, that the feeling in their favor became almost universal. The meanness of Narvaez's disposition served to increase this inclination. He retained entirely to himself all the presents sent by Montezuma. When this conduct was compared with that pursued by Cortes towards his soldiers, his men almost broke out into open insurrection.

Narvaez looked upon Aillon as the cause of all this bad feeling, and when Salvatierra and other principal adherents of Narvaez continually added fuel to the flame, he, relying on the mighty support of Fonseca, lost sight of every consideration, imprisoned Aillon, with his secretary and all his attendants, threw them on board of a vessel, and sent them off to Cuba or Spain.

The vessel which bore Aillon was scarcely at sea, when he prevailed upon the captain and pilot to steer for St. Domingo.* As

* It must be remembered that St. Domingo is a town. The island was not called St. Domingo until some time afterwards; and then afterwards by its Indian name, Hayti.

soon as he had arrived there and informed the royal audiencia and viceroys there of Narvaez's scandalous and presumptuous conduct in regard to himself, these officers considered it in the light of an insult to themselves, and made heavy complaints to the supreme council of Castile; but as Fonseca was president of that council, no justice could be expected from Spain. The harsh treatment which Lucas Vasquez Aillon was subject to had a bad effect upon Narvaez's troops, and many of the former's friends and relatives went over to Sandoval, who received them with open arms, and learned from them all that had passed in Narvaez's quarters; likewise that he contemplated sending men to Vera Cruz to take him prisoner.*

After Narvaez had sent off Aillon to Cuba, he marched with the whole of his men, the baggage, and the cannon, to Sempoalla, and quartered himself in that town, which was then thickly inhabited. The first act there was to take from the fat cazique the cotton stuffs, gold trinkets, and other fancy articles he possessed. He also forcibly took the Indian women who had been presented by the cazique to Cortes's men. All the complaints of this cazique respecting these depredations committed by Narvaez and his troops on the inhabitants of Sempoalla, were of no avail, although he repeated how Cortes and his men had never taken anything from them, and had always treated them with kindness. Narvaez and Salvatierra, whose conduct in general was most heartless, merely laughed at the cazique. Narvaez now dispatched his secretary, Alonzo Meta, with three other great personages to Mexico, to order, by virtue of the copies of his appointment by Velasquez, Cortes to submit to him.

When Cortes received [from Sandoval] the information which the friends of Aillon had given Sandoval when they went over to him, and learned that it was the intention of Narvaez to march shortly to Mexico, he assembled his officers and all those whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of great importance. In this council it was determined to anticipate Narvaez and immediately march out against him. Pedro de Alvarado was to remain in Mexico to guard the person of Montezuma. As the partisans of Velasquez among Cortes's troops were not altogether to be trusted, they, also, were left behind. Cortes likewise took the precaution to fortify his quarters; he caused four pieces of heavy cannon to be

* There were afterwards two places called Vera Cruz, but one was Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, the other the present Vera Cruz, on the harbor of San Juan de Ulua. The former was thirty-two Spanish miles north of the latter, and situated on a river.

mounted on the most commanding point, and left Alvarado a few falconets, ten crossbow-men, fourteen musketeers, and seven cavalry-men; the latter were, indeed, more than he required, as cavalry was of little use in the courtyards attached to his quarters. The number of soldiers left behind in Mexico was, altogether, eighty-three.*

Cortes, after having made every disposition for the holding of Mexico and Montezuma, marched with his troops to Cholula. From this town he continued to Tlascala, whence he sent a courier with a letter to Sandoval, telling him to join him as soon as possible with all his men; that he intended to march within forty-eight miles of Sempoalla, in the neighborhood of the provinces of Tampanicita and Mitalaguita; he particularly cautioned him to keep out of the way of Narvaez, and carefully to avoid coming to any engagement with any part of his troops.

Cortes then marched forward with every military precaution. Two of his most trustworthy men, who were remarkably swift of foot, were constantly a couple of days' march in advance. Besides these, there was always immediately in advance of the army a small detachment of sharpshooters. It was not long before they met with Alonzo Meta, who was commissioned by Narvaez to show Cortes a copy of his appointment; he was accompanied by four others, who were to act as witnesses on the occasion. When they had arrived near enough, they greeted Cortes, who dismounted to learn who they were.

Meta immediately began to read his document, but Cortes interrupted him, and asked him whether he was a royal secretary. Meta was not a little staggered at this, for he was well aware that he was no royal secretary. He, therefore, was unable to utter a single word, and those who were with him remained equally mute. Cortes excused their embarrassment, and desired some victuals to be set before them, when he informed them that he was marching to the township of Tampanicita, in the vicinity of Narvaez's head-quarters, where, if the latter had any further communications to make, he was to be found. During the whole of the discourse Cortes never so much as uttered a reproachful word against Narvaez; he had also a private discourse with them, and thrust a few pieces of gold into their hands, so that they left highly delighted.

* Cortes says: "500 men with several pieces of cannon. Taking the rest of the people that I had there, about seventy in number, I pursued my journey." But at Chururtecal (Cholula) he met with Juan Velasquez with men, and these were joined to Cortes's force.

While these men were still with Cortes, many of his men, for the sake of ostentation, had decorated themselves with gold chains and jewels, which spread a vast idea of their splendor. All this produced such a favorable impression at Narvaez's head-quarters, that many of his chief officers desired that peace might be brought about between the two generals.

In the mean time, Cortes continued his march, and arrived in Tampanicita, where Sandoval, the day following, likewise appeared with his small detachment, consisting of sixty men; the old and infirm of the garrison he had quartered among the Papalote Indians, his allies. He brought along with him the five friends and relatives of Aillon. Sandoval likewise told Cortes how he had sent two Spanish soldiers into Narvaez's head-quarters disguised as Indians. They had the exact appearance of natives; took each a basket of cherries with them, for which they soon met with a purchaser in the person of Salvatierra, who gave them a string of glass beads for their fruit, and, fully believing they were Indians, sent them to cut grass for his horse. It was towards evening when they arrived with a load of grass, and carried it to the shed where the horse was tied up. They then squatted down, after the fashion of Indians, near Salvatierra's quarters, and overheard a discourse between him and several others of Narvaez's officers. They listened until a late hour at night, when they silently stole away to the shed where Salvatierra's horse was fastened, which they very quietly saddled and bridled, and so rode off with it. In the same way they managed to capture a second horse on their road home, and brought them both safely to Sandoval, who on his route had left them in Papalote, as he had to march along a very steep and rugged road over mountains, where horses could not pass, in order that he might not fall in with Narvaez's troops.

When Cortes was first informed of the arrival of Narvaez in New Spain with a powerful armament, he dispatched Tovilla, a soldier who had served in the Italian wars, and had a full knowledge of weapons and of the best method of fixing points to lances, into the province of the Tchinantecs, where some of his men had been sent in search of mines. The Tchinantecs were deadly enemies of the Mexicans, and had only a few days previously made an alliance with the Spaniards under Cortes. This people used a species of lance which was much longer than the Spanish lances, and furnished with a sharp, double-edged point of flint. Cortes had heard of this weapon, and sent word to the Tchinantecs to forward him three hundred of such lances, from which, however, he desired them to take off the flint points, and substitute a double one of

copper, as they had an abundance of this metal in their country. The soldier who was dispatched with these orders took with him a pattern of the point required. Cortes's wishes were readily complied with; the lances were soon finished, and they turned out most satisfactory. Besides this, Cortes desired the soldier, whose name was Tovilla, to ask the Tchinantecs to send two thousand of their warriors, all armed with similar lances, on Easter day, into the district of Tampanicita, and there make inquiries for his camp. The caziques willingly complied with this request, and they also gave Tovilla more than two hundred of their warriors, all armed with the same lances, to accompany him on his return to Cortes's camp. The rest were to follow with another of Cortes's men, called Barrientos, who had been dispatched into their country in search of mines. The lances which Tovilla brought with him proved most excellent, and he immediately taught Cortes's men how to use them, especially against cavalry.

As soon as all the troops had arrived at Tampanicita, Cortes reviewed them, and found that, including all the officers, drummers, and pipers, they amounted to two hundred and sixty men, among whom were five cavalry-men, a few crossbow-men, less musketeers, and two artillery-men. Considering the smallness of numbers, Cortes reposed his greatest hopes in the use he intended to make of his lances.

It was now determined to dispatch Olmedo to Narvaez with a letter, in which, among other sentiments, Cortes begged him to select the province he fancied most, for himself and his troops; to forward the original papers of his appointment within the space of three days, as he was ready to act up strictly to the emperor's commands, if the documents were correct; that for this purpose he had expressly come to Tampanicita, to be near his person. If he was unable to produce such appointment direct from the emperor, to desist from stirring up the inhabitants into open insurrection, or he should be considered and treated as an enemy, taken prisoner, and sent in chains to the emperor, without whose authority he had commenced war and revolutionized all the towns of the country; that every drop of blood that should be spilt, all destruction of property which should ensue from his hostile acts, he would himself have to answer for.

This letter, which closed with the usual courteous expressions, was signed by Cortes, the officers, and other soldiers, among whom was Diaz.* With this letter Olmedo, accompanied by Bartolome

* Diaz speaks of what he was individually acquainted with. The phrase in the translation from the original is, "and other soldiers, among whom was myself."

de Usagre, who had a brother serving in Narvaez's artillery, went off to the latter's head-quarters. As soon as he arrived there he began to fulfil the orders which Cortes had given him. He made secret disclosures in Cortes's name to a number of cavaliers in Narvaez's corps, also to the artillery-men Rodrigo, Mino, and Usagre, and gave them the bars of gold which Cortes had destined for them. He likewise proposed to Andres de Duero to pay a visit to Cortes's camp, and then called upon Narvaez himself.

Although Olmedo was particularly humble in Narvaez's presence, yet the latter's confidants had their suspicions, and advised their general to imprison him, which was about being carried into effect when Duero was secretly apprised of it. Duero was a native of Tudela on the Duero, and a relative of Narvaez. He had vast influence, and stood high in the estimation of the men, and durst take more upon himself than others. He, therefore, called upon Narvaez, and convinced him that it would be better in every respect to treat Olmedo with politeness, and advised Narvaez to invite him to dine with him, when he could himself fish from him what the views of Cortes were. Duero then went immediately to Olmedo and communicated to him all that had transpired. In the mean time Narvaez sent for Olmedo to dine with him, and received him most courteously.

Olmedo, who was a remarkably judicious and shrewd man, said to Narvaez: "I am convinced that several officers in Cortes's troops would gladly see you in power; indeed, I am altogether convinced that we all shall soon stand under your command. In order to make the necessary preparations for such a step, they have written you a letter full of extravagant expressions. This letter I was ordered to deliver to your excellency, but on account of its contents I could not make up my mind to do so, but felt more inclined to throw it in the river."

Narvaez then expressed his desire to see this letter, when Olmedo told him he had left it in his room, but would go for it, and left for that purpose. Olmedo hastened to Duero, and requested him to be present with as many soldiers as possible when he should hand the letter to Narvaez, that its contents might be made known to all. He then returned to Narvaez and presented him Cortes's letter.

All the bystanders now pressed Narvaez to read the letter; some were greatly annoyed at it, but Narvaez and Salvatierra merely laughed and made amusement of its contents. But Augustin Bermudez, who was a captain and alguazil-mayor in Narvaez's camp, said: "Father Olmedo has assured me privately that it merely requires some little mediation between them, and Cortes would him-

self wait upon our general, and join his standard with the whole of his men. As he is encamped not far from here, we could certainly do no better than dispatch Duero thither, and I will accompany him myself."

It was resolved that Duero should be dispatched to Cortes. Narvaez held a private conference with him and three other officers, desiring them to try and persuade Cortes to meet him at an Indian village on the road between the two encampments, where they might come to an understanding with each other respecting the division of the country and the boundaries of their respective territories. Narvaez was quite earnest in this matter, and had expressed himself to that effect to about twenty of his men who were particularly devoted to him.

Duero arrived at Cortes's camp on the eve of Easter day, and stayed until the evening following. When he arrived he was convinced, from what he saw, of the vast riches and power of Cortes; and he came not merely to bring about a good understanding between the generals, but also to take possession of his share of the acquired riches, as Amado de Lares had died. During the stay of Duero he had several private conversations with Cortes.

Cortes, who was a cunning and far-sighted man, promised Duero not only vast treasures, but a command and vast extent of territory, which would give him the same importance with himself; in consideration of which he was to engage to gain Augustin Bermudez and other chief officers. If Narvaez was killed or taken prisoner, and his army defeated, all the gold and townships of New Spain were to be divided among the three. In order, however, to strengthen the number of their party, Duero took along with him as much gold as two men could carry, besides a quantity of other valuable things for Bermudez, Guevara, Juan de Leon, and other distinguished personages who were to be let into the secret. Cortes and Duero then carefully talked over how the matter was to be carried out.*

Andres Duero and Cortes agreed that Narvaez, attended by ten persons, and he with as many others, should have a peaceable interview, when Narvaez should make known to him his instructions, if he had brought any, to which Cortes would give his answer; for which purpose Cortes on his part sent a passport, signed by himself, to Narvaez, who sent Cortes another, subscribed with his name; which, however, it appeared to Cortes, he had no idea of observing; for it was planned that the interview should be so

* Diaz.

arranged as to enable them to dispatch Cortes at once, and two of the ten persons who were to come with Narvaez were selected to execute this purpose while the others were engaged with Cortes's attendants. Thus they said if Cortes was killed the object would be accomplished; as in truth it would have been if God who interposes in such cases had not thwarted the design by granting Cortes certain notice of it at the same time that the pass was brought him. This plot being discovered, Cortes wrote a letter to Narvaez, and another to the three commissioners, in which he stated to them that he had learned their treacherous design, and refused to have the interview in the manner agreed upon. Immediately after this occurrence Cortes sent certain requisitions and orders to Narvaez.* As soon as Duero had left, Cortes sent for Juan Velasquez de Leon, one of his chief officers, a man who had great authority, and who, although a near relative of Velasquez, was entirely devoted to Cortes. When Leon came into his presence, Cortes said to him: "I have sent for you because Duero has assured me it is rumored among Narvaez's officers that you and I have quarrelled, and that you intend siding with their party. I am therefore resolved that you shall ride to Narvaez's head-quarters, taking with you all your gold. When there you must try to find out what are his intentions."

As soon as Velasquez de Leon, whom Cortes had sent merely to annoy Narvaez, had departed, Cortes desired Sandoval to draw up the troops in marching order, when they briskly moved forward towards Sempoalla. On the road the soldiers killed two piccara, which they construed into a token of victory. The night following they encamped on the slope of a hill near to a brook, carefully posted sentinels and ordered out the patrols. The next morning they marched, and arrived towards noon at the river on whose banks the town of Vera Cruz now stands; at that time there were there merely a few Indian huts and straggling trees, under which the troops rested a considerable time, as the heat was very oppressive. When the heat of the day had somewhat cooled, they continued their march to Sempoalla, and encamped for the night near a brook about four miles from the town.

Velasquez de Leon arrived at Sempoalla towards daybreak. He alighted at the house of the fat cazique, and walked towards Narvaez's quarters. When, however, some of Narvaez's men who were quartered in the cazique's house heard the Indians say that it was Leon, they hastened to inform Narvaez, who was highly delighted, and hastened out with several of his officers to meet him, received him with hearty embraces, and immediately sent some of

* Cortes, second letter, dated Segura de la Frontera, Oct. 30th, 1520.

his men for his horse and baggage, as he would not hear of his staying in any house but his own. Velasquez de Leon, however, observed that he could not stay long, as he had come merely to pay his respects to him and his officers, and try if peace and friendship could not be brought about between him and Cortes.

Narvaez's blood rose to his cheeks at this expression, and he asked Velasquez de Leon how he could talk of peace and friendship with a man who had, like a traitor, run away with the whole armament of his (Leon's) own cousin.

Velasquez de Leon replied that Cortes was no traitor, but a faithful servant of his emperor, and he must beg him not again to make use of such expressions in his presence.

Upon this Narvaez assumed a different tone, and made Velasquez de Leon great promises if he would remain with him; even promised to elevate him to second in command if he would manage to induce Cortes's troops to join his standard. Velasquez de Leon, however, assured him that he was determined to remain as faithful and true to Cortes as to the emperor himself, and earnestly begged him not to mention that subject again.

During this conversation the chief officers had by degrees all arrived to pay their respects to Velasquez de Leon, which they did with every show of courtesy, as Velasquez de Leon was a man of elegant carriage and powerful stature, and had a winning countenance; his beard was heavy and long, a large solid gold chain hung from his shoulder in graceful folds and sat well on this courageous and spirited officer.*

Some of Narvaez's officers urged him to imprison Velasquez, as he was secretly striving to gain over his men in favor of Cortes. But Bermudez, Duero, and several others who favored Cortes remonstrated as to the policy of such a step and the benefit he would derive from it, and said that though Cortes had an additional hundred officers such as Velasquez de Leon, he would be unable to cope with him. It would certainly be more to his interest to behave courteously to Leon.

Narvaez, being thus influenced by these two men, requested Velasquez to become mediator between Cortes and himself, and try if he could not induce the former and his troops to join his standard. Velasquez promised to make the attempt, but at the same time stated that Cortes was very determined on that subject; that the best method, in his opinion, of settling the matter was by a

* This noble officer, who with Alvarado, commanded the rear guard in the retreat from Mexico, perished with two hundred men, at one of the bridges.

division of the provinces between them, and that Cortes would gladly leave the choice to him.

Velasquez made this observation merely to make Narvaez more tractable. During this discourse Olmedo stepped up and proposed to Narvaez that the whole of his troops should be drawn out in the presence of Velasquez to show the powerful army he commanded, that Velasquez might relate to Cortes what he had seen, and convince him that it was better that he should submit.

Narvaez followed this counsel which Olmedo had given merely to vex his cavaliers and soldiers. The alarm was accordingly sounded, and the whole of the troops were thus obliged to turn out before Velasquez and Olmedo; when Narvaez said to Velasquez, "Are you not now fully convinced that it would merely cost me a day's march to overthrow Cortes and the whole of you?" Velasquez replied, "I will not say anything about that, but you may depend upon it, we would sell our lives dearly."

The following day Velasquez dined with Narvaez, and met at the table Diego Velasquez, a nephew of the governor of Cuba, who had the command of a company. While they were dining, the conversation turned upon Cortes's obstinacy and the letter he had written to Narvaez, and, one word leading to another, Diego Velasquez asserted that Cortes and all those who sided with him were traitors. At this expression Juan Velasquez rose up from his seat, and, with much warmth, said: "General Narvaez, I have once before begged you not to allow such language in my presence. It is really scandalous to speak ill of those who have served the emperor so faithfully."

"And I," interrupted Diego, in an angry tone, "maintain that I have merely spoken the truth in calling you traitors. You are a traitor, and all the rest of you, and you are unworthy the name of Velasquez."

Leon now laid hand on his sword, and called Diego a liar, swearing he was a better nobleman than he or his uncle, and that the house of Velasquez to which he belonged was a very different one from Diego's or his uncle's. Of this he would give instant proof, if General Narvaez would allow him. As many of Narvaez's officers, and a few of Cortes's, were present during this scene, they interfered and prevented any open violence, as Leon was just about to draw his sword against his opponent.

The other officers now advised Narvaez to order Juan Velasquez and Olmedo to leave the camp without any further ceremony, as their stay there would only cause worse blood. Orders to this effect were accordingly issued, and they delayed not an instant to

hasten their departure. Leon was seated on his fine gray mare, and clad in a coat of mail, and had his helmet on, when he once more called upon Narvaez to take leave. Diego was standing next to the latter at the time, and when Juan inquired of Narvaez if he had any message to Cortes, the latter replied in great ill humor: "I beg of you to leave this instant, and it would have been much better if you had stayed away altogether." Young Diego Velasquez then threw out most abusive language against Juan, who, in return, assured him his insolence would meet with its due reward, and a few days would show whether the bravery of his heart corresponded with the boldness of his tongue. Five or six of Narvaez's officers, friends to Cortes, who were to escort Leon, now came up, and told him rather harshly it was time to be moving, and no longer to spend his breath in useless words. They merely assumed this tone to get him as quickly as possible out of the way, for they afterwards told him that Narvaez had issued orders for his arrest; indeed, he had every reason to make haste, for a numerous body of cavalry was already hard upon his heels when he arrived at the river near Cortes's camp.

The followers of Cortes were taking their midday nap when their outposts brought information that three men on horseback were approaching their camp, and they immediately concluded it must be Velasquez, his servant, and Father Olmedo. They were all delighted to see them safely returned.

The effect of Leon's and Olmedo's visit to Narvaez's camp soon showed itself. Several of the officers who had got some hints of the valuable presents which Cortes had sent to be distributed among some of them found that a party was forming in favor of Cortes, and advised that the utmost vigilance should be observed; orders were therefore issued that the troops should hold themselves ready for action. Narvaez now formally declared open war against Cortes and his followers.

Narvaez then encamped with the whole of his troops and cannon at about a mile from Sempoalla, in order the better to watch the movements of the troops of Cortes, and not allow any of his men to pass. But as it rained heavily just about this time, Narvaez's officers, who were not accustomed to dampness, nor to the fatigues of war in general, and imagined it would be an easy matter to overcome Cortes, advised Narvaez to return with the troops to their former quarters, and considered it sufficient if they placed their artillery, which consisted of eighteen heavy guns, in front of their camp. Forty of their cavalry were placed to guard the road leading into Sempoalla, along which the enemy would be compelled

to advance; besides which, pickets of cavalry and light-armed foot, under Hurtado and Gonzalo Carrasco, were placed to watch the spot where they would have to pass the river, and to give notice of their approach; and another twenty of cavalry were always to stand in readiness, during night-time, in the court-yard adjoining Narvaez's quarters. Narvaez then returned with the rest of his troops to his former quarters, and made known that he who brought him Cortes or Sandoval, dead or alive, should receive the reward of 2000 pesos. It was also ordered that a strong detachment of men should be posted at the respective quarters of Narvaez, Salvatierra, Gomarra, and Juan Bono. These were Narvaez's preparations, of which Cortes was informed by a soldier named Galleguillo, who had deserted from Narvaez during the night, or had been secretly sent for that purpose by Duero.

Cortes and his men had, previous to marching to Mexico, resided several months in Sempoalla, and in that neighborhood had built Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, so they were not only acquainted with every place in the town of Sempoalla, but also with every locality in the neighborhood. Sempoalla was a populous town, and had several teocallis or truncated pyramidal structures, which were rather altars than temples, dedicated to the idols of Indian faith and worship. These structures were in different places constructed of different materials—stone, brick, or earth. Some had ramps, with steps leading directly to the summit, where, in small sanctuaries, were the idols to which they sacrificed human beings, on a stone in front of the sanctuary, ripping out the heart of the living victim, and presenting it on the altar of the idol. Others had three or four terraces, each extending the circuit of the teocalli, excepting the space occupied by the steps. The stairs to ascend from one terrace to another were all at one of the angles, on the same side, and one above the other, so that it was necessary to make the circuit of the teocalli to pass from one flight of steps to the next, the terrace beginning at the top of one flight of steps, and after making the circuit of the teocalli, terminating at the foot of the next. These structures were inclosed with a wall, at a sufficient distance from the base of the teocalli to form around it a commodious court. There were on two sides of the inclosure, entrances to the court. There were several of these structures in Sempoalla, and Narvaez took possession of them with his troops.

When Cortes had learned the proceedings of Narvaez, the disposition of his forces, and his declaration of war against him and his followers, he knew that there was an end to his intrigues, and that the time for decisive action had arrived. He therefore sum-

moned his officers and men around him, and addressed them in a speech replete with flattering expressions and fair promises, mentioning their career, from their departure from Cuba to their arrival in the city of Mexico, and in closing said: "Up to this moment we have fought to defend our lives, but now we shall have to fight valiantly for our lives and our honor. Our enemies have nothing less in contemplation than to take us all prisoners, and rob us of our property. No one can tell whether Narvaez is commissioned by the emperor himself; all this is done merely at the instigation of our most deadly enemy, the bishop of Burgos (Fonseca). If we are subdued by Narvaez, which God forbid, all the services we have rendered to the Almighty, and our emperor, will be construed into as many crimes, and we shall be accused of murder, rapine, and rebellion, though the really guilty person would be Narvaez; and the things which would be considered meritorious in them will be construed as criminal in us. All this must be evident to you, and we as honest cavaliers are bound to defend the honor of the emperor as well as our own. For this I have marched out from Mexico, reposing my trust in God and your assistance."

To this address of Cortes, several of his soldiers replied in the name of the rest, that he might rely upon their determination to conquer or die. Cortes was greatly rejoiced at this reply, and said that he had not expected less; that they should find no cause for regret, as wealth and honor would be the reward of their devotion and valor. He then informed the officers of the plan of attack, and the parts they were to perform. Cortes formed his forces into four small battalions, which were to march to the assault one after the other. The first object was to capture the artillery drawn up in front of Narvaez's camp. For this purpose sixty of the youngest and most active men, of which number was Diaz, were placed under the command of a daring young fellow named Pizarro. Pizarro with his sixty men was to push boldly on until he should take the cannon, when the artillery-men, Mesa and Amenga, were immediately to turn them on Salvatierra's quarters. Sandoval, with sixty men, was to attack the quarters of Narvaez, who was posted on the summit of a very high teocalli. He was ordered to take Narvaez prisoner, and if he would not surrender, to kill him. Juan Velasquez de Leon, with sixty men, was ordered to seize the person of Diego Velasquez, with whom he had had such angry words. Olid also had sixty men, and Cortes had the rest, to render assistance where it might be most required; his principal object, however, was to get the persons of Narvaez and Salvatierra into his power. He promised a reward of 3000 pesos to the first man who

should lay hands on Narvaez, 2000 to the second, and 1000 to the third.

The men were altogether in want of defensive armor. They remained in their camp during the first part of the night, and spent their time in making preparations for the arduous task that awaited them. Pickets were sent out, and sentinels posted, of which Diaz was one. He had not stood long when one of the outposts came up to and asked him whether he had not heard a noise, when immediately one of the corporals approached and said that Galleguillo, who had deserted from Narvaez, was nowhere to be found, and that he must have been a spy; and as it was certain that by this time he had betrayed their approach, Cortes had given orders for an immediate advance upon Sempoalla. A moment after they were all marching forward. Galleguillo, however, was found a few moments after fast asleep under some cloaks he had thrown over him on account of the rain and cold.

Cortes now ordered silence, and the troops marched steadily forward until they arrived at the river, where Carrasco and Hurtado were posted with a detachment of the enemy. The river was swollen by the rain, on account of which and the loose rocks in its bed it was crossed with much difficulty. As such a sudden visit under such circumstances, in the rain and darkness of the night, was the last thing they could have thought of, Carrasco was captured, while Hurtado escaped, fled to the quarters and gave the alarm, crying out that the enemy was approaching. The most watchful ran to arms and led Hurtado to Narvaez, who, after some questions, disregarded the information, holding it impossible that Cortes could come with so few men to attack him in his quarters, and that his men could march during a night so dark and stormy.

It was near midnight, dark and rainy, when Cortes entered Sempoalla, so that he had the good fortune to penetrate into the town even to within view of the teocalli without encountering a single sentinel. Hurtado was still trying to convince Narvaez that he had not only met with the scouts, but that also the whole army was advancing rapidly. Nevertheless pretexts were formed for disbelief, and they lost in arguing the probability of this report the time which they should have employed in preventing the consequences of it, even though it might have been false. The soldiers, restless and watchful, increased upon the steps of the teocalli, some irresolute, and others awaiting the orders of the commander, but all with arms in their hands and ready for battle.

Cortes then knew that he was discovered, and determined to attack before they should be in order to resist him; he, therefore,

gave the signal for the assault. The troops under Pizarro lowered their lances and rushed headlong upon the artillery; the cannoneers had scarcely sufficient time to discharge four pieces, every ball of which passed over the heads of the assailants, excepting one, which killed three or four men. They had the good fortune to capture all the cannon. Sandoval at the same time charged the quarters of Narvaez, and drove his adversaries from the court to the teocalli, and commenced advancing up the steps of the building; but not being able to sustain himself against a body of troops much larger than his own and in an advantageous position, he was beaten back down the steps. Just at this critical juncture Olid arrived to his assistance, the tide was turned, and Sandoval again pushed forward up the steps with renewed vigor. In the mean time Narvaez had arrived. He now appeared in the midst of his men, and did everything to reanimate them and to put them in order, after which he rushed forward into the thickest of the fight, where he encountered Pedro Sanchez and Farzan, the latter of whom gave him so violent a blow in the face with his lance that he crushed Narvaez's eye and hurled him senseless to the pave. The fall of Narvaez caused confusion in his troops, who were frightened at the event. Some shamefully abandoned their general; others, entirely beside themselves, ceased to fight, and those who made an effort to assist him were embarrassed by the others, and thus increased the confusion. Thus they found themselves obliged to retire, and the conquerors took this opportunity to drag Narvaez to the foot of the stair, and into the midst of the rear battalion.

The fall of Narvaez was instantly known among the troops of Cortes, whose wild shouts filled the midnight air with the cry of "Victory! Victory! Narvaez is dead! The battle, however, was still continued in various points, as several of Narvaez's officers maintained their positions on the tops of other teocallis.* Cortes,

* Cortes, when he entered the city of Mexico, quartered all his troops in a large court of one of the palaces of Montezuma, and in the great temple or court of the teocalli adjoining it.

When the Mexicans attacked him "they took possession of the great temple, to the loftiest and most considerable tower of which nearly five hundred Indians, apparently persons of rank, ascended." This teocalli had, according to Cortes's letter, three or four terraces, about a yard wide and about sixteen feet one above the other. He says, "So arduous was the attempt to take this tower, that if God had not broken their (the Indians') spirits, twenty of them would have been sufficient to resist the ascent of a thousand men although they fought with the greatest valor even unto death." From this an idea may be formed of the difficulties Cortes had to encounter in overcoming Narvaez. But the top of the teocalli could not contain five hundred persons; therefore the

however, sent round a herald to summon them to surrender, under penalty of death in case of refusal. This, with the loud shouts of victory and the belief that Narvaez was dead, had the desired effect, and only the troops under young Diego Velasquez and Salvatierra, which had taken up their position on the summit of a very high teocalli, where it was difficult to get at them, refused to submit. But Juan Velasquez de Leon attacked them so vigorously that at last he forced them to surrender, and took Salvatierra and Diego Velasquez prisoners.

Cortes happened to come up at the time when Juan Velasquez and Ordaz brought in Salvatierra and Diego Velasquez and other chief officers prisoners, he was still in full armor and had heated himself to such a degree in riding up and down, the weather being very hot, that the perspiration literally dripped from him, and he could scarcely breathe from over-exertion. He twice said to Sandoval, who was unable at first to catch his words, "Where is Narvaez? Where is Narvaez?" "Here he is," cried out Sandoval, "here he is and quite safe." "That is all right, my son Sandoval," said Cortes, in a voice still somewhat feeble; "do not leave this spot for the present, nor suffer any of your men to stir away; and keep a strong guard over the prisoners. I will now see how the battle is going on at other points." With these words Cortes rode off, and as he still found Narvaez's men offering resistance, he again sent round a herald to summon them to surrender, and to deliver up their arms to Sandoval.

Scarcely had they published the pardon at all the *three places** where the people of Narvaez had retired than the soldiers and officers themselves came in crowds to surrender to the conqueror. This proclamation was well conceived, for it was very important that it should be known before the dawn of day, which was near, should discover to the soldiers of Narvaez the small number of their conquerors, and inspire them with the resolution to renew the fight.

Narvaez, having lost an eye and being otherwise dangerously wounded, requested Sandoval to allow his own surgeon to dress his

expression implies that the terraces, summit, and towers, and perhaps court, of the teocalli were filled with Indian warriors.

* Diaz expressly mentions two teocallis in the attack, and, when the idols of Sempoalla were destroyed some time previously, he says, "We tore down the idols from their pediments. Some were shaped like furious dragons, and were about the size of young calves; others with half the human form; some again were shaped like large dogs. Cortes says there were three or four towers (teocallis).

wounds and those of the other officers. This Sandoval unhesitatingly complied with, and while the surgeon was dressing Narvaez's wounds, Cortes stepped up, as he imagined unknown, to see what was going on. However, the respect of the soldiers discovered the general; and Narvaez, turning to him, said: "Indeed, general, you have reason to be proud of this victory and of my being taken prisoner." "I am," replied Cortes, "every way thankful to God and my brave companions for it, but I can assure you that this victory is the least brilliant we have yet gained in New Spain."

With this Cortes broke off the conversation, and turning to Sandoval cautioned him to guard the prisoners well. They had merely put fetters about Narvaez's legs, but they now secured him better, and put a strong guard over him. Diaz was of the latter, and received secret orders not to allow any of his (Narvaez's) men to see him until next morning, when Cortes would make further arrangements respecting his person.

Cortes did not yet feel quite safe; he remembered that Narvaez had sent out forty of his cavalry to guard the road leading to Sem-poalla. This body was still hovering about, and he feared they might fall upon him unawares, and release both Narvaez and the other officers. He therefore kept a strict guard, and dispatched Olid and Ordaz to persuade them, by enticing promises, to surrender quietly. For this purpose these officers were obliged to take a couple of horses of Narvaez's troops, as all of Cortes's officers had left theirs at the back of a rising ground, near Sem-poalla.

When Olid and Ordaz came up with them, they easily induced them to surrender, by assuring them that they would be received in the army of Cortes with the same advantages that had been accorded to their companions, whose example sufficed for the cavalry to come and offer their services, with their arms and horses, to Cortes.

Daylight in the mean time broke forth, when Olid and Ordaz, with this detachment, again reached the camp, accompanied by Duero, Bermudez, and several other friends of Cortes. All these now came in a body to pay their respects to Cortes, who had taken off his armor and was seated in an arm-chair, dressed in a wide orange-colored surtout. Serenity and joy were visible in his countenance as he welcomed each; and, indeed, he had every reason to be proud of the power and greatness he had so suddenly acquired.

The soldiers and officers came in crowds to surrender to the conqueror. They surrendered their arms on arriving, and Cortes, with-

out failing in the duties of civility, received them with joy. Nevertheless he caused to be disarmed even the most distinguished officers, those who were in correspondence with him, in order that they might not be recognized, or that they might give an example to the others. Their numbers, in a short time, increased so much that it was necessary to separate them, and to secure them with a sufficient guard until morning.

During this time Sandoval took care to dress the wounds of Narvaez; and young Diego Velasquez remained a prisoner of Juan Velasquez de Leon, whom he had so offended on his visit to Narvaez, yet Juan, with his nobleness of soul, treated him with the greatest magnanimity. This action was remarkable in that there was not an incident in which there were not manifest the correctness of the measures that Cortes had taken, and the blunders of Narvaez.

The losses in this battle were on the side of Narvaez, his standard-bearer, named Fuentes, of a noble family of Seville, and three of Narvaez's chief officers, one of whom was named Rojas, a native of old Castile; Carretero, one of the three soldiers who had deserted to Narvaez when he arrived at San Juan de Ulua, was also killed, and the number of the wounded was very great. On the side of Cortes there were four killed and several wounded. Cervantes and Escalona, who had deserted to Narvaez with Carretero, derived very little benefit from their treachery; the latter had been dangerously wounded, and the other Cortes ordered to be well whipped.

What is remarkable, there was among the soldiers of Narvaez scarcely an individual who would return to Cuba. The most important among the officers of Narvaez were in correspondence with Cortes. Cortes had all their arms restored to the prisoners, who showed a remarkable gratitude for the favor they received, and applauded the confidence of the new general with repeated acclamations.

Late in the evening of the same day on which the battle was fought, the two thousand Chinantla Indians, under their caziques, and conducted by Barrientos, marched two abreast into Sempoalla in the best military order. They were all tall, powerful men, armed with immense lances and large shields; every lancer was followed by a bowman. In this manner, under the sound of drums and trumpets, they marched in with feathers waving on their heads, colors flying, and continually crying out, "Long live the emperor! long live Cortes!" They made such a grand show that, though they were only two thousand in number, one would have thought, at first sight, there were three thousand. Narvaez's men were not a little astonished when they saw these men, and remarked that they would have fared much worse had they had to encounter

these people, or if they had joined in the attack. Cortes received kindly the Chinantlan chiefs, thanked them for their trouble, and, after making them various presents, desired them to return to their homes. Barrientos returned with them, and was particularly admonished by Cortes not to allow them to commit any depredations in the townships through which they passed.

Narvaez and Salvatierra were now sent under guard to Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, and Francisco de Lugo to the harbor where the flotilla lay, in order to bring all the captains and pilots of the eighteen vessels to Sempoalla. Lugo was ordered to convey on shore all the sails, rudders, and compasses, so as to render it impossible for the governor of Cuba to gain information respecting the fate of his armament. Whoever refused to submit to Lugo, was to be immediately thrown into prison. When the captains and pilots appeared in the presence of Cortes, he made them take an oath to obey him in all matters. Pedro Caballero, captain of one of the vessels, who had been bribed with some bars of gold to favor Cortes's party, was appointed admiral of the flotilla; and received instructions not to allow any vessel to leave the harbor, and if any others should arrive from Cuba—for Cortes had received information that there were two other ships fitted out there for this harbor—to seize them, and send their sails, rudders, and compasses on shore, and await further orders.

Cortes soon received information from the city of Mexico that required his immediate presence there. He, therefore, preparatory to starting, reviewed his troops, and found that they amounted to thirteen hundred men, ninety-six horses, eighty crossbow-men, and a like number of musketeers. This body of troops he considered sufficient to venture fearlessly into Mexico, particularly as the caziques of Tlascala had furnished him with two thousand of their warriors. Cortes entered the city of Mexico the second time on the 24th of June, 1520, having entered it the first time on the 8th of November, 1519.*

Soon after Cortes's arrival in the city of Mexico, he was forcibly expelled by the natives, but he soon again returned, and invested the city the 30th of May, 1521, and on the 13th of August, 1521, Guatimozin was captured, and the war thus terminated. The ancient city had been ruined, and Cortes immediately began to build another on its site. Where had stood the palace of Montezuma, Cortes built a magnificent palace for himself. On the site of the great teocalli, he erected the church of San Iago. On the 15th of

* Bernal Diaz, Conquest of Mexico.

October, 1524, he wrote to the emperor: "So much expedition has been used in building houses that many of them have already been finished and others well advanced; and great quantities of stone, lime, wood, and brick, have been collected, which the natives procure, and with which they all build such large, fine houses, that your majesty may be assured this will be, in five years' time, the most noble, populous, and best built city in the whole world."

CHAPTER III.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF FRANCISCO DE GARAY TO PANUCO.

1519-1523.

WHEN, in the year 1518, the fame of the discoveries of Cordova and Grijalva had spread through the whole of the West Indies, Anton de Alaminos and another pilot, who had served on the voyages of those discoverers, persuaded Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, a man who possessed great wealth, to petition the emperor that the discovery of all countries which might lie to the north of the River St. Peter and Paul, might be granted to him. For this purpose Garay dispatched Juan de Torralva to Spain with letters and presents for the president of the council of the Indies (Fonseca), the licentiates Zapata and Vargas, and the secretary Conchillos, who governed the affairs of the Indies just as they thought proper. Garay, therefore, easily obtained the appointment of adelantado and governor of the provinces bordering on the River St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the provinces he should discover.*

In consequence of this appointment, Garay fitted out three vessels, the command of which he intrusted to an officer named Alonzo Alvarez Pineda,† who entered the River Panuco to form a settle-

* A vessel sent by Cortes, in 1535, from the island of Santa Cruz, in the Gulf of California, to Guantepec, was driven by a violent wind, into the mouth of a wide river, to which they gave the name of St. Peter and St. Paul.

On a map by Sr. Sanson, published by Hubert Jaillot, at Paris, in 1719, there is a river St. Peter and St. Paul that enters the Gulf of Mexico south of the river Tuspan, each of which rivers is south of the river Panuco or Tampico. On the same map the river Palmas is the boundary between New Spain or Mexico and Florida, and is represented as the largest river between the Panuco and the Rio del Norte or Rio Grande, and placed about halfway between these two rivers; it therefore appears to be the Santander. Alvaro Nunez, in his account of Narvaez's expedition to Florida, says: "He (Narvaez) had full power to conquer all the country from the river of Palms to the Cape of Florida." And the proclamation of Narvaez has the following: "To the inhabitants of the countries and provinces from the Rio de Palmas to the Cape of Florida," thus showing that the Rio de Palmas was the boundary between Mexico or New Spain and Florida, in 1527, the date of Narvaez's proclamation.

† In the Historical Collection of Louisiana and Florida, by B. F. French, member of the Louisiana and other historical societies, there is the following:

ment there ; but the Indians massacred him and the greater part of his troops, and then set fire to his vessels. One of the captains, however, was so fortunate as to escape, with his men, on board of one of the vessels, and reached Vera Cruz half famished.

Garay, being yet ignorant of the fate of this expedition, sent out two more vessels, under the command of Diaz de Auz and Ramirez ; but when these vessels arrived at the River Panuco and nowhere met with any traces of the other armament, except a few pieces of burnt wood of the first vessels, lying on the shore, they, likewise, put into Vera Cruz. Thus these two expeditions served only to re-enforce Cortes.

Such is the brief account Diaz gives of these two expeditions ; but Cortes is more particular in regard to them, in the second letter, or dispatch, he addressed to the emperor Charles V. In that dispatch, which is dated at Segura de la Frontera, October 30th, 1520, he says :—

“ By a ship that I dispatched from this New Spain of your sacred majesty, on the 16th of July, in the year 1519, I transmitted to your highness a very full and particular report of what had occurred from the time of my arrival in this country* to that date, which I sent by the hands of Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero and Francisco de Montejo, deputies of La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz,† the town I had founded in your majesty’s name.

“ In consequence of a disaster that has recently happened to me I have lost all my papers, including the official records of my proceedings with the inhabitants of these countries, and many other things.‡

“ In my former dispatch I mentioned having received information from the natives, of a certain great lord called Mutezuma. Trusting in the greatness of God and the confidence inspired by the royal name of your highness, I proposed to go and see him wherever he

“ Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda was ordered, by Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, in 1519, to explore the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and in sailing along the coast he discovered the mouths of the Mississippi, and explored all the shore from Panuco to Cape Florida ; and directing his course north, he found that Florida was not an island but a peninsula joined to a great continent (Navarette Viages Menores) in the north ; and afterwards returned to Vera Cruz.”

* According to Bernal Diaz, “ On Holy Thursday of the year 1519, the whole fleet arrived in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua, the present Vera Cruz.”

† Vera Cruz mentioned in these dispatches is the above, founded by Cortes, not far from the present town of that name.

‡ The disaster here alluded to was his expulsion, by the Indians, from the city of Mexico.

might be. I also recollect having engaged to do more than was in my power, in regard to the demand I intended to make of this personage, for I assured your majesty that he should be taken either dead or alive, or become a subject of the royal throne of your majesty. With this determination I departed from the city of Cempoal [Sempoalla], to which I gave the name of Sevilla, on the 16th of August [1519].

"I informed your majesty, I believe, in my former dispatch, that some of those persons that accompanied me, who had been servants and friends of Diego Velasquez, had sought to create disaffection in our ranks, and compel me to abandon the country. The leaders in this business were four Spaniards, who, as they voluntarily confessed, had determined to seize a brigantine then in port, and, after killing the master, to sail for the island of Fernandina [Cuba] for the purpose of informing Diego Velasquez that I had dispatched a ship to your majesty, with the names of those who had sailed in it, and the route it had taken, to enable him to send vessels in pursuit, and capture it. This he afterwards attempted; as I have been informed that he dispatched a caravel after the ship, which he would have taken if it had not passed on the outside.* They also confessed that others had been desirous of sending information to Diego Velasquez. But, besides these, there were others who entered into the same views, on beholding the great number and power of the people of the country, while the Spaniards were so few and inconsiderable. Believing, therefore, that if I left the ships there they would mutiny, and all be induced to depart, leaving me almost alone, and by this means the great service rendered to God and your majesty be made of no avail, I determined, under the pretext that the ships were not seaworthy, to cause them to be stranded on the coast; thus taking away all hope of leaving the country, I pursued my route with greater feeling of security, having no fears, after our backs were turned, that the people I had left at Vera Cruz would desert me.

"Eight or ten days after the ships were stranded, having gone from Vera Cruz towards the city of Cempoal, which is four leagues distant, in order to proceed thence on my route [to Mexico], I received intelligence from the former place that four ships had arrived on the coast, and that the captain I had left there in command had gone out to them in a boat, when he was told they belonged to Francisco de Garay, lieutenant and governor of the island of Jamaica, and had come on a voyage of discovery. The

* North of Cuba, through the Bahama Channel.

captain informed them that I had founded a colony in the country, in the name of your majesty, and built a town one league from where the ships lay; adding that he would accompany them to the place, and apprise me of their arrival, and that if their ships were in want of repairs, they could be made in the harbor, to which he would pilot them in his boat, at the same time pointing out where it was. They replied that they had already seen the harbor, having passed before it, and would do as he suggested. The captain then returned with his boat, but the ships had not followed, nor entered the harbor; they had, however, sailed along the coast, and the captain was at a loss to know their design; he had therefore made me acquainted with the circumstances. I immediately returned to Vera Cruz, where I learned that the ships lay at anchor on the coast three leagues below; and that no one had landed from them. I then went down to the shore with a number of men to reconnoitre the ships, and having got within about a league of them, I met three of their men, among whom was one who styled himself a notary; he had taken the other two with him, as he told me, to witness a certain notification which the captain required him to serve on me, and which he brought there for the purpose, setting forth a certain claim on his part; the substance was that he had discovered this country and intended to colonize it; he therefore required that I should establish with him a line of demarcation; and that he proposed to make a settlement at a place five leagues down the coast, near the former Nautical, a city twelve leagues from Vera Cruz, now called Almería. . . . I caused the men who had sought to serve me with the notification, to exchange clothes with the same number of Spaniards in my party, and I sent the latter to the shore and directed them to call aloud to the ships. As soon as they were discovered, a boat containing ten or twelve men, armed with crossbows and hand-guns, came to land, and the Spaniards who had called to them withdrew from the shore, behind some bushes that grew about there, as if for shade. Four men leaped on shore from the boat, two crossbow-men and two musketeers, who were immediately surrounded by the Spaniards, and taken prisoners. One of them was master of a ship, who applied the match to his hand-gun, and would have slain the captain who had been stationed by me at Vera Cruz, if it had not pleased the Lord that the match should not give fire. The men who remained in the boat put off from the shore, and before they reached the ships the sails were already set without waiting for them, or those on board desiring to know what had become of them. I was informed, by the prisoners I had taken, that they had reached a river thirty

leagues along the coast, after passing Almeria, where they had met with a favorable reception from the natives, who supplied them with provisions in the way of barter; and that they had seen some gold, which the Indians brought, although in small quantities. They obtained in all three thousand castellanos of gold, in trade. That they did not land upon the coast, but approached the towns on the banks of the river so near as to be able to discern the people from the ships; that they had no stone edifices, but all their houses were of thatch, excepting that the ground on which they were built was raised to a considerable height by the labor of the hand. All this I subsequently learned more fully from the great lord Mutezuma, and from certain interpreters of that country that he had with him; whom, together with an Indian brought in those ships from that river and taken prisoner by me, I sent with other messengers from Mutezuma, that they might induce the sovereign of the river which is called Panuco, to enter the service of your majesty. And he sent them back to me with a principal person, or, as they term him, the lord of a town, who gave me on his part, certain cloth, precious stones, and feather-work, and said that he and all his people were willing to be subjects of your majesty, and my allies. I made him presents of various articles from Spain, with which he was greatly pleased; so much so, that when he saw other ships of the before-mentioned Francisco de Garay, the said lord of Panuco sent to inform me that those ships were in another river (Palmas) five or six days' journey from thence;* at the same time he gave them to understand, that if the persons in the ships were countrymen of mine, he would give them whatever they wanted; and accordingly carried them some women, together with chickens and other articles of food."

"Alonzo de Mendoza, a native of Medellin, whom I dispatched from this New Spain on the 5th of March of the past year, 1521, was the bearer of the second relation that I addressed to your majesty, containing an account of all that had transpired in this country, which I finished writing on the 30th of October, 1520;†

* This refers to the last expedition of Garay; when sailing for Panuco, his fleet was carried beyond it to the river Palmas, whence he marched by land to Panuco, while his fleet followed along the coast. The distance here mentioned, "five or six days' journey," appears to indicate that the river Palmas is the same as the Santander.

† The letters of Cortes are numbered, second, third, and fourth; the first, not extant, was sent on the 16th of July, 1519.

The dates of Cortes' letters are as follows: The second letter is "Dated at La Villa de la Frontera, of this New Spain, the 30th of October, 1520."

but on account of unfavorable weather and the loss of three ships, by one of which I had intended to forward my relation to your majesty, and by the others to send for aid to the island of Espanola, much delay arose on the part of Mendoza. In the concluding part of that dispatch I stated, that after we had been expelled from the city of Temixtitlan (Mexico), I had marched against the province of Tepeaca, one of its tributaries that had joined in the rebellion against us; and that, with the assistance of the Spaniards who had survived, and our Indian allies, I had succeeded in reducing it again into subjection to your majesty."

"I also informed your majesty that there had arrived at the port of Vera Cruz a caravel belonging to Francisco de Garay, lieutenant-governor of the island of Jamaica, in great distress, with about thirty persons on board; and that two other ships had sailed for the river Panuco, where the natives had attacked and routed a captain of Francisco de Garay, and it was feared that if these landed there they would likewise suffer from the hostility of the natives. I also wrote to your majesty, that I had taken the precaution to dispatch immediately a vessel in quest of these ships, to advise them of what had occurred; and no sooner had I written this than it pleased God one of the ships should arrive at the port of Vera Cruz, in which came a captain, with about twenty-five men, who was there apprised of what had befallen the other party, according to the information received from the commander himself; and I assured them that if they went to the River Panuco, they would be exposed to great danger from the Indians. While they yet lay in the harbor, with the determination of going to that river, there arose a storm, attended by a violent wind, which forced the ship to depart, with the loss of its cables, and to run into a port on the coast twelve leagues above, called San Juan;* when, after landing all the people, together with seven or eight horses and as many mares, they hauled up the ship for repairs, on account of its having sprung a leak. As soon as I heard these particulars, I wrote immediately to the cap-

The third letter, "From the city of Cuyoacan, in this New Spain of the Ocean-sea, the 15th of May, 1522."

The fourth letter, "From the great city of Temixtitlan, of this New Spain, the 15th day of October, 1524."

Cuyoacan was on the main land, situated on the borders of the lake and near one of the causeways leading to the city of Mexico. Cortes had, until the rebuilding of Mexico, Cuyoacan for his residence after the destruction of the city of Temixtitlan, or Mexico. He dates his fourth letter from Temixtitlan, his city built on the ruins of the Indian city of the same name.

* St. Juan de Ulua, the present Vera Cruz.

tain, assuring him that I regretted very much what had occurred, and that I had sent directions to the commander at Vera Cruz, to afford every possible aid to him and the people with him, supplying them with whatever they required; and that he should ascertain their plans, and, if all or any of them wished to return in the ships that were there, he should give them leave, and allow them to depart freely. The captain and the people who had arrived with him determined to remain, and to join me at the place where I was; but of the other ship we have not received any intelligence to this moment, and as much time has elapsed, we are in great doubt as to her safety.”*

“By an order which your imperial majesty, on the petition of Juan de Rivera, has granted touching the affairs of the adelantado Francisco de Garay, it appears your highness was informed that I had resolved to go or send to the river Panuco for the purpose of establishing peace. One reason was, that there was reported to be a good harbor at the mouth of that river; and, moreover, a number of Spaniards had been killed there, as well the party sent by Francisco de Garay, as another belonging to a ship that afterwards visited that coast, of whom not one was left alive. Some of the natives of those parts had come to me to excuse themselves for these murders, saying that they had committed them with the knowledge that the men did not belong to my company, and alleged that they had been ill-treated by them; but they assured me that if I wished to send any of my people there, they would receive them with much attention, and serve them by all means in their power; that they would be pleased to have me send them; for they feared that some of their enemies with whom they had been engaged, would return to wreak their vengeance on them, since they were their neighbors, and had done them much mischief; but that the Spaniards whom I should order there would be able to protect them.

“When these people came to me, it was out of my power to comply with their request, but I promised them I would do so in as short a time as possible; whereupon they went away contented, having offered for vassals of your majesty ten or twelve towns of those nearest to the limits of the dominions of this city. A few days after they returned to me, earnestly entreating that since I had sent Spaniards to colonize other parts of the country, I would establish a colony amongst them also; otherwise, on account of their having come to me, they would receive much injury from their enemies belonging to the same river, and those on the sea-coast, although they

* Cortes' third letter, dated Cuyoacan, May 15th, 1522.

were of the same race as themselves. In order to comply with the wishes of these persons, and to found a colony, as I was now better supplied with men, I directed a captain to go to that river, taking a certain number of men with him; and while he was on the eve of his departure, I learned by a ship that came from the island of Cuba, that the admiral Don Diego Columbus, and the adelantado Diego Velasquez, and Francisco de Garay, had joined their forces, and confederated together to effect an entrance into the country at that place, in order to do me, as an enemy, all the injury in their power. To prevent their hostile disposition from taking effect, and guard against any disturbance being produced by their arrival, as had happened in the case of Narvaez, I left the city, having taken all the precautions in my power to go in person, in order that, if they or any one of them should arrive, they might meet me before any one else, as I could better avert the danger.

"Thus I departed with one hundred and twenty horse, three hundred foot, and some artillery, besides about forty thousand warriors, natives of this city and its vicinity; and when I had arrived within the limits of the country, full twenty-five leagues before reaching the port, in a large settlement called Ayntuscotaclan, I encountered on the road a large force of the enemy, and engaged with them; but, on account of the great number of our allies, who came to our assistance, and the level ground, well suited for the movements of cavalry, the battle did not last long, although several of my horses and men were wounded, and some of our allies killed; the enemy suffered most, great numbers of them being killed, and their whole force routed. I remained there, in the town, two or three days, both to cure the wounded, and to receive the people who came to acknowledge themselves vassals of your majesty. They followed me to the port, and rendered us every service in their power. In no part of the route did I again encounter an enemy; but on the other hand, as I proceeded along the road, the inhabitants came out to beg my pardon for their past offences, and to offer professions of allegiance to your highness.

"Having arrived at the harbor and river, I took up my quarters in a town five leagues from the sea, called Chila, which had been depopulated and burnt, in consequence of the defeat of the captain and people of Francisco de Garay at that place. From thence I sent messengers to the other side of the river, and to the lakes, on all of which were situated large towns, proclaiming to the inhabitants they need entertain no fears that I would make them suffer for the past, for I well knew that it was in consequence of the ill-treat-

ment they had received from our people that they had risen against them, for which they deserved no blame. Nevertheless none of them would come in, but they abused the messengers and killed some of them; and, as on the other side of the river there was fresh water from which we obtained our supplies, they posted themselves there, and fell upon those who went for the water. Thus I remained for more than fifteen days, thinking I could bring them over by kind acts, and with the hope that, seeing the good treatment of those who came in, they might be induced to follow their example; but they had so much confidence in the security afforded by their lakes, on which they abode, that none of them would come. When I discovered that nothing was gained in this way, I began to seek a remedy; besides the canoes that we had there from the beginning, we took others, and by means of them landed horses and men on the other side of the river during the night, without being observed by the enemy. I passed over myself, leaving the camp carefully guarded; and, as soon as we were discovered, a large body of the enemy came up and attacked us with greater vigor and boldness than I have ever witnessed since I have been in this country; they killed two horses, and wounded more than ten others so badly that they were unable to go. By the aid of our Lord, however, we succeeded in routing them, and pursued them about a league, when many of their number perished. With about thirty horse that remained to me, and a hundred foot, I still continued advancing, and at night lodged in a town three leagues from my camp, which was deserted by its inhabitants. In the temple of this place several articles were found that belonged to the party of Francisco de Garay, who were killed by the natives.

"The next day I advanced along the coast of a lake to find a passage to the other side, where we saw inhabitants and towns; but we spent the whole day without discovering any end to the lake, or place where we could cross it. About the hour of vespers we came in sight of a handsome town, and proceeded toward it; it was situated on the shore of the lake, and when we arrived at the place it was already evening, and no inhabitants were seen. But to insure our safety, I ordered ten horsemen to enter the town by the road to the right, while I with ten others took the other course leading down towards the lake; the remaining ten were to bring up the rear guard, and had not yet arrived. On entering the place there appeared to be a great number of people concealed in ambush within the houses, in order to take us by surprise, who attacked us with such spirit that they killed a horse, and wounded almost all the others, besides many Spaniards. They fought with great me-

thod, and the battle lasted a long time ; although repulsed three or four times, they formed again each time, and kneeling upon the ground in a circle, without speaking or uttering any sound waited for us to come up, when they poured into us a shower of arrows which flew so thick that had we not been protected by armor not one of us would have escaped unhurt. At length it pleased our Lord that some of the enemy, who were nearest to the stream that flowed into the lake along which I had marched all day, threw themselves into the water, when others behind them also began to run towards the stream, and thus a general rout took place, though they only fled to the other side of the river. Thus we remained until night closed in, they on one side and we on the other side of the river, which was too deep for us to cross in pursuit of them, though we were not sorry to have them pass it. So we returned to the town, which was about a sling's throw from the river, where we remained that night as well guarded as possible, and consumed the horse the enemy had killed, having no other provisions. The next day, as the inhabitants did not appear, we took a road that led to three or four towns, in which no people were found, nor anything else except some store-rooms for wine, containing a goodly number of jars of that beverage. During that day we fell in with none of the inhabitants, and slept in the country, where we found some fields of maize, with which our men and horses were somewhat refreshed, and in this manner I proceeded for two or three days, seeing no one, although we passed several towns, until overcome by the want of food (having had during all this time but fifty pounds of bread amongst us all) we returned to the camp, where I found our people in good condition, not having encountered the enemy during our absence. It immediately occurred to me that all the inhabitants of this quarter had gone to that part of the lake which I had been unable to cross. I therefore at night embarked some men and horses in canoes to go in that direction, while the bowmen and musketeers went up the lake, and the rest of the people proceeded by land. In this manner the combined force attacked a large town, in which many of the enemy were surprised and slain ; in consequence of which, finding there was no safety for them, although surrounded with water, being still liable to unexpected assaults, they began to sue for peace ; and thus in about twenty days the whole country was subdued, and the inhabitants submitted themselves as vassals of your majesty.

“ As soon as peace had been established, I commissioned several persons to visit every part of this region, and to bring me a report of the towns and inhabitants ; when this was done, I sought for the best location that I could find, where I planted a town, with the

name of Santistevan del Puerto. In addition to those who desired to remain there to inhabit the town, I transferred to the place the inhabitants of several villages, and having appointed *alcaldes* and *regidores*, I left there my lieutenant as captain, together with thirty horse and one hundred foot, and also a shallop and fishing boat, that had been sent to me from Vera Cruz, to enable them to provide themselves with supplies. A servant of mine had sent to me from the same place a ship loaded with meat, bread, wine, oil, vinegar, and other things, which was wholly lost; and three of the crew yet remained on a small island in the sea, five leagues from land; for when I afterward sent a brigantine, they were found alive, having sustained themselves by feeding upon sea-wolves (seals) and a fruit which they called figs.*

"I assure your majesty that this expedition cost me alone more than thirty thousand pesos of gold, as can be made to appear to your majesty by the rendition of the accounts; and it cost my companions as much more for horses, provisions, arms, and horse-shoes, the latter being worth at that time their weight in gold, and twice their weight in silver. But when we consider that so great an extent of country was reduced to your majesty's service, it appeared to us a happy result, even should a greater expense have been incurred; because, besides placing those Indians under the imperial sway of your majesty, a ship had afterwards arrived there with many people on board, and a great supply of provisions, and discharged her cargo, which they could not have done under other circumstances; for if peace had not been established, not a soul could have escaped. Such had been the fate of another ship, whose company were all massacred; and we had found the faces of the Spaniards flayed in their temples; that is to say, their skins preserved in such a manner that many of them could be recognized.† Even when the adelantado Francisco de Garay arrived in this country neither himself nor any who came with him would have escaped alive; for, being compelled by stress of weather to land thirty leagues below (north) the river Panuco, where they lost some of their ships, and all were driven ashore in distress, they would have perished if the people on the coast had not been at peace with us, who took pains to conduct them to a Spanish town. Thus it is of no slight advantage to have this land in the enjoyment of peace."‡

* "Probably the nopal or Indian fig, the fruit of a species of cactus."

† Caesar de Leon mentions the same custom among Indians not far from Antiocha, in New Granada, South America.

‡ Cortes's fourth letter.

After this, when Garay had learned the great good fortune that had attended Cortes, he resolved to fit out as extensive an armament as he possibly could, and to take command of it himself. He accordingly fitted out a small fleet, consisting of eleven ships and two brigantines, on board of which there were one hundred and thirty horse, and eight hundred and forty foot, most of the latter being armed with muskets and crossbows.* As he was a man of great wealth, he spared no expense in fitting out this splendid armament. With this fleet Garay left the island of Jamaica in the month of June, of the year 1523, and thence sailed into the harbor of Xagua, in the island of Cuba, where he learned that Cortes had already subdued the whole province of Panuco; that he had founded a colony there, and that he had petitioned the emperor to unite the government of this province with that of New Spain, and appoint him viceroy. This greatly disheartened Garay; however, he weighed anchor and sailed in the direction of Panuco. He encountered very boisterous weather, so that he was driven too far north, off the mouth of the river Palmas (Santander), which he entered with his fleet on the day of Santiago de Compostella. Here he sent on shore several of his officers, with a small detachment of troops, who returned with so bad an account of the country that Garay determined to leave this place, and go in search of the river Panuco. He now disembarked the whole of his men and horses, and gave the command of the fleet to an officer named Grijalva, whom he ordered to sail as close as possible to the shore, while he marched with his troops along the coast. The first two days he passed over a desolate and swampy country; he then crossed a river and arrived in a township almost deserted of its inhabitants. He then marched round a large morass, and visited several townships, everywhere meeting with the kindest reception from the inhabitants. On the fourth day they arrived at a very broad river, which they had no other means of crossing but by canoes which were furnished them. The horses swam across, each rider in a canoe leading his horse by the bridle; five, however, were unfortunately drowned. They then encountered another formidable morass, which they passed with great difficulty, and so reached the province of Panuco. But here he found scarcely any provisions. To all this misery was added, that the fleet, on board of which there was abundance of food, had not arrived in the harbor, nor had any tidings of it been received. A Spaniard who had been obliged, on account of some misdemeanor, to leave the town of

* See page 60, Cortes's statement of the forces of Garay.

Santisteban del Puerto, informed Garay's men that there was a town not far off, and a country wonderfully fertile. This excited the men so much that they began to stroll about the country in small bands, plundering every place they came to, and taking the route to Mexico.

Garay, therefore, dispatched a letter to Cortes' commandant at Santisteban, who replied that Garay was at liberty to march his troops into the town of Santisteban, and he would render him every assistance in his power. His reply was perfectly satisfactory to Garay, who thereupon marched his troops close up to the town of Santisteban. In the mean time the fleet, after having lost two vessels in a heavy storm, came to anchor in the mouth of the harbor, and was summoned by Vallejo, the commandant of Santisteban, to run in, or otherwise he should be obliged to treat them as pirates; to which the captains replied, that it was no business of his where they anchored their vessels.

In this posture of affairs the partisans of Cortes were carrying on secret negotiations with the troops, and particularly with the captains of the vessels, which resulted in the surrender of the vessels and forces of Garay to Vallejo.*

The continuation of Cortes' account of Panuco:—

"On my way from the province of Panuco, there met me at a city called Tuzapan two Spaniards, whom, together with several natives of the city of Temixtitan, and others of the province of Soconusco (which is on the upper part of the coast of the South Sea, towards where Pedrarias Davila, a governor of your highness, resides), I had sent to certain cities, of which I had long heard, called Utlatlan and Guatemala, distant two hundred leagues from this great city of Temixtitan, and seventy leagues beyond the province of Soconusco. With these Spaniards came about a hundred natives of those cities, by the command of their caciques, offering themselves as vassals and subjects of your imperial highness, whom I received in your royal name; and I assured them that so long as they proved true to their professions, they would be well treated and favored by me and those associated with me. I gave them presents for themselves and their lords, and I determined to send with them two other Spaniards in order to make the necessary provisions for their journey. Since then I have been informed by some Spaniards whom I have in the province of Soconusco, that those cities, with their provinces, and another called Chicapan, in their neighborhood, no longer entertain the loyal disposition they at

* Diaz.

first manifested, but have even annoyed some towns of Soconusco, because they are friendly to us. On the other hand, however, the Christians write that they have sent messengers to them, and that they disclaim those acts, which they say were committed by others; and in order to ascertain the truth of the matter, I have dispatched Pedro de Alvarado with more than eighty horse and two hundred foot, amongst whom are many bowmen, musketeers, and four pieces of artillery, with an abundance of munitions and powder. At the same time I have fitted out a naval armament, under the command of one Cristobal D'Olid, who came over from Cuba with me, to coast along the North Sea, and establish a colony at the point or cape Hibueras [Honduras], sixty leagues from the Bay of Ascension, which is to the windward of what they call Yucatan, and on the coast above Terra Firma, towards Darien.

"While these two captains were on the point of setting forth on their respective routes, a messenger arrived from Santistevan del Puerto, the town I had settled on the river Panuco, who brought me advices from the alcaldes of that place, that the adelantado Francisco de Garay had arrived at that river with a force consisting of one hundred and twenty horses, four hundred foot, and much artillery, and that he bore the title of governor of the country, as he had informed the natives, by means of an interpreter he brought with him, to whom he had announced his intention to avenge the wrongs they had suffered from me in the past war, declaring to them that they should go with him to drive out the Spaniards I had posted there, and any others I should send; in all which he said he would aid them, and many other scandalous things, which had produced some disturbance amongst the natives.* They added that, in confirmation of my suspicions of a confederacy between him and the admiral [Diego Columbus] and Diego Velasquez, a ship had arrived in the river, a few days after, from the island of Cuba, in which came certain friends and servants of Diego Velasquez, and a servant of the bishop of Burgos† (the latter being said to have been appointed factor of Yucatan), nearly the whole party consisting of servants and relatives of Diego Velasquez, and servants of the admiral. As soon as this intelligence reached me, although I was suffering from an injury to my arm, occasioned by a fall from a horse, and kept my bed, I determined to go and meet

* Though Diaz mentions much the same, yet it has the appearance of exaggeration; but, if true, it exalts so much the more the magnanimous conduct of Cortes to Garay when the latter was overwhelmed with misfortunes.

† Fonseca, the evil genius of Christopher Columbus and Cortes, and a character of the type of Pedrarias.

him, in order to prevent any disturbance, and I immediately sent forward Pedro de Alvarado, with all the force prepared for his intended expedition, proposing to set out myself in two days. When my bed and everything were already on the road, and had reached a place ten leagues from this city, where I was to go the next day to sleep, there arrived a messenger from the town of Vera Cruz about midnight, who brought me letters, received by a ship arrived from Spain, containing an order, signed with the royal name of your majesty, commanding the said Francisco de Garay to desist from any interference on that river where I had established a colony, as your majesty's service was promoted by my holding it in your royal name. On the reception of this order my journey was at an end, which was not a little advantage to my health, as I had not slept for sixty days (six days?) and suffered much pain. Had I gone at that time my life would have been in danger; but I did not regard this, esteeming it better to die on that journey than, by saving my life, to be the cause of great scandal and sedition, and of the loss of many lives, which would be much noised about. I immediately dispatched Diego D'Ocampo, alcalde mayor, with the order, to follow after Pedro de Alvarado, for whom I gave him a letter directing him by no means to approach the place where the adelantado's people were, lest it should give rise to some disturbance. I also directed the alcalde mayor to notify the adelantado of the order and immediately inform me of his answer.

"The alcalde mayor departed with the greatest possible haste, and reached the province of Guastecas, through which Pedro de Alvarado had passed, who had already gone into the interior of the country. As soon as Pedro de Alvarado heard of the arrival of the alcalde mayor, and that I had remained at home, he informed him that a captain of Francisco de Garay, named Gonzalo D'Ovalle, was ravaging the towns of the province with twenty-two horse, and creating some disturbance amongst the people; that he had placed scouts along the road where Alvarado would have occasion to pass, which led the latter to believe that D'Ovalle meant to attack him; and in consequence thereof Alvarado had placed his troops in the best order, until he arrived at a place called Laxas, where he found D'Ovalle, with his men, with whom he had at once obtained an interview, when he told him that he was acquainted with his movements, which had excited his surprise; since the intention of the governor and his captains neither was, nor had been, to attack them or do them any injury, but rather to favor them, and provide whatever their necessities might require; that, since this was so, in order that they might feel secure, and no offence be offered on one side or

the other, he begged it as a favor that the arms and horses of his men should be deposited with him until matters were finally settled. Whereupon Gonzalo D'Ovalle disclaimed what had been alleged concerning his movements, but professed a willingness to do as was proposed ; so the two captains and most of their men came together without any feelings of hostility, or distrust, and shared with one another their food and means of enjoyment. As soon as the alcalde mayor knew this, he sent a secretary of mine, that he had taken with him, named Francisco d'Orduna, to the place where the captains Pedro de Alvarado and Gonzalo d'Ovalle were encamped, with an order to take up the deposit and restore the arms and horses to each one, informing them that it was my intention to assist and befriend them in every way their necessities might require, without giving any uneasiness or disturbing the country by our dissensions. At the same time the alcalde mayor sent another order to Alvarado, bidding him grant them every indulgence, and not to interfere in any way with their affairs, or cause them any trouble, with which he accordingly complied.

“ At this time the ships of the adelantado lay at the mouth of the river Panuco, near the sea, in an offensive attitude towards the inhabitants of the town of Santistevan, which I had built there ; but it was three leagues up the river to the place where the ships that arrived at the port were accustomed to anchor. On this account Pedro de Vallejo, my lieutenant in the town, in order to guard against any danger from the ships, required their captains and masters to ascend to the harbor, and anchor there in a peaceable manner, without disturbing the country ; at the same time directing that if they had any orders from your majesty to enter or settle the country, or of any other purport, they should exhibit them, and promising to obey them, when exhibited, in relation to whatever your majesty should command. To this requisition those officers gave a formal answer, the conclusion was that they refused to do what was required by the lieutenant. The latter, therefore, issued a second order of a similar character, directed to the same officers, to which a penalty was added ; to this they replied as before. Thus they remained with their ships for more than two months at the mouth of the river, giving rise to difficulties among the Spaniards who resided there, as well as among the natives. At length one Castromucho, master of one of the ships, and Martin de San Juan Guipuscuano, master of another, sent privately their messengers to the lieutenant, informing him that they desired peace, and would obey the commands of the magistrate ; they wished, therefore, the lieutenant to come on board the two ships, where they would receive

him and comply with his orders; adding that they would find means to induce the other ships to adopt the same course. The lieutenant, therefore, resolved to go, with only five men, to those ships; and when he reached them he was received by the masters; from thence he sent to the captain Juan de Grijalva, the commander of the whole armament, who was on board the flagship, requiring him to yield obedience to the orders of which the lieutenant had before given him notice. He not only refused, but directed the other ships to join his own, and, when they all had collected around the flagship, except the two before mentioned, he ordered the captains to fire their guns upon the two ships until they sunk them. As the order was publicly given in the hearing of all, the lieutenant commanded the guns of the two ships to be got ready in their defence, which was accordingly done. At this moment the officers of the ships around the flagship refused to obey the orders of Grijalva, and in the mean time Grijalva sent a notary, named Vicente Lopez, to the lieutenant; after he had delivered his message, the lieutenant answered, justifying the course he had taken, and declaring that he had come with pacific intentions, in order to prevent difficulties that would ensue from the ships lying outside of the harbor in which it was customary for vessels to anchor, being like pirates in a suspicious place, as if for the purpose of making a descent upon his majesty's territory, which had an unfavorable appearance; with other remarks of a similar character. Such was the effect of the interview on the notary, that he returned with the answer to Captain Grijalva, and informed him of all the lieutenant had said, at the same time endeavored to induce the captain to obey his orders, since it was evident that the lieutenant was a magistrate appointed by your majesty for this province, whereas Grijalva knew that neither on the part of Francisco de Garay nor his own had any order as yet been produced which the lieutenant and the other burghers of Santistevan were bound to recognize; and that it was a very ugly business for them to approach the territory of your imperial majesty with their ships, like pirates. Influenced by these arguments, Captain Grijalva and the officers of the other ships submitted to the orders of the lieutenant, and went up the river to the usual anchorage ground. When they had arrived within the harbor, the lieutenant directed Grijalva to be arrested on account of his disobedience of orders. But when my alcalde mayor heard of his arrest, he immediately, on the day after, commanded him to be set at liberty, and, together with the rest of the party, to be kindly treated, forbidding anything belonging to them to be touched; which order was accordingly carried into effect.

"The alcalde mayor also wrote to Francisco de Garay, who was in another port ten or twelve leagues distant, informing him that I was unable to visit him, but that I had sent him with full powers to settle our affairs by examining the authority under which each acted, and making such a conclusion as would best promote the service of your majesty. As soon as Francisco de Garay saw the letter of the alcalde mayor, he immediately came where he was, and was well received, both he and his men being well supplied with whatever their necessities required. Both then conferred together and examined the several orders, especially the one your majesty had done me the favor to grant, when the adelantado professed his willingness to acquiesce, and agreed to take his ships and men and seek some other place for his colony beyond the limits designated in your majesty's order. He also requested that, as my disposition was friendly towards him, the alcalde mayor would assist him in collecting his people, as many of those he brought with him desired to remain behind, and others were out of the way; and, likewise, that he would enable him to obtain the necessary supplies for his ships and men. The alcalde mayor immediately provided everything he asked, and made proclamation in the port, where were most of those attached to either party, that all persons who had arrived in the armada of the adelantado Francisco de Garay should follow and rejoin him, under the penalty, if a cavalier, of losing his arms and horse and being surrendered a prisoner to the said adelantado; and, if a foot soldier, of receiving a hundred lashes and being surrendered in like manner.

"The adelantado also requested the alcalde mayor, in consequence of some of his men having sold their arms and horses in the port of Santistevan and elsewhere, that he would cause them to be returned, since his people would be of no use to him without their arms and horses; and the alcalde mayor had proclamation made in all parts where the arms or horses of the people might be, and caused those who had purchased them to return them all to the said adelantado. At his desire also, the alcalde mayor stationed alguazils on the roads to arrest the fugitives and deliver them up prisoners, many of whom were accordingly taken and delivered into custody. He also sent the alguazil mayor with one of my secretaries to the town and port of Santistevan, for the purpose of using similar diligence in making proclamation, and collecting the people who were absent and delivering them up, as well as to obtain supplies to the greatest possible extent for the ships of the adelantado. All this was effected with the greatest diligence, and the adelantado set out for the port to embark; but the alcalde mayor

remained behind with his people, in order not to increase the number at the port, and the better to furnish the supplies of provisions; and he continued there six or seven days to see that all his orders were obeyed, as there was a deficiency of provisions. He then wrote to the adelantado to know if he had any commands, as he was about to return to the city of Mexico, where I resided. The adelantado immediately sent a messenger to him, by whom he represented that he found himself in no condition to depart; that he had lost six of his ships, and those he retained were unfit for service; and that he was engaged in drawing up a statement of the case, in order to apply to me, since he had not the means to enable him to leave the country. He also represented his people as disputing his authority over them, and denying their obligations to follow him, having appealed from the orders of my alcalde mayor, with which they contended they were not obliged to comply for sixteen or seventeen reasons that they assigned. One of these was, that some of those who accompanied him had died of hunger; with others of no great weight, which they addressed to him personally. He likewise stated that all the diligence used in detaining his men proved of no avail; that those who were with him at night disappeared in the morning, and those one day delivered up as prisoners regained their liberty the next day; and that two hundred men had deserted in one night. Finally, he begged in the most piteous terms that the alcalde mayor would not set out until he had arrived, for he wished to accompany him for the purpose of meeting me at this city, and that, if he left him behind, he thought he should hang himself from vexation.

"The alcalde mayor, on seeing his letter, resolved to wait for him; he arrived in two days, as he had written; when a messenger was dispatched to me, by whom the alcalde mayor apprised me of the adelantado's coming to see me in this city, and said that they would travel slowly until they reached the town of Cicoaque, within the limits of these provinces, where he would await my answer. The adelantado also wrote me, describing the miserable condition of his ships and the bad conduct of his men, and declaring his belief that I had it in my power to remedy his difficulties, by providing him with men and other things of which he was in want, but that he knew he could not expect assistance from any other quarter; he had, therefore, determined to come to me in person. At the same time, he offered me his oldest son, together with all that he possessed, and hoped that he should be able to make him my son-in-law, by marrying him to my little daughter. . . . After this, they set out and reached the town of Cicoaque, where the alcalde mayor received

my answer to his letter, in which I expressed my satisfaction at the coming of the adelantado, assuring him that, on his arrival in this city, I would treat with him with the greatest good will on all the subjects mentioned in his letter, and that everything should be done conformable to his wishes. At the same time, I took care that every provision should be made for his personal wants on the road, directing the caciques of the towns through which he would pass to furnish everything in the most ample manner. When the adelantado arrived in this city, I received him with all the kindness, both in word and deed, that I could show to a real brother, for I was truly grieved for the loss of his ships and the desertion of his men, and freely offered to do all in my power for his relief. As the adelantado had expressed a strong desire for the fulfilment of what he had written to me respecting the marriage before mentioned, and importuned me with great earnestness on the subject, I determined to comply with his wishes by having drawn up, with the consent of both parties, and much formality, under oath, certain articles for the conclusion of the marriage and the performance of the agreements on both sides. Thus, besides the feelings inspired by our old friendship, the connection entered into by our children gave rise to others, producing a mutual good will and a desire to promote the welfare of one another, and especially of the adelantado.*

"I have already related to your Catholic Majesty the great exertions made by my alcalde mayor to collect the dispersed people of the adelantado; those efforts, however, proved insufficient to remove the disaffection that prevailed amongst them all; for believing that they would be compelled to go with him, in obedience to the order and proclamation that had been made, they retired into the interior of the country, and dispersed themselves about in different places, in small parties of three or six persons, with such privacy that it was impossible to discover their retreats or bring them in.

* When Garay had approached within a short distance of Mexico, Cortes went out to meet him. Cortes gave him his own new palace to live in, and conversed with him about the posture of affairs at Santistevan. It was at length settled that Garay should continue commander-in-chief of his fleet, and that he should colonize the country on the river Palmas. By these bright prospects, Garay's spirits were again revived. As Cortes was making great alterations in his palace, Garay soon after inhabited the house of Alonzo Vallanueva, who was an intimate friend of his. Narvaez was still in Mexico at this time, and renewed his former friendship with Garay. And Garay soon after even begged Cortes to grant Narvaez and his wife permission to return to the island of Cuba. Cortes not only granted this request, but also gave Narvaez 2000 pesos to defray the expenses of his voyage.—BERNAL DIAZ.

This state of things led to difficulties with the Indians of the province; the sight of the Spaniards scattered in various directions, and the disorders committed by them in seizing the native women and their supplies of food by force, with other outrages and irregularities, caused the whole land to rise, in the belief that the Spaniards were under separate leaders, as the adelantado had proclaimed, on his arrival in the country, through an interpreter whom the Indians could understand. The natives had cunning enough to inform themselves first how and where the Spaniards were to be found, and then fell upon them by night or day in the villages where they were dispersed; and by this means, taking them unawares and unprovided with arms, they destroyed great numbers of them. Thus their boldness rose to such a height that they appeared before the town of Santistevan del Puerto, and attacked it with so much spirit that the inhabitants were alarmed lest the place should fall into their hands; as it would have done had not the people been prepared to receive them, rallying together at a point where resistance could be offered in the most effectual manner, from which they made several sallies upon the enemy and put them to rout. When affairs had reached this pass, I received news of what had taken place by a messenger, a foot soldier, who had escaped by flight from these scenes of disorder, and informed me that the whole province of Panuco had revolted, and that many Spaniards had been slain, especially of the men left there by the adelantado, together with some of the inhabitants of the town; and from the extent of the insurrection, I was led to believe that not a Castilian had been left alive. God our Lord knows what were my feelings on the receipt of this intelligence, especially when I reflected that no part of this country had cost us so much as that which we were now on the point of losing. The adelantado was so much affected by the news, as well on account of his appearing to have been the cause of the disaster, as from his having a son and all that he possessed in that province, that his grief caused him to be siezed with an illness of which he died three days after.*

"The Spaniard who brought the first news of the revolt of the Indians of Panuco, gave no other account of what had taken place

* On Christmas eve of the year 1523, Garay accompanied Cortes to church to attend midnight mass performed by Father Olmedo; after mass they both returned home in high spirits, and sat down to breakfast, when it appears that Garay, who was not in very good health, caught cold, by standing in a draught, which ended in pleurisy accompanied by a violent fever. Though physicians attended him, the disease continually grew worse, so that he died four days after.—DIAZ.

than that he, with three cavaliers and a foot soldier, had been attacked while entering a town called Tacetuco ['Tanjuco']* by the inhabitants of that place, who killed two of the cavaliers and the foot soldier, with the horse of the other cavalier, who had himself escaped together with our informant under cover of the night; and that they had seen consumed by fire the quarters occupied by the lieutenant in that town with fifteen horsemen and forty foot, where they were expected, and from the appearances there exhibited he believed all of them had been slain.

"In order that your majesty might be more particularly informed of what subsequently occurred, I waited six or seven days after obtaining the first news to receive further intelligence; in which time there arrived another messenger from the lieutenant, who remained in the town of Tenertequipa, which is subject to this city, and situated on the line dividing the Mexican territory from that province. The latter wrote me that he was in the town of Tacetuco with fifteen horse and forty foot, expecting the arrival of more men who were to join his force, as he was going to the other side of the river to reduce certain towns that proved hostile; and that during the night, just before dawn, his quarters were surrounded by a multitude of Indians, who set them on fire; that they mounted their horses, but with so much haste, being taken by surprise, supposing the place to be loyal, as it had been till then, that all were killed except himself and two other cavaliers, who escaped by flight. His horse had been slain, but one of the cavaliers had taken him up on his horse behind himself, and they had thus made their escape. Two leagues from that place they had fallen in with an alcalde of the town, and several people, from whom they received shelter, but did not stop long, for they fled in company with him out of the province. He had gained no intelligence of the people left in our colony, nor of those of Francisco de Garay, who were scattered in different directions, none of whom he believed remained alive; for after the adelantado came there with his company, and told the natives of that province that I had no business with them, as he was the governor whom they ought to obey, and encouraged them to unite with him in driving out of the country the Spaniards who were there under my authority, they had annoyed the colony and the people I had sent to it, and were never

* "Tanjuco is now a small Indian village on the Panuco, one hundred and twenty-seven miles from its mouth by the course of the river, and about half that distance by land. Here Captain Lyon (in 1826) heard the Guasteca language spoken. *Journal*, etc., I. 75. This intelligent traveller made a particular examination of the river Panuco, the results of which appear in the appendix to his journal."

afterwards willing to serve a Spaniard. They had murdered some whom they met alone on the public roads, and I believe had all acted in concert in what they had done; for they had attacked the lieutenant, and the people who were with him, and probably the inhabitants of the town, and all the rest who were dispersed about the villages, unsuspecting of any insurrection, as the natives had until then served them without the slightest symptoms of ill blood.

"Having satisfied myself, by this fresh intelligence, of the existence of a rebellion amongst the natives of that province, and of the murder of several Spaniards, I dispatched, with the greatest possible expedition, a force consisting of fifty cavaliers and one hundred foot, including bowmen and musketeers, together with four pieces of artillery, much powder, and other munitions, under the command of a Spanish captain [Gonzalo de Sandoval], accompanied by two natives of this city, each at the head of fifteen thousand of their countrymen. I directed the captain to march with the utmost speed to that province, and exert himself to enter it without stopping anywhere, unless it should be absolutely necessary, until he arrived at the town of Santistevan del Puerto, in order to obtain intelligence of the inhabitants and people who had been left there; for it might be that they were invested by the enemy, and in want of succor. The captain accordingly took up his line of march with all possible expedition, and entered the province. He encountered the enemy at two places, but God our Lord granting him the victory, he pursued his way until he reached the town, where he found twenty-two of the cavalry and one hundred foot besieged by the enemy, with whom they had fought six or seven engagements; by means of their artillery they had so far succeeded in the defence of the place, although unable to hold out much longer even with the greatest exertions in their power; and if the captain I had sent there had delayed his march three days, not one of them would have survived, for they were already perishing with famine. They had sent to Vera Cruz one of the vessels belonging to Francisco de Garay, to carry me intelligence of their situation (as there was no other way), and to bring them provisions, which they obtained, but not until after they had been relieved by the force I sent. It was ascertained that the people left by the adelantado Francisco de Garay, in a town called Tamiquil, amounting to about a hundred Spanish foot and horse, had been all cut off, except one Indian of the Island of Jamaica, who escaped by taking refuge in the mountains. From him they learned that the place had been taken in the night. It was found that there had perished two hundred and ten of the adelantado's people, and forty-three of the citizens left by

me in Santistevan, who at the time of the massacre were visiting the villages that had been intrusted to their care. I am inclined to believe that there were even more of the adelantado's people, all of whom were not recollected.

"The force in the province, including the division under the captain, and the troops with the lieutenant and alcalde, together with those found in the town, comprised only eighty horse,* and, being distributed into three detachments, carried the war with such vigor against the enemy, that about four hundred of the caciques and principal persons were taken prisoners, without reckoning any of the lower class; all of whom, I mean the principal persons, were burned, according to the sentence of the magistrate, after they had confessed themselves to have been the instigators of the whole war, each one admitting that he had been present at the death of Spaniards, and concerned in killing them. This done, the others who had been made prisoners were set at liberty and restored to their villages; and the captain appointed new caciques in the villages, from amongst the persons to whom the succession belonged according to their rules of inheritance. At this time I received letters from the captain and others who were with him, assuring me (blessed be our Lord!) that the whole province had been restored to peace and security."†

* Besides thirty thousand Mexican allies, according to Cortes's previous statements. See, the whole force, on page 69.

† From Cortes's fourth letter, dated, "From the great city of Temixtitlan, of this New Spain, the 15th day of October, 1524." These letters, under the title of "The Dispatches of Hernando Cortes," were translated into English from the original Spanish, by George Folsom, secretary of the New York Historical Society, Member of the American Antiquarian Society, etc.

Some, if not all of the surviving followers of Francisco de Garay, were sent by Cortes to form a colony in Honduras, as appears from Bernal Diaz.

CHAPTER IV.

JUAN PONCE DE LEON—DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA.

1509–1521.

COLUMBUS discovered Porto Rico in 1493, and changed the name of Boriquen, which the Indians gave it, to that of John the Baptist. He stopped there some days, in a bay to the west. This island was neglected until 1508. When Juan Ponce de Leon, about the year 1509, conquered the island, he founded a town upon the borders of the sea, in a place very convenient for vessels, to which he gave the name of Porto Rico. The island has, in consequence, taken the same name.*

Juan Ponce de Leon was a native of Leon, in Spain. From an early age, he had been schooled to war, and had served in various campaigns against the Moors of Granada. He accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, in 1493. Having distinguished himself in various battles with the Indians, and acquired a name for sagacity as well as valor, he received a command subordinate to Juan de Esquivel in the campaign against Higüey,† and so valiantly seconded his chief in that expedition that, after the subjugation of the province, he was appointed to the command of it as lieutenant of the governor of Hispaniola. He had not been long in tranquil command of the province of Higüey before he began to cast a wistful eye towards the green mountains of Boriquen, which was but twelve or fourteen leagues distant. The Indians of the two islands frequently visited each other, and in this way Ponce received intelligence that the mountains of Boriquen abounded in gold. He asked of the governor Oyando permission to visit it, and having obtained it, he equipped a caravel, and embarked for it with about a hundred armed soldiers. He landed upon a coast which belonged to a cacique, named Agüeyhãna, who was the richest and most powerful of the island. The Spaniards were received with great marks of friendship. The cacique, believing that he could not better prove it

* Richer.

† The most easterly province of Hispaniola or St. Domingo, and also the name of the Indian chief who ruled it.

to them than in adopting the name of him who appeared to be their general, caused himself to be named Juan Ponce Agueyhana. He conducted his guests into all parts of the island, and upon the borders of two rivers (Manatuabon and Zebuco), whose sands were mingled with much gold. Ponce then hastened to carry this happy news to Ovando. He left a part of his people on the island, who were very well treated by the natives during his absence.

As soon as he arrived at San Domingo, he solicited of Ovando the government of the island of Boriquen, which was granted him. He then, preparatory to the conquest of the island, made a visit there to make himself acquainted with the nature and resources of the inhabitants. He found the companions whom he had left there in good health and spirits, and full of gratitude towards Agueyhana, who had treated them with undiminished hospitality. After remaining some time on the island, he returned to San Domingo, but to his surprise he found the whole face of affairs had changed during his absence.

The governor Ovando had been recalled to Spain, and Diego Columbus, son of the renowned discoverer, appointed in his place; besides a cavalier, Christoval de Sotomayor, already arrived from Spain, empowered by the king to form a settlement, and build a fortress on the island of Porto Rico. Diego Columbus was highly displeased with this act of the king, as derogatory to his prerogative, as viceroy, to be consulted as to all appointments made within his jurisdiction. He therefore refused to put Sotomayor in possession of the island, and paid as little respect to the claims of Juan Ponce de Leon. He chose officers to suit himself, appointing Juan Ceron to the government of Porto Rico, and Miguel Diaz to be his lieutenant.

Ponce and Sotomayor bore their disappointment with a good grace, and, in hopes of improving their fortunes, joined the crowd of adventurers who accompanied the new governor to the island.

New changes soon took place, for when Ovando, on his return to Spain, made favorable representation of the merits and services of Ponce, the king appointed him governor of Porto Rico, and signified specifically that Diego Columbus should not presume to displace him.

Ponce then, 1509, fitted out quite a considerable armament and repaired there, but he did not find as much facility in establishing himself there as he had anticipated. Agueyhana had died during his absence, and his brother did not like the Spaniards as much as he. Nevertheless, Ponce commenced building a town, called Caparra, which he founded on the northern side of the island, about a league from the sea. It was in front of the port called Rico,

which subsequently gave its name to the island. The road to this town was up a mountain, through a dense forest, and so rugged and miry that it was the bane of man and beast. Ponce, being firmly seated in his government, began to distribute the natives into repartimientos, as had been done in the island of St. Domingo. Then the gentleness of the Indians was changed into rage. However, they still regarded the Spaniards as gods descended from heaven, which restrained them; but they sought every possible means to deliver themselves from a yoke which was insupportable to them. They assembled secretly, and decided that it was necessary to know positively if the strangers were immortal. One of the caciques, named Brayau or Brayuan, was charged with this commission. He soon acquitted himself of it. A young Spaniard, named Saliedo or Salzedo, travelled to his house and remained there several days to rest himself. When he wished to leave, Brayau had him accompanied by several Indians, whom he charged to carry his pack, and to aid him on the difficult roads. Having arrived at a river, an Indian, charged with secret orders by the cacique, took him upon his shoulders to carry him across the stream; but, when he arrived in the middle of the river, he allowed himself to fall with the Spaniard. The other Indian who accompanied him then joined him to prevent the Spaniard from rising. When they perceived that he no longer moved, they drew his body upon the shore. Nevertheless, fearing that he was not dead, they made excuses to him for having let him swallow so much water, protesting that this accident grieved them, and that they had made all haste to assist him. While they held this discourse they did not cease to turn him, and to observe if he gave any signs of life. They remained three days with the dead body performing this comedy. Finally, seeing that the corpse began to putrefy, they went to inform Brayau of what had happened. He wished to convince himself personally of the fact, to inform the other caciques of the island. The islanders, undeceived of the pretended immortality of the Spaniards, resolved to make way with them. Their precautions were so well taken that they surprised the Spaniards without defence, and massacred about a hundred of them before the others knew the danger that threatened them.

In arranging the massacre of those within his own domains, Agueyhana assigned to one of the inferior caciques the task of surprising the village of Sotomayor, giving him three thousand warriors for that purpose. He was to assail the village at midnight, to set fire to the houses, and to slaughter all the inhabitants. He, however, proudly reserved to himself the honor of killing Sotomayor. This cavalier had won the affections of the daughter of an

Indian chief. She had heard enough of the war council to learn that Sotomayor was in danger. She told him all that she knew and feared, and warned him to be upon his guard; but Sotomayor disregarded her warnings.

About the same time, a Spaniard versed in the language and customs of the natives had observed a number of them gathering together one evening, painted and decorated as for battle. Suspecting some lurking mischief, he stripped and painted himself in their manner, and, favored by the darkness of the night, mingled among them undiscovered. They were assembled around a fire, performing their mystic war-dances. They repeatedly mentioned the name of Sotomayor. The Spaniard withdrew unperceived, and hastened to apprise Sotomayor of his danger, who, revolving during the night the warnings which he had received, determined to repair in the morning to Caparra, the stronghold of Ponce. But in the morning he had the imprudence to ask Agueyhana for Indians to carry his baggage, and departed slightly armed, accompanied by only three Spaniards.

"The cazique watched his departure, and set out shortly afterwards with a few chosen warriors, dogging his steps at a distance through the forests. They had not proceeded far when they met a Spaniard named Juan Gonzalez, who spoke the Indian language. They immediately assailed him and wounded him in several places. He threw himself at the feet of the cazique, and implored his life. The chief spared him for the moment, being eager to overtake Sotomayor. He stealthily approached him through the forest, and, suddenly rushing with his warriors upon him, gave him a blow with his war-club that felled him to the earth, when he was quickly dispatched with repeated blows. The Spaniards that accompanied him shared the same fate.

When Agueyhana had glutted his vengeance on this unfortunate cavalier, he returned in quest of Juan Gonzalez. But the latter had recovered sufficiently from his wounds to climb a tree and conceal himself among its branches. Fortunately, his pursuers did not think of looking up into the tree, but after searching all the surrounding forest gave up the search and left. But Gonzalez, though they had departed, did not venture from his concealment until night. He then descended and made the best of his way to certain Spaniards, where his wounds were dressed, when he immediately repaired to Caparra, and informed Juan Ponce de Leon of the danger that threatened him.

In the mean time, the savages had destroyed the village of Sotomayor. They approached it unperceived through the forest, and,

entering at the dead of night, set fire to the straw-thatched roofs and attacked the Spaniards as they endeavored to escape from the flames. Several were slain at the onset, but a brave Spaniard, Diego de Salazar, rallied his countrymen to beat off the enemy, and succeeded in conducting the greater part of them, though sorely mangled and harassed, to Caparra. Scarcely had these fugitives gained the fortress, when others came hurrying from all quarters, bringing similar tales of conflagration and massacre. All the villages on the island founded by the Spaniards had been surprised, about a hundred of their inhabitants destroyed, and the survivors forced to take refuge in Caparra.

Ponce was not easily daunted. He remained ensconced within his fortress, whence he dispatched messengers in all haste to Hispaniola, imploring immediate assistance. In the mean time he tasked his wits to divert the enemy, and keep them at bay. He divided his little force into three bodies of about thirty men each, under the command of Diego Salazar, Miguel de Toro, and Luis de Anasco, and sent them out alternately to make surprises and assaults; to form ambuscades, and to practise the other stratagems of partisan warfare, which he had learned in early life in his campaigns against the Moors of Grenada.

One of the most efficient warriors was a dog named Berecillo, renowned for courage, strength, and sagacity. It is said that he could distinguish those of the Indians who were allies from those who were enemies of the Spaniards. To the former he was docile and friendly, to the latter fierce and implacable. He was the terror of the natives, who were unaccustomed to powerful and ferocious animals, and he did more service in this wild warfare than several soldiers. His master received for the service of this dog the pay and share of booty assigned to a crossbow-man, which was the highest stipend given.

At length Ponce was reinforced by troops from Hispaniola, whereupon he boldly sallied forth to take revenge upon those who had thus held him in a kind of durance. His foe, Agueyhana, was at that time encamped in his own territory with more than five thousand warriors, but in a negligent state, for he knew nothing of the reinforcements of the Spaniards, and supposed Ponce shut up with his handful of men in Caparra. The old soldier took him completely by surprise, and routed him with great slaughter. Agueyhana, however, stirred up his countrymen to assemble their forces, and by one grand assault to decide the fate of themselves and their island. Ponce received secret tidings of their intent, and of the place where they were assembled. He had at that time barely eighty

men at his disposal, but they were cased in steel, and proof against the weapons of the savages; without stopping to reflect, the old cavalier put himself at their head, and led them through the forest in quest of the foe.

It was nearly sunset when he came in sight of the Indian camp. The sight of the multitude of Indian warriors there made him pause, and almost repent of his temerity. However, ordering some of his men in the advance to skirmish with the enemy, he hastily threw up some breastworks with the rest; when it was finished he withdrew his forces into it, and ordered them to keep merely on the defensive. The Indians made repeated attacks, but were as often repulsed with loss. The cacique, enraged at finding his warriors thus baffled, and finding the night closing in, and fearing that in the darkness the enemy might escape, summoned his choicest warriors, and, placing himself at their head, led the way in a general assault, but as he approached the breastworks he received a mortal wound from an arquebuse, and fell dead upon the spot.

The Spaniards were not at first aware of the importance of the chief they had slain. They, however, soon surmised it from the confusion among the enemy, who bore off the body with great lamentations, and made no further attack. Ponce took advantage of this to draw off his small force during the night, happy to get out of the terrible jeopardy into which his rash confidence had betrayed him.

While Ponce was fighting hard to maintain his sway over the island, King Ferdinand, having repented of the step he had taken in superseding the governor and lieutenant-governor appointed by Diego Columbus, and becoming convinced that he was infringing the rights of Columbus, and that policy and justice required him to retract it, sent back Ceron and Diaz empowered to resume the command of the island. They were, however, ordered on no account to manifest any ill will against Ponce, but to cultivate the most friendly understanding with him. The king also wrote to Ponce explaining to him that this proceeding of the council was not intended as a censure upon his conduct, but a mere act of justice, and that he should be indemnified for the loss of his command. By the time the new governor and lieutenant reached the island, Ponce had completely subjugated it.

This island was so populous that the Spaniards would have found extreme difficulty in conquering it, if the inhabitants had not been convinced that the new succours, which had arrived from the island of San Domingo without their knowledge, were the same whom they had slain who had revived to fight them. This idea caused them to regard resistance as useless. They submitted to the dis-

cretion of the conquerors, who employed them in the mines where nearly the whole of them perished.

Ponce resigned the command of Porto Rico. The loss of one wild island was of little moment when there was a new world to be shared out, where a soldier like Ponce, with sword and buckler, could readily carve out a fortune for himself. Ponce had now amassed a fortune sufficient to assist him in his plans, and his brain was teeming with the most visionary enterprises. Some old Indians had informed him of a country [Bimini], far to the north, abounding in gold and all manner of delights, but above all possessing a fountain of such wonderful virtue that whosoever bathed in it would be restored to health and youth. They added that in time past, before the arrival of the Spaniards, a large party of the natives of Cuba had departed northward in search of this happy land, and of this fountain of life, and had never returned.*

Ponce listened to these tales with fond credulity. So fully was he persuaded of the existence of this region of bliss, and of this river of life, that he fitted out three ships at his own expense to sail in search of them, nor had he any difficulty in finding adventurers in abundance ready to cruise with him in quest of this fairy land.

It is not astonishing that a story so absurd should have found some credit among a simple and ignorant people, such as the natives were, but that it should have been able to make any impression upon enlightened men, is that which now appears almost incredible. The fact of it is, however, not the less certain, and the Spanish historians the most credible, have related these extravagant traits of their credulous fellow countrymen. The Spaniards were, at this epoch, engaged in a career of activity which every day revealed to them extraordinary and wonderful objects which gave a romantic turn to their imaginations. A new world presented itself to their view. They visited islands and continents of which Europeans had never imagined the existence. In these delightful countries nature seemed to present itself under new forms: every tree, every plant, every animal, was different from those of the ancient hemisphere. The Spaniards believed themselves transported to enchanted countries, and after the wonders which they had already witnessed, in the first ardor of their imagination there was nothing, however extraordinary, that appeared incredible to them. If a rapid succession of new and astonishing scenes made such an impression upon the intelligent mind of Columbus that he boasted of having found the seat of Paradise, we ought not to deem it strange that Ponce expected to discover the fountain of youth.

* Fontanedo in his account of Florida mentions this fact.

On the 3d of March, 1512, Ponce sailed with three ships from the port of St. Germain, in the island of Porto Rico. For some distance he kept along the coast of Hispaniola, and then stretching away to the northward, made for the Bahama Islands (Luccas or Los Cayos). He visited one island after another, until, on the fourteenth of the month, he arrived at Guanahani, or St. Salvador (the island where Columbus first landed in the New World, Friday, October 12th, 1492). His inquiries for the island of Bimini and the fountain of youth were all in vain. Still he was not discouraged. Having repaired his vessels, he again put to sea, and steered his course to the northwest. On Sunday, the 27th of March, he came in view of a more extensive range of land than he had previously seen. It was crowned with magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs and vines, which presented an enchanting prospect. In navigating along its shores, his ships were violently agitated by the currents, arising from the action of the gulf stream, which rushes here with concentrated force through the Bahama channels, and from which he gave to the southern cape the name of Corrientes (Currents). He continued hovering about it for several days, until in the night of the 2d of April, he succeeded in coming to an anchor under the land, in $30^{\circ} 8'$ of N. latitude.* The whole country was in the fresh bloom of spring; the trees, trellised with vines, were gay with blossoms, and fragrant with delicious odors; the fields were covered with flowers; from which circumstance, as well as having discovered it on Palm Sunday (Pascua Florida), he gave it the name of Florida. Ponce landed and took possession of the country in the name of the Castilian sovereigns. He afterwards continued for several weeks ranging the coast. He doubled Cape Canaveral, and reconnoitered the southern and western shores, still believing that it was an island. In all his attempts to explore the country, he met with resolute and implacable hostility from the Indians. He was disappointed also in his hopes of finding gold and the fountain of rejuvenation. Convinced, therefore, that this was not the land of Indian tradition, he turned his prow homeward on the 14th of June.†

In the outset of his return, he discovered a group of islands, abounding in sea fowl and marine animals. On one of them his

* Near the mouth of the St. John River, according to the latitude.

† The bay of Tampa on some old maps is called the bay of Ponce de Leon, so he must have explored much of both coasts of the present peninsula of Florida. Besides, when on the voyage of Cordoba, in 1517, the pilot Alaminos landed on the western coast of Florida, he recognized the place as that he had visited with Ponce when he discovered the country.

sailors, in the course of a single night, caught one hundred and seventy turtles, and might have taken more. To this group, Ponce gave the name of Tortugas (Turtles).

Proceeding on his cruise, he touched at another group of islets, near the Lucayos, to which he gave the name of La Vieja (Old Woman), because he found a solitary old woman there, whom he took on board to give him information about the labyrinth of islands into which he was entering. For a long time he struggled with all kinds of difficulties and dangers, and was obliged to remain more than a month in one of the islands to repair the damages which his ship had suffered in a storm.

Disheartened at length, he gave up the search in person, and sent in his place Juan Perez de Ortubia, who departed in one of the ships, guided by the old woman and another Indian. As to Ponce, he made the best of his way to Porto Rico. He had not been long in port, when Perez likewise arrived, who reported that he had found the long sought for Bimini.* He described it as being large, verdant, and covered with beautiful groves. There were crystal springs and limpid streams in abundance, which kept the island in perpetual verdure, but none that could restore youth to old age. Thus ended the chimerical expedition of Juan Ponce de Leon.

Ponce now repaired to Spain to make a report of his voyage to King Ferdinand, who conferred on him the title of adelantado of Bimini and Florida, which last was yet considered an island. Also permission was granted him to recruit men, either in Spain or in the colonies, for a settlement in Florida. But, probably discouraged or impoverished by his last expedition, he deferred entering on his command for the present.

At length another enterprise presented itself to Ponce. The Caribs had become a terror to the Spanish inhabitants of the islands. So frequent were their invasions of the island of Porto Rico, that it was feared it would have to be abandoned. In 1514 King Ferdinand ordered that three ships, well armed and manned, should be fitted out at Seville to free the seas from these marauders. The command of this armada was given to Ponce. He was instructed, in the first place, to assail the Caribs of those islands most contiguous and dangerous to Porto Rico, and then to make war upon those of the mainland in the neighborhood of Carthagera. He was afterwards to take the captaincy of Porto Rico, and attend to the repartimientos of the Indians in conjunction with a person to be appointed by Diego Columbus.

Ponce, full of confidence, set sail January, 1515, and steered

* Bossu says the island of Providence is Bimini.

direct for the island of Guadeloupe, where he cast anchor, and sent men on shore for wood and water, and women to wash the clothes of the crew, with a party of soldiers to guard them.* While these people were scattered carelessly along the shore, the Caribs rushed from an ambuscade, killed the greater part of the men, and carried off the women to the mountains. This blow at the very outset of his expedition sank deep into the heart of Ponce, and put an end to all his military excitement. Humbled and mortified, he set sail for the island of Porto Rico, where, under pretext of ill health, he relinquished all further prosecution of the enterprise, and gave the command of the squadron to Captain Zuniga. Ponce remained in Porto Rico as governor, where he gave great offence and caused much contention in regard to the repartimientos, having grown irritable through vexation and disappointment.

He continued for several years in that island, until the brilliant exploits of Cortes aroused his dormant spirit. Jealous of being eclipsed in his old days, he determined to sally forth on one more expedition. He had heard that Florida, which he had hitherto considered a mere island, was a part of the mainland, presenting a great field of enterprise wherein he might make discoveries and conquests. Ponce, therefore, in the year 1521, fitted out two ships at the island of Porto Rico, and embarked almost the whole of his property in the undertaking. At length he arrived at the wished-for land and made a descent upon the coast with a great part of his men, but the Indians sallied forth with unusual valor to defend their shores. A bloody battle ensued, several Spaniards were slain, and Ponce was wounded by an arrow in the thigh. He was borne on board his ship, and, finding himself disabled for further action, sailed for Cuba, where he died soon after his arrival.

The following epitaph was inscribed upon his tomb:—

*Mole sub hac fortis requiescunt ossa Leonis
Qui vicit factio nomina magna suis.*

Which has been paraphrased in Spanish, by Juan de Castellanos, thus:—

Aqueste lugar estrecho
Es sepulcro del varon,
Que en el nombre fue Leon.
Y mucho mas in el hecho.†

* At that time it was customary for all vessels sailing to the New World to touch at the island of Guadeloupe for the above purposes.

† This account of Juan Ponce de Leon is taken principally from the third volume of Washington Irving's "Life of Columbus." Extracts have also been taken from the first volume of the "Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in North America," by Hugh Murray; and from the sixteenth volume of "Histoire Moderne," by Richer.

CHAPTER V.

THE VOYAGE OF JUAN VERAZZANI ALONG THE ATLANTIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

1524.

THE voyage of Juan Verazzani in the year 1524 is the first authentic voyage along the Atlantic coast of the territory now that of the United States.

The Spaniards of Cuba, following in the wake of Ponce de Leon, soon found their way to Florida, and made expeditions, of which one object soon became the iniquitous practice of carrying off the Indians as slaves. A considerable time elapsed before attempts began to be made for the actual conquest and occupation of Florida.

While the nations both of the north and the south of Europe had made vigorous efforts for the exploration of America, the French flag had not yet appeared in the western seas. A monarch of such spirit as Francis the First, however, could not be contented to see his rival Charles the Fifth carrying off the brilliant prizes offered by the New World. He, however, found himself under the same necessity of Charles the Fifth, of Spain, and Henry the Seventh, of England, to employ foreign science and skill to guide his fleets into those distant seas.*

Juan Verazzani, a Florentine who had distinguished himself by successful cruises against the Spaniards, was sent, with a vessel called the Dauphin, to the American coast.

In the narrative of his voyage, Verazzani sets out from the little island or rock near Madeira, called the Desertas. About midway across the Atlantic, he encountered one of those disasters to which the navigators of that age, in consequence of their small vessels, were so liable. His little bark had nearly perished. It survived, however, and, happily completing the rest of his voyage, arrived on a coast, which, according to him, was never seen by any either of

* Christopher Columbus, John Cabot, Americus Vesputius, and Juan Verazzani were all Italians. And Marco Polo, who in the year 1291 conducted a fleet from Pekin to Ormus, on the Persian Gulf, was also an Italian.

the ancients or moderns, and which appears to have been some part either of Carolina or Florida.*

The following extract contains Verazzani's account† of the new country, which he reached on the 20th of March, 1523:—

"At first it appeared to be very low, but on approaching it to within a quarter of a league from the shore, we perceived by the great fires near the coast that it was inhabited. We perceived that it stretched to the south, and coasted along in that direction in search of some port, in which we might come to anchor, and examine into the nature of the country, but for fifty leagues we could discover none in which we could be secure. Seeing the coast still stretching to the south, we resolved to change our course and stand to the northward, and as we still had the same difficulty, we drew in with the land, and sent a boat on shore. Many people, who were seen coming to the seaside, fled at our approach, but occasionally stopping, they looked back upon us with astonishment, and some at length were induced by various friendly signs to come to us. These showed the greatest delight in beholding us, wondering at our dress, countenance, and complexion. They then showed us by signs where we could more conveniently secure our boat, and offered us some of their provisions. Of their manners and customs, I will relate as briefly as possible what we saw.

"They go entirely naked, except that about the loins they wear skins of small animals like martens, fastened by a girdle of plaited grass, to which they tie all round the body the tails of other animals, hanging down to the knees; all other parts of the body and head are naked. Some wear garlands similar to bird's feathers.

"The complexion of these people is black, not much different from that of the Ethiopians. Their hair is black and thick, and not very long; it is worn tied back upon the head in the form of a little tail. In person, they are of good proportions, of middle stature, a little above our own, broad across the breast, strong in the arms, and well formed in the legs and other parts of the body; the only exception to their good looks is, that they have broad faces, but

* "Historical Account of Discovery and Travels in North America," by Hugh Murray, F.R.S.E.

† "The North American Review for October, 1837, contains an account of the researches of George W. Green, Esq., the American consul at Rome. He found at Florence a manuscript of Verazzani's letter of the 8th of July, 1524, to the king of France. Mr. Green having furnished the Historical Society of New York a copy of this manuscript, a translation of it from the Italian was made by Joseph G. Cogswell, Esq., a member of that society, and published in 1841, in the second series of the society's collection."—"Early Voyagers to America," by Conway Robinson.

not all, however, as we saw many that had sharp ones, with large black eyes and a fixed expression. They are not very strong in body, but acute in mind, active and swift of foot, as far as we could judge by observation. In these two particulars they resemble the people of the east, especially those the most remote. We could not learn a great many particulars of their usages on account of our short stay among them, and the distance of our ship from the shore. We found not far from this people another whose mode of life we judged to be similar.*

"The whole shore is covered with fine sand, about fifteen feet thick, rising in the form of little hills about fifty paces broad. Ascending [northeastwardly] farther we found several arms of the sea which made in through inlets, washing the shores on both sides as the coast runs. An outstretched country appears at a little distance, rising somewhat above the sandy shore in beautiful fields and broad plains, covered with immense forests of trees more or less dense, too various in colors, and too delightful and charming in appearance to be described. Adorned with palms, laurels, cypress, and other varieties unknown in Europe, that send forth the sweetest fragrance to the greatest distance; but which we could not examine more closely for the reasons before given, and not on account of any difficulty in traversing the woods, which, on the contrary, are easily penetrated.

"As the 'East' stretches around this country, I think it cannot be devoid of some medicinal and aromatic drugs, and various riches of gold and the like, as is denoted by the color of the ground. It abounds also in animals, as deer, stags, hares, and many other similar, and with a great variety of birds. It is plentifully supplied with lakes and ponds of running water, and being in the latitude of 34° † the air is salubrious, pure, and temperate, and free from the extremes of both heat and cold. There are no violent winds in these regions; the most prevalent are the northwest and west. In summer, the season in which we were there, the sky is clear, with but little rain; if fogs and mists are at any time driven in by the south wind, they are instantaneously dissipated, and at once it becomes serene and bright again. The sea is calm, not boisterous, and its waves are gentle. Although the whole coast is low and without harbors, it is not dangerous for navigation, being free from

* This is the first account of the Indians of this part of the Atlantic coast, and is much the same as that given by later voyagers.

† Probably east of Cape Fear River, and between that river and Cape Look-out. The description of the coast and depth of water appear to suit that locality.

rocks, and bold, so that within four or five fathoms from the shore there are twenty-four feet of water at all times of tide, and this depth constantly increases in an uniform proportion. The holding ground is so good that no ship can part her cable, however violent the wind, as we proved by experience; for while riding at anchor on the coast we were overtaken by a gale in the beginning of March, when the winds are high, as is usual in all countries; we found our anchor broken before it started from its hold, or moved at all.

"We sailed from this place, continuing to coast along the shore, which we found stretching out to the '*east*;' the inhabitants being numerous, we saw everywhere a multitude of fires. While at anchor on this coast, there being no harbor to enter, we sent the boat on shore with twenty-five men to obtain water, but it was not possible to land without endangering the boat, on account of the immense high surf thrown up by the sea, as it was an open roadstead. Many of the natives came to the beach, indicating by various friendly signs that we might trust ourselves on shore. One of their noble deeds deserves to be made known. A young sailor was attempting to swim ashore through the surf to carry them some knick-knacks, as little bells, looking-glasses, and other like trifles; when he came near three or four of them, he tossed the things to them, and turned about to get back to the boat, but he was thrown over by the waves, and so dashed by them that he lay as it were dead upon the beach. When these people saw him in this situation they ran and took him up by the head, legs, and arms, and carried him to a distance from the surf; the young man, finding himself borne off in this way, uttered very loud shrieks in fear and dismay, while they answered as they could in their language, showing him that he had no cause for fear. Afterwards they laid him down at the foot of a little hill, when they took off his shirt and trowsers, and examined him, expressing the greatest astonishment at the whiteness of his skin. Our sailors in the boat, seeing a great fire made up, and their companion placed very near it, full of fear, as is usual in all cases of novelty, imagined that the natives were about to roast him for food. But as soon as he had recovered his strength after a short stay with them, showing by signs that he wished to return aboard, they hugged him with great affection, and accompanied him to the shore; then leaving him that he might feel more secure, they withdrew to a little hill, from which they watched him until he was safe in the boat. This young man remarked that these people were black, like the others; that they had shining skins, middle stature, and sharper faces, and very delicate bodies and limbs, and that they were inferior in strength, but quick in their minds.

"Departing hence, and always following the shore, which stretched to the north, we came in the space of fifty leagues to another land, which appeared very beautiful and full of the largest forests. We approached it, and going ashore with twenty men, we went back from the coast about two leagues, and found that the people had fled and hid themselves in the woods for fear. By searching around, we discovered in the grass a very old woman and a girl of about eighteen or twenty, who had concealed themselves for the same reason. The old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a little boy eight years of age; when we came up to them they began to shriek, and made signs to the men who had fled to the woods. We gave them a part of our provisions, which they accepted with delight, but the girl would not touch any; everything we offered her being thrown down in great anger. We took the little boy from the old woman to carry with us to France, and would have taken the girl also, who was very beautiful and very tall, but it was impossible because of the loud shrieks she uttered as we attempted to lead her away; having to pass some woods, and being far from the ship, we determined to leave her and take the boy only. We found them fairer than the others, and wearing a covering made of certain plants [probably moss] which hung down from the branches of the trees, tying them together with threads of wild hemp; their heads were without covering, and of the same shape as the others. Their food is a kind of pulse, which there abounds, different in color and size from ours, and of a very delicious flavor. Besides, they take birds and fish for food, using snares and bows made of hard wood, with reeds for arrows, in the ends of which they put the bones of fish and other animals. The animals in these regions are wilder than in Europe, from being continually molested by the hunters. We saw many of their boats, twenty feet long and four feet broad, made out of one tree without the aid of stone or iron or other kind of metal. In the whole country, for the space of two hundred leagues, which we visited, we saw no stone of any sort. To hollow out their boats, they burn out as much of a log as is requisite, and also from the prow and stern, to make them float well on the sea. The land, in situation, fertility, and beauty, is like the other, abounding also in forests filled with various kinds of trees, but not of such fragrance, as it is more northern and colder.

"We saw in this country many vines growing naturally, which entwine about the trees and run up upon them as they do in the plains of Lombardy. We have often seen the grapes which they produce very sweet and pleasant, and not unlike our own. They must be held in estimation by them, as they carefully remove

the shrubbery from around them wherever they grow, to allow the fruit to ripen better. We found also wild roses, violets, lilies, and many sorts of plants and fragrant flowers different from our own. We cannot describe their habitations, as they are in the interior of the country, but from various indications we conclude they must be formed of trees and shrubs.

"After having remained here three days, riding at anchor on the coast, as we could find no harbor, we determined to depart and coast along the shore to the northeast, keeping sail on the vessel only by day, and coming to anchor by night. After proceeding one hundred leagues we found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea; from the sea to the estuary of the river, any ship heavily laden might pass with the help of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not venture up in our vessel, without a knowledge of its mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering the river, we found the country on its banks well peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of various colors. They came towards us with evident delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing us where we could most securely land with our boat. We passed up this river, about half a league, when we found it formed a most beautiful lake three leagues in circuit [diameter?], upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats, from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals.* Weighing anchor we sailed fifty leagues towards the east, as the coast stretched in that direction, and always in sight of it; at length we discovered an island of a triangular form, about ten leagues from the main land, in size about equal to the island of Rhodes, having many hills covered with trees,† and well peopled, judging from the great number of fires we saw around its shores. We did not land there, as the weather was unfavorable, but proceeded to another place, fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a very excellent harbor.‡ Before entering it we saw about twenty small boats full of people, who came about our ship, uttering many cries of astonishment, but they would

* New York Harbor.

† Block Island.

‡ Newport.

not approach nearer than within fifty paces ; stopping, they looked at the structure of our ship, our persons and dress, afterwards they all raised a loud shout together, signifying that they were all pleased. By imitating their signs, we inspired them in some measure with confidence, so that they came near enough for us to toss them some little bells and glasses, and many toys, which they took and looked at, laughing, and then came on board without fear. Among them were two kings more beautiful in form and stature than can possibly be described ; one was about forty years old, the other about twenty-four. The oldest had a deerskin around his body, artificially wrought in damask figures ; his head was without covering ; his hair was tied back in various knots ; around his neck he wore a large chain ornamented with many stones of different colors. The young man was similar in his general appearance. This is the finest looking tribe, and the handsomest in their costumes, that we have found in our voyage. They exceed us in size, and they are of a very fair complexion ; some of them incline more to a white, and others to a tawny color ; their faces are sharp, their hair long and black, upon the adorning of which they bestow great pains ; their eyes are black and sharp, their expression mild and pleasant, greatly resembling the antique. The other parts of their body are all in good proportion, and such as belong to well-formed men. Their women are of the same form and beauty, very graceful, of fine countenances, and pleasing appearance in manners and modesty ; they wear no clothing except a deerskin ornamented like those worn by the men ; some wear very rich lynx skins upon their arms, and various ornaments upon their heads, composed of braids of hair, which also hang down upon their breasts on each side. Others wear different ornaments, such as the women of Egypt and Syria use. The older and the married people, both men and women, wear many ornaments in their ears, hanging down in the oriental manner. We saw upon them several pieces of wrought copper,* which is more esteemed by them than gold, as this is not valued on account of its color, but is considered by them as the most ordinary of metals,—yellow being the color especially disliked by them ; azure and red are those in the highest estimation with them. Of those things which we gave them, they prized most highly the bells, azure crystals, and other toys to hang in their ears and about their necks ; they do not value or care to have silk or gold stuffs, or other kinds of cloth, nor implements of steel or iron. When we showed them our arms, they

* Copper ornaments were not uncommon among Indians, in certain localities in America, before the introduction of European trinkets and utensils.

expressed no admiration, and only asked how they were made; the same was the case with the looking-glasses, which they returned to us, smiling, as soon as they had looked at them. They are very generous, giving away whatever they have. We formed a great friendship with them, and one day we entered into the port with our ship, having before rode at the distance of a league from shore, as the weather was adverse. They came off to the ship with a number of their little boats, with their faces painted in divers colors, showing us real signs of joy, bringing us of their provisions, and signifying to us where we could best ride in safety with our ship, and keeping with us until we had cast anchor. We remained among them fifteen days, to provide ourselves with many things of which we were in want, during which time they came every day to see our ship, bringing with them their wives, of whom they were very careful; for although they came on board themselves, and remained a long while, they made their wives stay in the boats; nor could we ever get them on board by any entreaties, or any presents we could make them. One of the two kings often came with his queen and many attendants, to see us for his amusement; but he always stopped at the distance of about two hundred paces, and sent a boat to inform us of his intended visit, saying he would come and see our ship—this was done for safety, and as soon as they had an answer from us they came off, and remained awhile to look around; but on hearing the annoying cries of the sailors, the king sent the queen with her attendants in a very light boat, to wait near an island a quarter of a league distant from us, while he remained a long time on board, talking with us by signs, and expressing his fanciful notions about everything in the ship, and asking the use of all. After imitating our modes of salutation, and tasting our food, he courteously took leave of us. Sometimes, when our men stayed two or three days on a small island near the ship, he came with seven or eight of his attendants, to inquire about our movements, often asking if we intended to remain there long, and offering us everything at his command, and then he would shoot with his bow, and run up and down with his people, making great sport for us. We often went five or six leagues into the interior, and found the country as pleasant as is possible to conceive, adapted to cultivation of every kind, whether of corn, wine, or oil;* there are open plains twenty-five or thirty leagues in extent, entirely free from trees or any hinderances, and of so great fertility, that whatever is sown there will yield an excellent crop. On entering the woods, we observed they might all be traversed by an army ever so numerous; the trees

* As much as to say the olive tree would grow there.

of which they were composed were oaks, cypresses, and others unknown in Europe. We found also apples, plums, filberts, and many other fruits, but all of a different kind from ours. The animals, which are in great numbers, as stags, deer, lynxes, and many other species, are taken by snares, and by bows, the latter being their chief implement; their arrows are wrought with great beauty, and for the heads of them they use emery, jasper, hard marble, and other sharp stones, in the place of iron. They also use the same kind of sharp stones in cutting down trees, and with them they construct their boats of single logs, hollowed out with admirable skill, and sufficiently commodious to contain ten or twelve persons. Their oars are short, and broad at the end, and are managed in rowing by force of the arms alone, with perfect security, and as nimble as they choose. We saw their dwellings, which are of a circular form, of about ten or twelve paces in circumference,* made of logs split in halves, without any regularity of architecture, and covered with roofs of straw, nicely put on, which protects them from wind and rain. They change their habitations from place to place, as circumstances of situation and seasons may require. This is easily done, as they have only to take with them their mats, and they have other houses prepared at once. The father and the whole family dwell together in one house in great numbers. In some we saw twenty-five or thirty persons. Their food is pulse, as with other tribes, which is here better than elsewhere, and more carefully cultivated. In the time of sowing, they are governed by the moon, the sprouting of grain, and many other ancient usages. They live by hunting and fishing, and they are long lived. If they fall sick they cure themselves without medicine, by the heat of fire, and their death at last comes from extreme old age. We judge them to be very affectionate and charitable towards their relatives—making loud lamentations in their adversity, and in their misery calling to mind all their good fortune. At their departure out of life, their relations mutually join in weeping, mingled with singing for a long time.

“This region is situated in the parallel of Rome, being $41^{\circ} 40'$ of north latitude, but much colder from accidental circumstances, and not by nature. I shall confine myself at present to the description of its local situation. It looks towards the south, on which side the harbor is half a league broad; afterwards, upon entering it, the extent between the coast and north is twelve leagues, and then, enlarging itself, it forms a very large bay, twenty leagues in cir-

* Probably twenty-five or thirty feet in diameter. Twenty-five or thirty persons would hardly be stowed in a room eight or ten feet in diameter.

cumference, in which are five small islands of great fertility and beauty, covered with large and lofty trees. Among these islands any fleet, however large, might safely ride without fear of tempests or other dangers. Turning towards the south, at the entrance of the harbor, on both sides, there are very pleasant hills, and many streams of clear water, which flow down to the sea. In the midst of the entrance there is a rock of free-stone, formed by nature, and suitable for the construction of any kind of machine or bulwark for the defence of the harbor.

“ Having supplied ourselves with everything necessary, on the 5th of May we departed from the port, and sailed one hundred and fifty leagues, keeping so close to the coast as never to lose it from our sight. The nature of the country appeared much the same as before, but the mountains were a little higher, and all, in appearance, rich in minerals. We did not stop to land, as the weather was very favorable for pursuing our voyage, and the country presented no variety. The shore stretched to the east, and fifty leagues beyond, more to the north, where we found a more elevated country, full of very thick woods of fir trees, cypresses, and the like, indicative of a cold climate. The people were entirely different from the others we had seen, whom we had found kind and gentle, but these were so rude and barbarous that we were unable, by any signs we could make, to hold communication with them. They clothe themselves in the skins of bears, lynxes, seals, and other animals. Their food, as far as we could judge by several visits to their dwellings, is obtained by hunting and fishing, and certain fruits, which are a sort of root of spontaneous growth. They have no pulse, and we saw no signs of cultivation. The land appears sterile and unfit for growing of fruit or grain of any kind. If we wished at any time to traffic with them, they came to the seashore and stood upon the rocks, from which they lowered down by a cord, to our boats beneath, whatever they had to barter, continually crying out to us not to come nearer, and instantly demanding from us that which was to be given in exchange. They took from us only knives, fish-hooks, and sharpened steel. No regard was paid to our courtesies; when we had nothing left to exchange with them, the men at our departure made the most brutal signs of disdain and contempt possible. Against their will we, with twenty-five men, penetrated two or three leagues into the interior. When we came to the shore, they shot at us with their arrows, raising the most horrible cries, and afterwards fleeing to the woods. In this region we found nothing extraordinary except vast forests, and some metalliferous hills, as we infer from seeing that many of the people wore copper ear-rings.

"Departing from thence, we kept along the coast, steering north-east, and found the country more pleasant and open, free from woods; and distant in the interior we saw lofty mountains,* but none that extended to the shore. Within fifty leagues we discovered thirty-two islands, all near the main land, small and of pleasant appearance; but high and so disposed as to afford excellent harbors and channels, as we see in the Adriatic Gulf, near Illyria and Dalmatia. We had no intercourse with the people, but we judged that they were similar in nature and usages to those we were last among. After sailing between east and north the distance of one hundred and fifty leagues more, and finding our provisions and naval stores nearly exhausted, we took in wood and water and determined to return to France, having discovered seven hundred leagues of unknown land."†

Murray says, in regard to this last course: "Another course of one hundred and thirty miles brought them to the land discovered by the Bretons, in about 50° north latitude, and which is therefore Newfoundland. Verazzani's stores being now exhausted, he took in wood and water, and returned to France. Verazzani had thus completed a survey of seven hundred leagues of coast, including the whole of that of the United States, and a great part of British America, forming one of the most extended ranges of early discovery. He returned to France in high hopes and spirits, and laid before Francis the First plans not only for completing the discovery of the American coast, but for penetrating into the interior of the continent, and also for colonizing some part of this vast and fertile region. That monarch seems to have welcomed the proposal with his characteristic ardor, since Ramusio speaks of the immense liberality with which he was disposed to favor it, and from which the most important results were expected. Verazzani did indeed set out on another voyage; but its records are equally brief and fatal. Ramusio gives neither date nor place, nor country; but states that, having landed with some of his crew, he was seized by the savages, killed and devoured in the presence of his companions on board, who sought in vain to give any assistance. Such was the fate of one of the most eminent navigators of that age, whom Forster ranks as similar to Cook, both as to his exploits during life, and the dreadful mode of his death."‡

* Probably the White Mountains of New Hampshire.

† "Early Voyages to America," by Conway Robinson, member of the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society.

‡ "Historical Account of Travels and Discoveries in North America," by Hon. Hugh Murray.

Verazzani states that his intention in this voyage [1523] was to reach Cathay [China] on the extreme coast of Asia; not doubting that he could penetrate by some passage to the Eastern Ocean.

The fate of Verazzani is involved in some mystery. If Francis the First received the letter of Verazzani in any short time after it was written, it must have been at a time when his thoughts were wholly occupied by his war with Charles the Fifth. Francis laid siege to Pavia in 1524, was defeated there the 24th of February, 1525, and after having two horses killed under him, and receiving himself three wounds,* fell, with his principal officers, into the hands of the enemy. It was on this occasion that he wrote to his mother "all is lost except our honor." He was carried to Madrid and kept in confinement until after the treaty of the 14th January, 1526. It has been suggested that Verazzani on his return to France, seeing from the condition of his king no chance of further employment by his government, left its service. Mr. Biddle states that Verazzani got into communication with Henry the Eighth, and refers, as a proof of this, to the following statement in an edition of Hakluyt, published in 1582. "Master John Verarzanus, which had been thrice on that coast, in an old excellent map which he gave to Henry the Eighth, and is yet in the custody of Master Lock, doth so lay it out as is to be seen in the map annexed to the end of this book, being made according to Verarzanus' plat."†

* "L'Histoire de France," printed at Paris in 1773, vol. ii. p. 462.

† "An Account of Discoveries in the West until 1519, and of Voyages to and along the Atlantic Coast of North America, from 1520 to 1573," by Conway Robinson.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPEDITION OF PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ TO FLORIDA, AND THE
WANDERINGS OF ALVARO NUNEZ CABEZA DE VACA.

1527-1536.

NARVAEZ was released by Cortes in the latter part of the year 1523. His estate in Cuba must have required his immediate attention; so it must have been soon after settling his affairs in Cuba that he sailed for Spain, where he obtained of the emperor full power to conquer all the country from the River de las Palmas (now the Santander) to the cape of Florida. For this purpose he set out from the haven of San Lucar de Barrameda on the 17th of June, 1527, with a fleet consisting of five vessels, wherein were about six hundred men, besides friars and spiritual people. The principal officers were Alvaro Nunez Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer and alguazil mayor, Agozino, provost marshal, Alonzo Enriquez, auditor, Alonzo de Solis, factor, and Pamfilo de Narvaez, adelantado.

The fleet stopped at the port of St. Domingo about forty-five days to procure necessities, during which time more than a hundred and forty men abandoned it. The rest proceeded to Santiago de Cuba, where Narvaez obtained men in the place of those who had deserted him, and also a supply of arms and horses. Here Vasco Porcallo offering some provisions that he had at Trinidad, a town one hundred leagues from Santiago, the fleet proceeded thither, but stopped at a port called Santa Cruz, about halfway, whence Narvaez sent Captain Pantoja, in one vessel, accompanied by Alvaro Nunez, in another, to get the provisions at Trinidad, while he remained at Santa Cruz, with the rest of the fleet, to which he had added a vessel purchased at St. Domingo.

While the two vessels were in the port of Trinidad, there arose so tremendous a hurricane that the like had scarcely ever been witnessed, even in these climes. The walls and houses continually falling around them made it impossible to remain in the town without the utmost peril. The inhabitants issued forth seven or eight linked together, that they might avoid being carried away by the wind, and they sought refuge in the woods; but here the trees falling or torn up by the roots on every side caused equal alarm.

All night they seemed to hear loud cries, with the sound of flutes, drums, and trumpets, which doubtless were only the varied voices of the tempest. In the morning there appeared such a scene of desolation as they had never before witnessed. The trees lay strewed on the ground, and every leaf and plant was destroyed. On turning to the sea they beheld a spectacle still more sorrowful, for, instead of the vessels, only some of their wrecks were seen floating on the face of the deep. They searched along the coast for any remains that might have been cast ashore, but found only a small boat carried to the top of a tree, some clothes torn in pieces, and the bodies of two men so mangled that they could not be recognized. Seventy persons and twenty horses, that were on board at the time of the hurricane, went down with the vessels, and of all the equipage, only about thirty persons, who had gone ashore, survived. These remained at Trinidad until the 5th of November, when Narvaez arrived with his four vessels. Here he passed the winter, while Alvaro Nunez, with the vessels and company, went to winter at Xagua, twelve leagues from Trinidad.

On the 20th of February, 1528, Narvaez arrived at Xagua with a brigantine bought at Trinidad, and a pilot named Miruelo, whom he had engaged because of his knowledge of the coast of Florida. Two days afterwards the governor embarked with four hundred men and eighty horses in five vessels, one of which was a brigantine. After doubling Cape St. Anthony, the western extremity of the island of Cuba, and after suffering considerably by tempests in coasting along the island to Havana, the fleet ran across to the coast of Florida. In this course they met with dangers not much inferior to the former, being once in danger of perishing all together by running on shoals, and at another time by a raging tempest. On the 11th or 12th of April the fleet anchored at the entrance of a bay, on which was an Indian village. The next day the governor went to the Indian village, which he found abandoned. In it they found a house so large that it could contain three hundred persons. The day after, Narvaez planted the royal standard and took possession of the country in the name of the emperor. He landed as many horses as remained alive, being forty-two. On the following day the Indians visited him, and by signs seemed to indicate that they wished him to leave the country.

The governor afterwards, accompanied by Alvaro and forty men, set out to go into the interior. Going in a northerly direction they reached a very large bay; they passed the night there, and returned to the vessels the next day. After sending the pilot Miruelo with the brigantine to gain a particular port (which he said he knew), or

else go to Havana and bring thence a vessel loaded with provisions, the governor, with the same persons who had been on the previous expedition, reinforced with some additional soldiers, penetrated again into the interior. They coasted the bay which they had discovered, and, after making four leagues, took four Indians, who conducted them to their town a little distance off, at the end of the bay. Here there was some corn not yet ripe. There was also a number of boxes, in each of which was a dead body wrapped in deer-skins. The commissary, supposing these were objects of idolatry, caused the boxes and bodies to be burnt [though it was but a pious custom of these Indians thus to preserve the remains of their relatives]. They also saw here some pieces of painted cloth and plumes of feathers, but the sight of some gold greatly excited the avidity of the Spaniards, who became most inquisitive about it, how and where they got it. The Indians, by signs and words, gave them to understand that it came from a far-distant province called Apalache, where they might find great quantities of it. Taking the Indians for guides, they proceeded ten or twelve leagues further, when they came to a village of fifteen houses, near which were large fields of corn fit to be gathered. After halting two days, they returned to the vessels on the 30th of April.

Miruelo had undertaken to guide the fleet into a secure and commodious harbor, instead of which he had brought it into a mere open road, and now declared himself quite out of his reckoning, and at a loss whither to steer; however, the governor decided that the vessels should follow the coast until they found the port that Miruelo knew, or any other convenient harbor, and that the troops should proceed on land in the same direction. On the first of May the Spaniards—three hundred strong, of whom forty were mounted, set out. After marching fifteen days, without seeing an Indian or a house, they at length arrived at a river which they crossed with much trouble, the current being very strong. On the other side there were about twelve hundred Indians, to whose houses, about half a league off, they were conducted. In the neighborhood was a large quantity of maize ready to be gathered. The Spaniards, fatigued with marching, and enfeebled by hunger, enjoyed here three days rest. Then Alvaro Nunez, with Captain Castillo and forty soldiers, set out to seek a port, but finding themselves impeded by the river, which they had already crossed, returned. The following day the governor ordered Captain Valençuela with sixty men and six cavaliers to cross the river and descend it to the sea, and discover a port if he could. This officer returned, after two days, saying he had explored the bay and found it had shallow water and no port.

In answer to the governor's inquiries respecting Apalache, the Indians informed them that the Apalachens were their enemies, and that they were ready to aid in whatever might be undertaken against that people. Narvaez now resolved to push at once into the interior for Apalache. But Alvaro Nunez opposed this resolution, urging that they should re-embark, and sail on till they should find a secure harbor and a fertile country, from which, as a base, they might penetrate into the interior. Only the secretary supported this opinion; all the rest, dazzled with the hope of wealth, and impressed with the dangers of the sea, cordially seconded the governor's proposal. Alvaro Nunez still remaining obstinate, Narvaez sarcastically remarked that, since he was so dreadfully alarmed at the idea of marching into the interior of the country, he might take charge of the ships, which he deemed a so much safer task. At this the Castilian pride of Alvaro took fire. He declared that though he did not expect that they would ever return, but that they would leave their bones on this savage land, yet he was determined to share every extremity with his countrymen rather than expose his honor to the slightest imputation. The fleet was, therefore, committed to an officer of the name of Carvallo,* and all preparations made for the expedition to the interior.

The Spaniards then marched for the province called by the Indians Apalache, carrying for guides those whom they had taken. On the 17th of June they saw an Indian chief, accompanied by many people, who was made to understand by signs that they were going to Apalache. He seemed to be an enemy of this nation, and willing to aid in the expedition. After an exchange of presents, he left them, and they followed the route he had taken. In the evening they arrived at a very deep, wide, and rapid river; not venturing to pass it upon rafts, they constructed a large canoe for that purpose. A day was spent in crossing. A bold horseman entering the river was thrown from his horse by the force of the current and both were drowned. The horse, being found by the Indians, afforded the Spaniards that night the only hearty meal they had enjoyed for many days. After a long and fatiguing march, during which they suffered much from hunger, they at length arrived near Apalache, on the 25th or 26th of June, 1528.

* Five leagues from the place of embarkation Carvallo perceived a bay which entered the land seven or eight leagues: it was the same that had been discovered by those on land; the place where they saw the boxes with dead bodies. Three of the ships entered this port. The vessel which returned from Havana with the brigantine was for a year seeking those on land, and not finding them sailed for New Spain.

The village of Apalache contained forty small houses. Narvaez ordered Alvaro Nunez, with fifty infantry and nine cavalry, to enter and take possession of it. This he easily did, as all the men were absent and only women and children in the place. The warriors, however, soon appeared, and attacking the Spaniards, discharged a shower of arrows, one of which killed a horse, but not being able to resist the Spaniards they retreated into the woods. Two days after they appeared in a pacific mood, and begged the Spaniards to restore them their wives and children. These were given up to them; but the governor retained as a hostage one of their caciques, who had been the cause of the hostility. It soon was found that their enmity was in no degree abated; for the next day they attacked so furiously the Spaniards, that they succeeded in firing some of the houses; and though again quickly repulsed, fled with such celerity into the woods and marshes, that only one could be killed. The next day an equally brisk attack was made with similar result. The Spaniards were greatly annoyed, but retained possession of the village twenty-five days, during which they made three journeys into the interior.

The Spaniards being now convinced that the brilliant wealth which had allured them into this laborious and perilous expedition was a mere chimera, they began to feel themselves in an evil plight, for though the Indians could not face them in the field, they hemmed them closely in, and every man or horse that happened to straggle from the main body, was overwhelmed with a shower of arrows. At length they learned that to the *south* was the country of Aute, which was situated on the sea-coast [on the Bay of St. Mark] and abounded in corn. They therefore renounced all their chimeras of gold and conquest, and determined to set out in search of the coast of Aute.

They commenced their march, and the first day crossed some lakes without meeting with any Indians. On the second day, while they were struggling through a swamp, with the water up to their breasts, the air was suddenly obscured by clouds of arrows, discharged by Indians concealed behind trees and logs, with which the marsh was filled. With bows eleven or twelve spans long, and thick as a man's arms, they discharged arrows to the distance of two hundred yards with almost unerring precision, and with such force that they penetrated the thickest armor, and severely wounded both man and horse.(2) In the fight an arrow struck a Spaniard in the head, and, notwithstanding his head-piece, made its way almost from one side to the other. The Indians, when seen, being tall and naked, and moving with great swiftness, had, in the eyes of the Spaniards,

almost the appearance of supernatural beings. No movement of attack could be made until the Spaniards were extricated from the lagoon, and then the ground was so encumbered that the cavalry could not act, and the Indians, even when dispersed, soon rallied and renewed the attack. Thus the Spaniards were allowed no rest till after the Indians' stock of arrows was exhausted. The expedition then proceeded without further molestation, and finally arrived at the village of Aute, nine days after their departure from Apalache.*

The inhabitants of Aute had abandoned the place, but a good store of corn was found in it. After the Spaniards had rested here two days, Alvaro Nunez, accompanied by captain Castillo, Andres Dorantes, seven cavaliers, and fifty foot soldiers, set out to seek the sea. They marched till evening, when they came to the banks of a river, which opened at some distance below into a broad arm of the sea. They found here a great quantity of oysters, with which they regaled themselves. The next day the coast was reconnoitred, and then the party returned to Aute, where they found the governor and a third of his men sick, and the rest likely to become so. The situation was such as to call for the most serious reflection. A general meeting was called, and every one was asked what he had to propose. After long deliberation there appeared only one resource which offered a gleam of hope, and this was to construct boats and sail along the coast to Panuco. They therefore applied themselves to the task. One of them out of wooden pipes, and the skins of wild beasts, contrived to make a pair of bellows, by the operation of which their stirrups, spurs, and crossbows were converted into nails, saws, and hatchets. Their shirts cut open and sewed together made sails, the pine trees afforded tar, the moss of the cypresses served as oakum, the fibres of certain trees and horse hair formed their cords. But they were much perplexed for vessels to carry their fresh water, to supply which defect they flayed their dead horses, and sewed their skins together into convenient forms, and so used them for better things, for that purpose. A horse was killed every three days, and its flesh distributed partly to the working hands, partly as a dainty to the sick. The construction was commenced with a single carpenter, but the men set to work with so much ardor that between the 4th of August and the 20th of September they made five vessels of twenty-two cubits in length.

* Notwithstanding the distance or time given, there is every appearance that Apalache visited by Narvaez is the same that was visited by De Soto, and a reference to the account of the expedition of the latter will show this very clearly.

According to their calculation they had made a journey of about two hundred and eighty leagues* from the bay where they first landed to Aute. And in this time about forty men had died of sickness or hunger, without counting those that had been killed by the Indians. On the 22d of September, 1528, having prepared for the voyage, they embarked forty-nine men in the bark of the governor; the contador and the commissary with a like number in another; Captains Alonzo de Castillo and Andrez Dorantès and forty-eight men in the third; Captains Telles and Penalosa with forty-seven men in the fourth; and Alvaro Nunez in the last with the comptroller and forty-nine men. Thus two hundred and fifty men embarked in these five boats; but they were so crowded that they could not turn nor move in them. Not more than a fourth part of each boat was above the water. In this plight they put out, giving to the bay they left the name Baya de los Cavallos [the Bay of Horses], probably from having slaughtered their horses there. And thus was begun one of the most hazardous voyages that ever was undertaken by men; but necessity which obliged them to it has no law. They voyaged westwardly,† and after seven days' sailing arrived at an island that lies near the land, where some of the company landed, and got some little recruits at the houses of the Indians upon the same; they saw some of those people too in their canoes, but they would not stay till the Spaniards came up to them, but made off and left the canoes at their disposal. These canoes the Spaniards attached to their boats, and thus were enabled to make themselves somewhat less incommoded. They then proceeded on their voyage, and after sailing two leagues passed a strait, between the island and the mainland, to which they gave the name St. Miguel. They sailed along the coast for about thirty days without finding any secure haven or opportunity of refreshment, being still in the same perplexity that they were at first setting out, as to the knowledge of the country and their right way home. Hunger and thirst prevailed grievously amongst them all this while, and they had no sight of any people, but sometimes a few Indian fishers, a poor and miserable sort of wretches that were not able to relieve them, nor would come near them. Some of their men died with drinking large

* In Spain the common league is 4.216, and the legal 2.635 (nearly two and two-thirds) statute miles. The latter is the league alluded to.

† What is remarkable here is, that they should have sailed westwardly for Panuco, instead of endeavoring to reach the island of Cuba. It perhaps may have been their dread of crossing the Florida Channel, while to reach Panuco they had only to follow the coast westwardly, having no dangerous channels to cross. They certainly could not have been ignorant of the great difference in the distances of these two places.

draughts of salt water, which they could not forego, the thirst that possessed them was so great. Their sufferings were aggravated by a severe storm, which continued for six days; at the end of which, and when they were almost at the point of giving up all for lost, when weathering a point of land, they discovered a fine and secure bay with a considerable village where there appeared to be safe and easy landing, and several canoes of Indians came out to see them. But the barbarians having just looked upon them went away again; however the Spaniards followed them ashore to their houses, before the entrance to which they found great quantities of fish, and pots of fresh water. The cazique had more civility than his subjects, and offered all this fish and water to Narvaez and his companions, and more than that, invited them to his house. The Spaniards were not ungrateful to these people for their hospitable treatment, but presented them some trifles which they had brought. The cazique's house was neatly made of mats, and he was covered with a mantle made of marten sable which smelt like musk or rather like ambergris; some others had fur mantles too, but none like the chiefs. Mutual presents were exchanged, and such a cordial intercourse established that Narvaez agreed to spend the night in the house of the chief. At midnight the village was attacked by a hostile tribe of Indians; the cazique fled with all his people, and the Spaniards were left to maintain alone a desperate fight. The governor himself and all his people were wounded more or less severely before the enemy could be beaten off. Three times during the night they attacked the troop left to guard the boat. They now had no choice left but to embark.

After three days' sailing they met with more Indians in a canoe, and applied to them for fresh water. The Indians promised to give them fresh water enough if they would give them vessels to bring it in. A Spaniard and a negro went ashore with them to get water, and two Indians stayed in their place. At night the Indians brought back the vessels, but not a drop of water in them; but they did not bring back the two men that went with them, nor would they give any account of what had become of them.

But instead of that, the next day came a considerable number of them in their canoes, together with five or six of their caciques dressed in their mantles of martens' furs; and they were so impudent as to demand their two men left for pledges, though those of the other side were still detained (perhaps sacrificed) by them. These caciques would fain have had the Spaniards go ashore with them, but they saw too much of their treachery already to venture themselves any further among them; besides, the canoes still coming in

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thick and threefold upon them, they had reason to suspect some villanous design was then in hand. When the Indians saw they could do no good, and the Spaniards peremptorily refused to restore their two men, they threw off the mask, and appeared with the bare face of enmity; they began to sling great stones at them, and would have done more mischief but that a fresh gale of wind blowing at that time made them keep off, and invited the others to go on with their voyage.

In the evening a point of land was seen, and on the other side of it a very large river. The bark of Alvaro Nunez was the first to reach the river, and cast anchor near an island at its mouth. The governor entered a bay a little way off, where Alvaro went to join him, and they took in fresh water where the river entered the sea. Here a north wind springing up, drove the vessels to sea, and they were soon separated. Afterwards Alvaro saw two of the barks, one of which was that of the governor and the other that of Captains Peñalosa and Telles. Alvaro called out to the governor, and asked orders how he was to proceed. Narvaez replied that the time was past for giving or receiving orders, and that it rested with every man to save his life as best he could; he then pushed on and soon was out of sight.

Alvaro, with another of the barks, continued the voyage for four days, but having only half a handful of corn daily for each, and encountering severe weather, they were reduced almost to the last extremity. On the evening of the fourth day the crew sunk entirely and fell down half-dead over each other. Alvaro alone being capable of any exertion, the pilot called to him that he must take the helm. Alvaro took the post, but after a few hours' rest the pilot resumed it. Towards morning of the 6th of November they heard the sound of breakers, and found the vessel in six fathoms of water, which led them to hope that they were near land. Daylight confirmed this hope, and after a severe shock in crossing the breakers the boat was stranded, and the exhausted crew crept ashore upon their hands and feet. Here they kindled a fire, cooked the corn that they still had left, and began to feel their strength and spirits revive.

Alvaro desired Lope de Oviedo, the most vigorous of the company, to climb a tree and see what kind of land it was on which they had been thrown. Oviedo reported that it was an island, and so well cultivated that it appeared almost a Christian land.* He was then desired to advance cautiously a little into the country.

* Probably Galveston Island.

He soon found a village, with only women and children in it; but there soon appeared some Indians, who followed Oviedo quickly to the shore and formed a circle of about a hundred around the Spaniards. The Indians were well armed and tall. Alvaro, who had not six men that could rise from the ground, saw clearly that he had nothing to hope from resistance, and that his only course was to propitiate the Indians. This he sought to do by courtesy, and by presenting them some toys. He met a most gracious return; the Indians presented him with arrows—their surest pledge of friendship—and told him by signs that they would return in the morning and bring some provisions with them. And they were as good as their word, coming at the time appointed with fish and roots, and they repeated their visits thus constantly for two or three days. When the Spaniards thought they were well provided with provisions they resolved to continue their voyage, and for that purpose it was a great labor in their weak state to loosen the boat out of the sand in which it was fixed and drag it afloat, in doing which it was necessary to strip themselves and throw their clothes into the boat; but in putting it afloat a violent wave upset the boat, which sank with all their clothes, carrying down with it three Spaniards. The rest with difficulty reached the shore and threw themselves naked on the sand.

They were now in a miserable condition, whatever they had being lost, and themselves quite naked; besides it was the winter season, and the weather extremely cold, and a long course of hard living had taken away all the covering of flesh from their bones, so that they appeared like so many frightful images of death. But it was their good luck, by searching about, to find some of the brands which they had just made a fire with before they embarked, and, as Providence would have it, those brands not quite extinguished; so that here they quickly blew up a fire, which, in some measure, comforted them under the piercing blasts of the north wind.* They were in this forlorn state not expecting to live, when the Indians (who knew nothing of their misfortune) came as they were wont, to bring them more supplies, but when they saw a parcel of naked skeletons standing about a fire, believing them to be some very horrible things, they took to their heels, and ran as fast as they could. But Alvaro made after them, and stopped them at last with many fair words and persuasions, and told them the story of their sad ad-

* It is probable that this accident happened on the coast of Texas, and this cold wind was one of those severe north winds so noted in that climate.

venture,* which they believed when they came back and saw one or two dead bodies upon the shore. At the hearing of this they fell a weeping and lamenting after their manner, bewailing the Spaniards in very moving terms upon the score of their misfortunes, and expressed a great deal of tenderness and humanity. This encouraged Alvaro to desire them to take them into their houses for shelter, which they readily consented to; and because their habitations were a good way off, they made several great fires by the way, at which they stopped to rub and chafe the benumbed limbs of these poor men, and carried them all the way upon their backs, not suffering any one of them to touch the ground with his feet. They also made good fires for them when they brought them home; gave them food and a warm lodging, and sung and danced all night for their arrival. Some of the men who had been in Mexico were very averse to going, believing that the Indians would sacrifice them to their gods, and when they heard the Indians singing and rejoicing during the night, they believed that it was preparatory to sacrificing them in the morning. These people (like most of the rest they had hitherto seen) were of strong, well compact bodies, and of good courage. The men had one of their paps pierced from one side to the other, and in the hole a little cane was thrust across, about two or three spans long, and two fingers thick; some had both their paps served thus. The like they did to the under lip, in which they carried a piece of cane about a half a finger thick. They made this island their habitation from October to the end of February, feeding mostly all that time upon fish, and a sort of root which they dig out from under the water with much labor and trouble. When that time is expired they move into the continent to seek other food, for those roots do then but begin to grow, and are not in their perfection till November and December. Their houses are made of mats, and they have the hides of beasts for beds and couches to sleep on; their weapons are bows and arrows. They are the fondest lovers of their children in the world, and use them with much tenderness; if one dies, not only the family and kindred, but the whole village laments the loss, and they keep up their mourning for a whole year, performing the ceremony of lamentation three times a day, before sun rising, at noon, and at sunset; first the parents, and then all the rest of the people. When the year is up, and the last funeral rites accomplished, they wash themselves, and shift all their mourning apparel, and appear in their wonted garb. Old age they never bewail in this man-

* Alvaro must have done this with signs; for, having just arrived among these Indians, he could certainly not have understood their language.

ner, for they don't pay any great reverence to it, as many, yea, most other Indians do. They say the old ones are good for nothing but to consume the maintenance that the children should have; and that since they have lived their time, it is fit that they should die to make room. They bury all the other dead except their physicians, whom they burn, and turn their bones into powder, which (at the year's end, when the funeral rites are consummated) they give to their kindred to drink up in a draught of water; the design of this, it is to be supposed, is to turn them into doctors too, for a supply of the other's mortality. These physicians have wonderful privileges above all other people, for they may marry two or three wives, whereas all the rest are allowed but one. They have farther this advantage, that those whom they cure do esteem them so much as many times to give them all they are worth in the world, and to procure their friends to make them presents besides. Their methods of practice are only to cut and gash the parts affected, let it ail what it will, and then to apply their mouth and suck out the distemper; then instead of a plaster, they sear it with a hot iron; and for the conclusion of all, blow upon the place, to blow away all the remainders of the grief that would not come out by suction. And they are so much for propagating the faculty of physick, that they would needs have the Spaniards their guests turn doctors too, and pretend to cure by blowing and sucking as they did. Neither would they admit of their excuse, that they had no such skill or virtue to carry off a distemper after that unaccountable manner. For (say they) all manner of stones and plants that grow in the field have a virtue and a goodness in them that are profitable for some distemper or other, and is not man a more excellent creature than a stone, or a plant, and so has more healing and restoring virtues in him than they? However, Alvaro says they did not go that way to work that the Indian doctors did, but rather by spiritual methods of prayer and invocation to recover the sick that way; their plasters and cordials were *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marias*, benedictions and doxologies, which he reports, did wonderful cures, and gained them a mighty reputation in the country. Yet he confesses they were forced to comply with the Indian practice so far as to blow over the patient like them.

While they made their abode with the Indians of this island, which they called *Malhado*, Alvaro saw some European articles in the hands of one of the Indians, and asked him where he procured them; he replied that he received them from men like him, who were not far from there. Alvaro then sent to visit them two Spaniards with two Indians to guide them. But in going they met coming

Captains Andrez Dorantes and Alonzo Castillo with some of the people of their bark. They related that on the 5th of November their bark had run aground about a league and a half from there.

And being all together they determined to bring up that boat and as many of them as were strong and well to go in it, and endeavor to find some way to come where Christians lived, and the rest should stay there till they were recovered, and their friends could remove them also. But just as they were putting this project into execution their boat failed them; it was no sooner launched than it went to the bottom. However, four of them who were the best swimmers, with an Indian as their guide, undertook to pass over to the main land, and so travel to Panuco.

Alvaro and his company suffered very great hardships and miseries upon the island. The weather proved bad and unseasonable, and they were ready to starve for want of provisions; there was a sad mortality among them, too, and of eighty men which there were in all, there were left remaining no more than fifteen. Five who were lodged near the shore are said to have devoured one another until only one survived, no person being there to devour him. The Indians were greatly shocked at this, and ever after had a very unfavorable opinion of all the Spaniards. And which was worse still, a sickness happened among the Indians, which swept away a great number of them; their superstitious fancy persuaded them that the Spaniards were the cause of that mortality, and now, instead of physicians, they made necromancers and murderers of them. In short, this fancy prevailed so far that they began to consult about the sacrificing of them, and this they had certainly done, had not one wiser than the rest argued his companions into a belief of the innocency of the Spaniards, from this consideration: That if they had a power to take away men's lives, they might be as reasonably supposed to have a power to preserve them, which if they had, they certainly would not have suffered so many of their own men to die as had done before their faces. This reason saved their lives, but they lived an uneasy life here afterwards; both the Indians and they too suffered great extremities for want of provisions, and made a very hard shift to avoid starving. Upon this some of the Indians removed over to the mainland, where they could have a better subsistence, and carried some of the Spaniards along with them, and having lived there some time, they returned to another island, about two leagues from the mainland, for the convenience of the fresh water that was there. Alvaro was also transported over to the mainland by some other of the Indians, who went, probably, upon the same account, of supplying

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themselves with the necessities of life. And thus all were released from the prison of Malhado island, but still it was but a remove from one prison to another, and they were as far as ever, in their own opinions, from getting away from these heathenish people. While Alvaro was here, his companions, at the island lately mentioned, had notice of the place of his abode, and got an opportunity to come over to him. The number that came was twelve, and two, Hieronimo de Alanez and Lope de Oviedo, were left sick behind on the island. Alonzo Castillo and the rest who came over about the 30th of April, resolved to travel along the coast homeward, but Alvaro being weak, could not pretend to bear them company in such a journey, so they went on and he stayed. After they were gone, he observed his time when the Indians were out of the way, and got over to the island where his two countrymen were left, and stayed there a year at least, till he recovered his health a little better. But then he resolved to bid farewell to them too, for they used him ill and put him to the painful drudgery of digging under water for the roots they lived on. This design he executed, and conveyed himself over to the mainland again, among the Indians of Carruco.* There he had a much easier life in all respects, for he pretended himself a merchant, which was a sort of vocation very grateful to them, and procured him both good usage and liberty too. For now his business was to travel up and down from one place to another with wares; he went where he pleased, and returned when he would, and the people everywhere made much of him and desired his company. The merchandise he carried was shells, hides, red ochre, canes to make the bodies of arrows, and flints to make heads, and such like trifles. But that which was the greatest advantage to him by this course of life was that by this means he had an opportunity of viewing the country, and contriving his escape, for he travelled at least forty or fifty leagues along the coast.

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After this manner he spent six years among these Indians of Carruco, and went naked all the while as they do; but the seventh and last year of his apprenticeship coming on, he found a way to give his Indian masters the slip, and come to another people on the same coast.

The Indians in this part of the country (particularly the Mariames and Fagavans, among whom the Spaniards conversed) were a people of sordid life and brutish and barbarous customs. Their lips

* This word "Carruco" might indicate, to one familiar with the languages of the Indian tribes of Texas, the locality where Alvaro then was.

and paps were pierced like those of the island of Malhado; their food roots and every sort of animal almost that they can catch; frogs, worms, lizards, serpents, go down like good savory victuals with them. They neither reverence old age nor love their children as the other Indians do. They don't take any wives among themselves, nor any husbands for their daughters, so that what women they have in that way are either taken from their enemies in war, or bought of some of the neighboring people, and the price they generally give for a woman is either a good bow and a couple of arrows, or else a large net. The women spend the greater part of the night in heating their ovens and drying the roots they eat, and then, as soon as the day begins to appear, they go to drawing water and fetching wood into their houses. Their houses are made of mats, and are so contrived that they can remove them to any place where the conveniency of food calls them. As to their temper and moral qualities, the Spaniards give but an ill account of them; they say that they practise unnatural lusts one with another, are very sottish, will lie and dissemble monstrously; theive and steal, not only from their neighbors, but even fathers and children from one another. They neither till the land nor sow any sort of seeds, but leave all to the care and bounty of nature; yet, notwithstanding their poverty and uncertainty of food, they live merry and jocund, and never cease their sports and dancing. They are so very swift of foot and every way so well made for running, that they will follow a deer from morning to evening, till they have quite run him down, and made him so weary as to be taken alive. The best of all their living is when they go to eat *tune*, for then they do nothing but eat almost all day and night too, and spend their time in dancing and revelling, while that fruit lasts. When they have done eating the *tunes* in the country where they grow, they take some and open and dry them, to eat by the way as they return home. In short, this *tune* time is a festival of the same quality and great expectation among them that Christmas itself is among Europeans. As for flesh, the most they have of that is venison and beef, for there are some deer about the country, and oxen too in some places. These cattle are of the bigness of the Spanish oxen, have little horns like those of Barbary, and very long hair, and thicker than usual in some parts. Of their hides they make garments to defend them from the cold of their climate, shoes also, and targets for war. The greatest plague in this country is the multitude of flies that breed here; and to defend themselves from which the natives very frequently go with a flaming brand in their hands, and sometimes burn down the trees where they are,

that the flies being deprived of their shelter may be forced to go away. And indeed, Alvaro said that they were so miserably vexed and tormented with them that it may be compared with the most troublesome thing in the world. The country contains a great deal of excellent pasture land [prairies] which would maintain mighty herds and flocks of cattle, and would certainly be a very fruitful and profitable one, if the people had but sense enough to manage it as it should be. There is hardly any mountain to be seen in all that part where the Spaniards were, but all plain and open. There are rivers of good, clear, wholesome water, too, but the natives having no certain settled place of abode, depend more upon the rain-water for their constant drink, than that of the rivers.

A desire to take with him Lope de Oviedo had caused Alvaro to prolong his stay. De Alanez, Oviedo's companion, had died soon after the departure of Castillo and the twelve men. Oviedo had put off going to the following year. At length he and Alvaro went with some Indians to a bay a league broad and deep everywhere. On the other side of it an Indian told them the thirteen Spaniards had all died except three, and, if they wished it, they could see these three when the Indians who had them should come to the shore of that river to get nuts. Two days after this there came to the river-bank the Indians who had the three survivors of the thirteen that had set out from the Island Malhado to travel along the coast to Panuco. An Indian of a different nation told Alvaro to go to a particular place in the forest and he would conduct him to them. This he did the next day, and Andres Dorantes and Castillo, who were in the hands of these Indians, were greatly astonished to see Alvaro, and asked him where he was going. Alvaro replied that his design was to pass into a country where there were Christians. Dorantes, Castillo, and the negro Estevano, who appears to have been one of the thirteen, determined to fly with him; but Dorantes begged him to wait six months, when the Indians would be going away in quest of fruit. This being agreed to, Alvaro remained, and was given in slavery to the same Indian who already had Dorantes.

Castillo and Dorantes related that, after quitting the island of Malhado, they passed four rivers, very large and with very strong currents, when they found wrecked upon the coast the bark in which the contador and the friars had sailed. This bark they pushed into the sea, in doing which four men were drowned. They then sailed to a bay and crossed it with much trouble; fifteen leagues further they found another, where were some Indians, who,

when they saw them, went to the other shore. In a journey of sixty leagues two of the Spaniards had perished, besides the four that were drowned. Whilst occupied in finding means to cross the bay, an Indian came to them with a Christian, who proved to be Figueroa, one of the four sent from the island of Malhado to go to Panuco. Figueroa related to them how he had arrived at that place with his companions; that two of them and an Indian had died of cold and hunger; that, with him, the Indians had captured Mentés, who, having fled with the intention of going to Panuco, was pursued and killed by the Indians; that he had heard from the Indians, of a Christian who had been with the Mariames, and then had got to the Quevenes. This Christian was Hernando de Esquivel, a native of Bajados, who had been with the commissary. From Esquivel, Figueroa learned the fate of the governor, the contador, and others. The last caused their bark to be driven ashore, and then following the coast, found at the shore that of Pamfilo de Narvaez. The governor went in his bark to the great bay; there he had the company carried to the opposite shore. Then he came to seek the contador, the friars, and all the others. In the evening he would not go on shore, but remained in his bark with the captain and a cabin-boy, who were sick. At midnight so violent a north wind arose that the bark, which had only a stone for an anchor, was driven out to sea and never more heard of. Those who were on land followed the shore, and, meeting a great expanse of water, made a raft with which they came to the other side. Continuing the march they came to the end of a forest, where they found some Indians, who, having perceived them, left their cabins for their canoes. This was in November. The Spaniards, though they found wood and water, and on the seashore some crabs and shellfish, yet they perished one after another of hunger and cold. Pentaja, whom Narvaez before being lost had made his lieutenant in place of the contador, treated them badly. Sotomayor, brother of Vasco Porcallo, of the island of Cuba, turned against Pentaja and gave him a blow which killed him. Thus the numbers diminished. Those who remained alive caused the dead to be cooked. The last who sank was Sotomayor. Esquivel had him roasted, and lived upon his body till the 1st of March, when one of the Indians who had fled when the Spaniards arrived came to see if all were gone, and carried off Esquivel. Andrez Dorantes, escaping to the Mariames, learned from them that Esquivel, having attempted to escape, was pursued and killed by the Indians. Yet Dorantes, after remaining a few days with these same people, escaped. Castillo and

Estevano went into the interior of the country to the Yguazes. The three had got with the same tribe when Alvaro joined them.

The six months having passed, and the time arrived for the departure of the Indians to gather tune, a quarrel broke out among them, and they separated; and thus the Spaniards were obliged to defer their attempt to escape. They did not meet each other again for a year. At length, about the 1st of September, Alvaro escaped. On the 13th of September, Dorantes and Estevano, the negro, joined him, having left Castello not far off among the Anagados.

These last Indians had said that farther in the shore there was a nation called Camones, and that these Camones had killed all the Spaniards who were in the bark with Pañalosa and Telles.

Two days after all four got together they set off. In the evening, seeing some smoke, they went to the place where it rose, where they found some Indians, called Avavares, whose language they understood, having formerly traded with them, by whom they were very kindly received. The Spaniards gained greatly the favor of these Indians by curing their sick. They went about with them in their journeys. They lived among these people about eight months, feeding upon such wild fruits and roots as they did, and going as naked as ever they were born, except at any time they could procure a few skins to cover themselves. Alvaro says that with travelling through woods and thickets, where the thorns and briars tore their flesh, they were in a very miserable condition.

From these people they removed to the Maliacones and then to the Arbadoes with whom they lived some time after the same poor and hard fate that they had with the former. When these people first saw them before their houses they withdrew and reasoned awhile among themselves, which consultation being over, they came in a very friendly manner, taking them by the hands and leading them into their houses.

Of these people (as of all the rest in general from the island of Malhado hither) they observed that they gave their children suck till they are ten or twelve years old, and this because of the great scarcity of victuals in their country; for nature having made a provision for them in the mother's milk they rather chose to let them depend upon that for a maintenance than upon the uncertain products of the earth or their uncertain getting them. They part from their wives whenever (quarrels and differences arising between them) they can no longer enjoy domestic peace and quietness; this is very common among the younger sort, but it is not customary for those who have had many children to turn off the mothers of them and abandon them totally. When any couple is thus divorced

from each other, they both use their liberty to marry when or whom they please. When a quarrel happens between two families they have them to separate from the rest of the community and withdraw with their women and whatever belongs to them into some place in the fields by themselves; and here they stay till either their neighbors make peace or they have mutually digested the matter on both sides and are disposed to a reconciliation. If a difference among them ever proceeds so far as to come to blows, they take care never to use any dangerous weapons. They commonly take pretty handsome cudgels and thrash one another with them till they have sufficiently vented their choler on both sides; but as for their bows and arrows they reserve them for their enemies, and no passion ever makes them turn upon each other with those weapons or any other that may prove fatal. They are soldiers good enough, hardy, used to labor, and able to endure it, cunning, and presently perceiving the fear and cowardice of their enemies, and taking all the advantage by it imaginable; in short, an enemy must use them the worst that can be, and fear them without any discovery of it. Among some of them, Alvaro says, there are a sort of impotent effeminate men, of much larger and greater limbs than ordinary, who go in women's dress and are devoted to women's work; they carry no bows nor arrows, but instead of them burdens of wood and water, and within doors do other domestic work; and of these he declares he saw several.*

They have a sort of drink made of the leaves of a tree like the mulberry tree, which they boil very well, and work it up into a froth, and so drink it as hot as ever they can suffer it to come into their mouths. All the while this is over the fire the vessel must be close shut; and if by chance it should be uncovered, and a woman should come by in the mean time, they would drink none of it, but fling all away. Likewise, while they stand cooling and pouring it out to drink, a woman must not stir nor move, or they would throw it all to the ground, or spew it up again, if they had drunk any, and she herself would incur the bastinado. All this time they continue bawling out aloud, "Who will drink?" And when the women begin to hear these exclamations, then it is that they settle themselves in their postures, and were they sitting, or standing, though it were a tip-toe, or one leg up and the other down, they must continue so till the men have cooled their liquor, and made it fit to drink. The reason of this is every whit as foolish and unreasonable as the cus-

* Marquette mentions in his account of his voyage down the Mississippi similar facts in regard to the Illinois and Nadonessians.

tom itself; for they say, should not the women stand still when they hear their voice, some bad thing would be conveyed into the liquor, which they say would make them die; and if such a generation of asses were all poisoned, it were no great loss to the world. Our Spaniards continued travelling on through this hungry barren country; the next Indians they came to, entertained them with a sort of food which they had met with none before; it was a kind of meat made of a fruit called *Mesquiquez*, which is like the *carobe*, and Alvaro says of the same kind. As it hangs on the tree it is very bitter, and as they prepare it one would think it should not be mended, though they are of another opinion, and therefore proceed accordingly. They make a trench in the ground of a considerable depth, and throw the fruit into it, bruising and stirring it about with a great piece of wood. When they have done this to the purpose, they take this hodge-podge of earth and fruit and put it into a vessel, pouring as much water upon it as would just cover it; then they taste whether it be sweet enough or not; if not, they take more earth and mingle with it till they have wrought it up to that degree of sweetness that pleases their palates best. When this is done, they will sit round the trench, and every man thrusts in his hand and takes out a lump to eat; and so they eat on in this way of good fellowship till their bellies sometimes are ready to burst. The liquor they use to wash down this dirty meat is made of seeds or kernels of the fruit and the husk together; for they take these and put them into a vessel of water, and after they have lain steeped there awhile, they come and squeeze them, and the liquor that is thus pressed out is, without any further preparation, fit to be drunk by the best of them.

The next people they came to seemed to be struck with a mighty fear and astonishment at the first approach of these strange men. It was a good while before they would venture to come near them, and, when they did, they laid their hands upon the faces and bodies of the Spaniards, and then upon their own, bidding them welcome by that kind of action.

These nations the Spaniards were now got among were of a much more civil and hospitable temper than those they had passed through at first; but there were such varieties of them that they don't pretend so much as to give us their names, much less could they learn the languages of every one of them. They were pretty well acquainted with six several tongues, but before they came into the parts of the continent where the Spaniards dwelt, they had met with about a thousand sorts of languages; so that all along they expressed their minds to the Indians by signs and motions, which

they found no great trouble to make them understand the sense and meaning of (3)*

In this last country they had now reached, no European had hitherto been seen; and they were received with that pleasing surprise which usually marks the first meeting between civilized and savage people. Their reverence was much increased when Alvaro began to act the physician as he had done on the coast. His success was greater than ever when he succeeded in raising a dead man to life (probably some one in a swoon or stunned by a blow). By this such worship did they obtain in the eyes of the Indians that on the assertion being made that they were the children of the sun it met with immediate belief; and they were not only at full liberty to proceed westward but were furnished with an escort to conduct and recommend them to the next people as children of the sun who had power to cure or kill every disease to which man was subject. They added, it is said, even greater lies; all passed current, and these Indians scrupled not, even under cover of this sacred character of their mysterious companions, to appropriate whatever appeared to them desirable; a proceeding viewed with much alarm by the Spaniards on account of the hostile feelings which, seemingly, it could not fail to excite; but, on the contrary, they found their companions made welcome, on their account, to anything they chose to take. This new people sent a similar escort, who repeated the same absurdities, and made a similar use of the credit derived from them; and thus they were passed on from nation to nation, guided, venerated, and protected. They had nothing to encounter except the physical obstacles of the route. Alvaro says that sometimes they had thousands to attend them, neither was it an easy matter to get rid of some of them, many times the people whose country they came to would march out in a full body to meet them and bid them welcome, and, according to their various customs and manners, such was their reception and manner of entertainment among them.

One nation particularly Alvaro makes mention of, where the people ran out of their houses shouting and hollowing, and striking their hands upon their thighs at such a rate, that they frightened them most bitterly; and then they thronged and crowded about them with so much eagerness, every man striving to be foremost,

* "As so many tongues entirely different are spoken by the Prairie Indians, a language of signs has become the general medium of communication between the different nations. This system of signs has been brought to such perfection among them, that the most intricate correspondence seems to be intelligibly conducted by such as have acquired a proficiency in this dumb language."—"Commerce of the Prairies," by Josiah Gregg.

and came as near them as possible, that he says they were like to be squeezed to death. The multitude would not let them touch the ground with their feet, but got them upon their shoulders, and carried them away to their houses.* Others of them, as soon as they had brought the Spaniards into their houses, would offer them all their goods, and the very houses themselves too; and though there were no great treasures there, yet they were not a little pleased to see the free and open humor of these people. Some again would not come out of their houses into the fields and highways to meet them, but sit at home and stay till they came; and it is comical enough what Alvaro relates of these silent people (who were yet as hearty and kind as the noisy ones before mentioned); that when they came to their houses, they found them all sitting with their faces turned towards the wall, their heads hanging down, and their long hair dangling over their eyes, as if they had been asleep, and afterwards were entertained by them in a very frank and hearty manner. They commended these for the most comely and sensible people of all that they saw; their women, and all the old people in general, wear a covering of deer skins, the rest go naked, here and there a man only excepted. Their country abounds with kine [buffalo], and they have also some store of maize.

Leaving the Indians, who by their actions appear to have never before seen white and bearded men, the Spaniards first crossed a large river flowing from the north. They then travelled thirty leagues over a populous plain. On the way Dorantes received a brass or copper bell with a face or figure on it. The next day they crossed a mountain of seven leagues, and in the evening arrived at numerous cabins on the bank of a very pretty stream. The Indians in this place gave them many purses containing marcosite and antimony, which last was used to paint their faces. The bell being shown them they said in the place from which that came there was found in the earth much of that metal, which was greatly esteemed, and that in that country were fixed houses. They then crossed a

* Joutel, in his "Journal of the last voyage of La Salle," mentions a similar reception which he and his party received on his way to "Cappa." He says: "As for my own part, being of a pretty large size, and loaded with clothes, a firelock, a case of pistols, powder and ball, a kettle and other implements, there is no doubt but I made a sufficient burden for him that carried me, and because I was taller than he, and my feet would have hung upon the ground, two other Indians held them up for me; so that I had three to carry me. Other Indians took hold of our horses to lead them, and in that ridiculous equipage we arrived at the village." This village was one of four allied together, viz., Assony, Nathosos, Nachitos, and Cadodaquio.

rugged, arid, dreary tract, fifty leagues in extent. In this road they suffered severely from thirst and hunger; and crossed a river, the water of which came up to the breast, and were conducted over a plain to the foot of the mountains, where at length they came to a party of Indians, who had a little corn, and who conducted them to their villiage.

These Indians told them that the next people lived afar off, and were their enemies. Two women were given them for guides, one of whom conducted Castillo and the negro to a place where her father lived, on a stream running between mountains. The dwellings here were the first seen that merited the name of houses. After speaking with the inhabitants, Castillo returned to Alvaro and Dorantes, bringing with him five or six Indians. The three then set out with the Indians for their houses. After stopping there a day, they were conducted to other fixed houses. This country was thickly populated, and in it were the greatest number of cows [buffaloes]. In answer to the question why they did not plant corn, they said that, two years before, the water failed and the moles ate the seeds; that they could not plant it until there was plenty of rain. Being asked where they procured corn, they said on the sea-coast where the sun set; that there the whole country was filled with it; and that the shortest way to it was to go west.

After stopping two days, the Spaniards determined to seek this country where there was so much corn, and to go constantly to the west until they should come to it. For some time they went up a river, then they crossed it, and at sunset found themselves in a great valley in the midst of very high mountains, where they found a people who had much corn in store, and fixed houses, some of which were constructed of earth [adobe], and others of mats of reeds. They then went a hundred leagues into the interior, still finding fixed houses, corn, and beans, and after having travelled a vast extent of country came at last to a village of the provinces bordering on the Pacific Ocean, but, after having the welcome sight of this, they travelled many days in great distress for want of provisions; but the worst of all was their being reduced to powder of straw, which Alvaro says they did eat for several days, having nothing else that was eatable to pretend to, as neither had the Indians in whose country they then were. But out of this miserable place they came into a land that might be called happy, beautiful, and fruitful in comparison; for here they had corn, pulse, gourds,* and venison

* This word gourd is not unfrequently found in the early accounts of America. It is mentioned here as a food, and means probably a squash or a pumpkin.

for the belly; deer-skins also, and cotton mantles for the back. Going further, they had not only a continuance of these necessities, but superfluities, too; the natives gave them turquoise stones, some emeralds, and pieces of coral, and told them that they had the emeralds in exchange for quills and parrots' feathers from a certain people that dwelt in very high mountains to the north. These Indians were a polite people, in respect of a great many others they had met with; they had houses more large and handsomely built than was common; their women were used with great respect and regard to their sex; they wore shifts of bombazine cotton which reached below the knee, and a sort of sleeves made of deerskin which touched the ground, and were perfumed very sweet with certain roots; and all in general, both men and women, were shod.

From these they travelled to others, who lived a much more poor and miserable life; and from these again through another large and populous country, where the natives sowed maize and pulse three times a year, and had also plenty of deer. They found here a sort of poisonous tree, of which the inhabitants make use to poison their arrows, and that either with the fruit or the milky juice that drops from the boughs when they are broken off. There are several of these trees that are so strong a poison that the leaves of them bruised and cast into any pool or standing water will certainly kill the beasts that drink it, according to their report.

They finally arrived at a village, where they stopped three days, and then went a day's march to another, in which they were detained fifteen days in consequence of the river being high. During this time Castillo saw, on the neck of an Indian, the buckle of a sword-belt. The Indian said it was brought into the country by men with beards, who had come to that river (Petutan), and had horses, lances, and swords. They saw sad demonstrations of it as they passed further into the country, for the people had left their towns and villages and hid themselves in the forests and mountains, the fruitful fields lay neglected, and a whole rich and pleasant country appeared to be spoiled.*

* Alvaro was now travelling through Xalisco, called also Galicia and Guadalajara. About the year 1531 this country was first entirely reduced and colonized by the Spaniards under Nunez de Guzman, who found it inhabited by a bold, warlike people, well armed, well clothed, obstinate lovers of freedom, who for a long time resisted all the power of the Spaniards. Their towns were well built, the people were comparatively civilized, and conducted their affairs, both civil and military, with great address and regularity. Guzman's troops everywhere committed terrible depredations, but he drew no advantage from it. He remained in the province of Xalisco until imperial orders were issued to arrest and bring him back a prisoner to Mexico at his own expense.

Some of the Indians that had suffered thus, being at last got out of their holes and hiding-places, told them that the Spaniards had been there and destroyed and burnt their towns, laid their lands waste, and carried off vast numbers of the people for slaves. Yet were these a most innocent, courteous people, and made Alvaro with his company as welcome as possible. In short, they went on, with a great body of Indians attending, till they came where the first Spanish settlement was, having all along traced the march of the Spaniards by those marks of their cruelty which were visible everywhere.

From the place where Alvaro first heard the Spaniards spoken of he reckoned it to be eighty leagues to the river Petutan; the river on which Diego de Guzman arrived. In all the country where the mountains ended, he observed traces of gold, iron, and other metals; and where the houses were fixed he describes it as warm, even in January.

The next morning, after seeing stakes to which horses had been tied, Alvaro took with him the negro and twelve Indians, and followed the trace of the Christians. He passed three villages where they had slept, and made ten leagues that day.

The next day he met some Christians on horseback, who were astonished to see him clothed in so strange a manner, and in the midst of these Indians. They regarded him for a long time with such astonishment that they could not utter a word. Alvaro told them to conduct him to their chief, and then the party went a half league to the place where Diego de Alcares, their captain, was. When Alvaro had spoken to him, the captain told him he knew not what to do; that for a long time he had not been able to take any Indians; and he did not know where to go, because his people had begun to suffer with hunger. Alvaro told him that Dorantes and Castillo were ten leagues from there with many people that they were bringing with them. The captain immediately sent to them three cavaliers and fifty Indians, the negro serving for a guide. Alvaro asked the captain to certify the year, the month, the day, and condition in which he had found him, which he did. From this river to the city of San Miguel, the chief place of the government of this province [Xalisco?] of New Spain they counted it to be thirty leagues.

Two days after, Dorantes and Castillo arrived with those who had been sent to seek them. They brought six hundred Indians belonging to a village, all of the inhabitants of which had fled into the forests, and concealed themselves for fear of the Spanish sol-

diers. The natives who accompanied Alvaro's party had caused all these Indians to come back, and had conducted them to where they were.

The Indians brought Alvaro a great quantity of corn, of which he took some, and gave the rest to captain Alcaraz and his men, to divide among themselves. Alvaro was much chagrined at the wish of these Spaniards to make slaves of the Indians who had brought this supply. Seeing the Indians afflicted, Alvaro tranquillized them; told them to return home and plant their corn; but they refused to leave him, saying that in his company they were not afraid. The Spanish soldiers said they were masters of the country, and must be obeyed; and farther, that they were Christians as well as Alvaro. This the Indians would not believe. They declared it to be utterly impossible, since everything was contrary in the two parties: the one came from the east, the other from the west; the one was naked and on foot, the other clothed and on horseback; the one healed those who were sick, the other killed those who were well; the one showed no sign of avarice, while the other seemed to have no object in life but to steal whatever they could reach: but at length Alvaro got them to return to their homes, after which he and his companions, in a state of arrest, were sent to an alcalde named Zebreros.

They carried Alvaro and his party into the mountains by pathless ways where there was no water. They thought they all should die of thirst. Seven men perished, and a great number of Indians who accompanied them lived only till the noon of next day. In the evening they found water. After going about twenty-five leagues they arrived at a village of subjugated Indians. The alcalde who conducted them left them there, and they went three leagues further to another village called Culiacan, where resided Melchoir Diaz, alcalde mayor and captain of the province.

The reception of Alvaro and party by Diaz was very different from that by Alcaraz. Diaz begged them to remain in the country and use their influence with the Indians to bring about a better state of affairs. Alvaro enjoined the Indians to build churches and put crosses on them. He caused to be brought to him the children of the principal Indian inhabitants, that he might baptize them. Then Diaz solemnly promised not to make inroads into the country, nor to permit the Indians to be oppressed, nor to reduce into slavery any of the natives of the country which Alvaro had pacified. Diaz engaged to keep his promise until the emperor, or the governor Nuno de Guzman, or viceroy should decide on

what would be fit for the service of God and the emperor. When Alvaro had finished baptizing the Indian children, he set out for the city of San Miguel.

In the city of San Miguel, Alvaro remained until the 15th of May. From this place he went to the city of Compostella, the residence of the governor, Nuño de Guzman. To reach it, they were forced to travel a hundred leagues through a country entirely deserted and hostile. He travelled with his people and twenty cavaliers for forty leagues. From the place where these left him, his party continued its march in company with six Spaniards, who were conducting five hundred Indian slaves. Having arrived at Compostella, he was well received by the governor, who clothed him and his party. It took Alvaro a long time to accustom himself to wearing clothes, and he could sleep only on the ground. Ten or twelve days after their arrival at Compostella, they set out for the city of Mexico. All along the route they were well received by the Christians, great numbers of whom came to see them, and thanked God that they had escaped from such great dangers. They arrived in the city of Mexico on Sunday, the eve of St. James [1536]. The viceroy Antonio de Mendoza and the Marquis de Valle [Hernando Cortes] received them with the greatest pleasure, and treated them very kindly. They gave them clothes, offered them whatever they possessed, and on the day of St. James had carousals and bull-fights.

After he had rested two months at Mexico, he was going to embark for Spain in October, when a storm arose, and drove the vessel aground. Then he determined to wait till winter was over. When part of the winter was passed, he and Dorantes went to Vera Cruz, where they waited till Palm Sunday to embark. They waited fifteen days for a wind. The vessel being deep in the water, Alvaro left it for another, while Dorantes remained on board. On the 10th of April, they sailed in company with a third vessel. The three vessels kept together fifty leagues, when one night that of Alvaro parted from the other two, which were lost sight of.

Alvaro's vessel arrived at Havana the 4th of May, and there waited for the other two till the 2d of June. It then set out, but not without apprehension of meeting the French, who had a few days before taken three vessels in those parts. After leaving Havana, having made five hundred leagues, the vessel arrived at the Azores, and the next day, in passing near the island of Cuervo, they perceived a French vessel in company with a caravel loaded with negroes. The French would have taken the vessel of Alvaro, but for the sight of a Portuguese fleet, commanded by Diego de Silveira.

With this fleet Alvaro's vessel went to the island of Terceira, where they remained fifteen days for another vessel which was coming from India, and was in company with three vessels escorted by a squadron. Then all set out together, and entered the port of Lisbon August the 15th, 1537.

Dorantes and Castillo also returned to Spain. The negro Estevano remained in Mexico, and served as a guide to Francisco Marco de Nizza in his expedition to Cibola, where Estevano, on account of some improprieties, was killed by the Indians.

CHAPTER VII.

I.

EXPEDITION OF FRANCISCO VASQUEZ CORONADO TO CIBOLA AND
TIGUEX.

1539-1543.

IN the year 1530, Nuño de Guzman, at that time president of New Spain, had in his service an Indian, a native of the country Exitipar, which was called by the Spaniards Tejos or Texos, and which in all probability was no other than the present Texas. This Indian told his master that he was the son of a merchant long since dead. That during his childhood his father used to go into the interior of the country to sell the handsome feathers with which the Indians adorn their heads; and that he brought back in exchange a great quantity of gold and silver, which metals were, according to him, well known in that country. He assured him that, having on one occasion accompanied his father, he had seen several large towns in which entire streets were inhabited by people working the precious metals. Finally he added that to arrive there, it was necessary to travel for forty days through a wilderness, where nothing was to be found save a short grass, and then get into the interior of the country, keeping due north.

Relying on this information, Nuño de Guzman assembled an army of four hundred Spaniards, and twenty thousand Indians, allies of New Spain. He started from Mexico, traversed the province of Tarasca, and reached that of Culiacan, the limit of his government; no road leading farther on, and having great obstacles to surmount in order to pass over the mountains which intercepted his route, he now saw the greater number of his officers and allies get discouraged and abandon him. Meanwhile he was apprised that Hernando Cortes, his personal enemy, was returning [from Spain] to Mexico, loaded with titles and favors. He therefore resolved to stop at Culiacan, and colonize that province. Shortly afterwards the Tejos Indian died, and Nuño de Guzman was thrown into prison.

Some time previously Pamfilo Narvaez, Hernando Cortes's unfor-

tunate rival, having been named governor of Florida, left St. Domingo with four hundred men and eighty horses, in five ships; he reached Florida on the 11th of April, 1528. On the 1st of May following, he penetrated into the interior of the country. After long and weary marches he returned to the coast and constructed barks, in hopes of reaching Panuco by coasting towards the west. On the 22d of September of the same year, he sailed, accompanied by two hundred and forty-two men. On the 29th or 30th of October, after a most perilous navigation, the Spaniards discovered and pointed out to Narvaez the mouth of the Mississippi. They almost all perished shortly after; some of hunger, some from shipwreck, and others by the natives. There only survived [Alvaro Nunez] Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Castillo Maldonado, and a negro [Estevano]. At the end of eight years they reached Mexico.

Don Antonio de Mendoza, at that time viceroy of New Spain, caused these three travellers to be brought before him. They related to him their adventures, declaring that they had met with Indian tribes, some of whom cultivated maize, while others lived on fish and the product of the chase; that they had heard of large towns, with lofty houses containing many stories, and situated in the same direction as those spoken of by the Tejos Indian. Mendoza communicated the information he received from them, to Francisco Vasquez Coronado, a nobleman of Salamanca, and governor of the province of Culiacan. The latter at once left Mexico and hastily returned to his province.

When Nuño de Guzman had conquered the new kingdom of Galicia, the first town he built there was Culiacan. It is situated west of Mexico. According to Pedro de Castanedo de Nagera, who had joined Coronado's expedition, there were three large and perfectly distinct populations in that country—the Tahus, the Pacasas, and the Acaxas. The Tahus were the most intelligent and the most civilised nation, and the one that first embraced Catholicism. Previous to the conquest, these Indians adored the evil spirit under the form of large serpents, which they reared with the greatest veneration, and to which they made offerings of stuffs and turquoises. Although these men were very immoral, yet such was their respect for all women who led a life of celibacy, that they celebrated grand festivals in their honor. The Pacasas were more barbarous. They ate human flesh, married several wives—even their own sisters, and adored carved or painted stones. The Acaxas were also cannibals; they hunted men like wild beasts, and built their villages on steep cliffs, separated one from the other by ravines, over which it was impossible to pass.

Coronado had taken with him the negro Esteva and three Franciscan monks, one of whom was Father Marcos de Niça, who had already taken part in the expedition which Don Pedro d'Alvarado had conducted by land to Peru.* As soon as the governor had reached Culiacan, he sent Father Marcos forward to descry the country, with which object the latter began his tour on the 7th of March, 1539, in company of the two other Franciscans, the negro, and a goodly number of emancipated Indians.

The little band remained three days at Petatlan, chief town of a province of the same name, a short distance from Culiacan. The name of Petatlan was given to it because its houses were constructed of matted rushes, called *petates*. The inhabitants, whose customs resembled those of the Talus, had their villages built on the borders of the rivers and on the mountains. As he journeyed along, Father Marcos met entire populations, who received him with pleasure and gave him provisions, flowers, and other presents. The first desert he afterwards saw, and of which he speaks in the account of his journey sent to the Emperor Charles V., is doubtless the one situated between the Rio Yagui and the Rio Sonora. This country is certainly very barren, and quite destitute of water for a distance of about one hundred and ten miles.(4) The Indians who lived beyond this desert occupied the valley of Sonora, which Cabeza de Vaca had named Tierra de los Corazones (Country of the Hearts), because, when he passed there, a great many hearts of animals had been offered to him.† The inhabitants of this valley were numerous and intelligent. The women wore petticoats of tanned deer-skin. Every morning the caciques ascended little eminences, and for more than an hour would indicate aloud what each was to do during the day. At their religious ceremonies they stuck arrows around their temples, resembling in this the Zuñis of the present day, who sometimes stick them round their altars and tombs.‡ Father Marcos

* Pedro Alvarado went by sea from a port in Guatemala, and landed at the bay of Caragues, on the coast of Peru, and then marched to Quito.

† The Mexicans offered the hearts of their victims to their idols, and these Indians, taking Alvaro Nunez for a divine being, may have offered him the hearts of animals through superstitious motives.

‡ Rene Laudonniere, in his "History of the First Attempt of the French to Colonize Florida," in speaking of the Indians of Florida, says: "When a king dieth they bury him very solemnly, and upon his grave they set the cup wherein he was wont to drink, and roundabout the said grave they stick many arrows, and weep the first three days together without ceasing.

"The most part of them (the Indians) have their bodies, arms, and thighs painted with very fair devices, the painting whereof can never be taken away, because the same is pricked into the flesh."

found on the borders of this desert other Indians, who were greatly surprised to see him, for they had not the slightest idea of the Christians. Some of them would try to touch his garments, and would call him "*Soyota*," which signifies "Man come down from Heaven." These Indians told him that, should he continue his route, he would soon enter a very extensive plain, full of large towns, which were inhabited by people clad in cotton, wearing gold rings and ear-rings, and making use of little blades of the same metal to scrape the perspiration off their bodies.

Although the information given by Father Marcos is rather vague, and though it is scarcely possible to state precisely the route he followed, or to indicate the geographical positions of the countries he passed through, it is probable that the plain, here spoken of, is that of the Rio de las Casas Grande, situated one hundred and fifty miles east of the Rio Sonora, which is to this day all covered with imposing ruins,* reminding one of handsome and populous cities. After a few days' march, Father Marcos arrived at Vacapa, now called Magdalena, situated on the Rio San Miguel, one hundred and twenty miles from the California Gulf. The inhabitants of this town were, no doubt, the ancestors of the Cocopas, who are now spread from the mouth of the Rio Colorado to the northwestern deserts. Father Marcos remained a few days at Vacapa to enable his fellow-travellers to rest themselves; the Indians generously giving them everything they were in need of. The monks, being displeased with the negro (who was misconducting himself towards the women of the country, and who only thought of enriching himself), resolved on sending him away; but as he knew how to make himself understood by the natives of that country—through which he had already travelled—and as he was known to those Indians, Father Marcos determined on sending him forward with orders to acquaint him, at once, of whatever discoveries he should make.

Four days afterwards Esteva, the negro, dispatched to his superior a messenger who related wonderful things of a large town called Cibola, known at the present day by the name of Zuni. According to the fashion of his tribe, the messenger's face, breast, and arms were painted. Those Indians whom the Spaniards called *Pintados* lived on the frontiers of the seven towns forming the kingdom of Cibola.† Their descendants, now called Papagos and Pimas, still reside in the same country, which extends from the valley of Santa

* The Casa Grande of the San Miguel.

† Cibolos in the Mexican language means buffaloes, according to Clavigero.

Cruz to the Rio Gila. Cibola, the first of the seven towns and capital of the kingdom of that name, was situated thirty days' journey from Vacapa. The Pintados said they often went there and were employed in tilling the ground; and received for their wages turquoises and tanned hides.

An Indian of this town told Father Marcos that Cibola was a great city, densely peopled, with a great number of streets and squares; that in some quarters there were very large houses with ten stories, where the chieftains assembled, at certain times of the year, to discuss public affairs. The doors and fronts of those houses were adorned with turquoises. The inhabitants had white skins like the Spaniards, and wore wide cotton tunics that reached to their feet. These garments were fastened round the neck by means of a button, and were ornamented at the waist with a belt studded with very fine turquoises. Over these tunics some wore excellent cloaks, and others very richly wrought cowhides. The same Indian added, "That towards the southeast there existed a kingdom called Marata, with large populations and considerable towns, the houses of which had several stories; that these people were continually at war with the sovereign of the seven towns. And that in the direction of the southwest, on the Rio Verde, was another kingdom called Totonteac, which was as wealthy as it was densely peopled, and whose inhabitants were dressed in fine cloth." Although these narratives were exaggerated, it is not less a fact that all those countries were thickly populated, intersected with roads, and studded with towns.*

When Father Marcos had rested himself, he took measures to rejoin the negro, accompanied by the Pintados, who served him as guides; and he left Vacapa on Easter Monday. He was everywhere welcomed with the same marks of kindness and the same cordiality. Everywhere he received presents of turquoises, tanned skins, rabbits, quails, game, maize, and vegetables. On the 9th of May he entered the last desert that separated him from Cibola. Having stopped for a few minutes to dine at a farm-house, he saw one of Esteva's companions coming hastily towards him, quite covered with perspi-

* The ruins on the Gila, Rio Verde, and San Miguel all go to confirm what this Indian reported to Father Marcos.

The direction of one of these places appears to be wrong. The Indian was speaking of the direction of these places from Cibola, which was probably where now is the Casa Grande of the Gila. The Casa Grande of the San Miguel was probably in the kingdom of Marata, for it would be southeast from the Casa Grande of the Gila. But the Casa Grande of the Rio Verde could not be southwest from that of the Gila, but rather is northward of it.

ration, faint from fatigue, and trembling with fear. This man told him that the inhabitants of Cibola had first imprisoned the negro and afterwards put him to death, as also several of the Indians who accompanied him. These tidings threw consternation among Father Marcos' followers. The greater number of them were relatives or friends of the victims; they accused him of being the cause of this misfortune, and resolved upon killing him. He fortunately escaped this danger and returned in all haste to Culiacan, where he related to the governor all that had occurred during his expedition.

Captain-general Vasquez Coronado, encouraged by the account given by Father Marcos, and hoping to discover new territories, at once organized, in New Spain, a little army which assembled at Compostella, and on the day following Easter, 1540, he put himself at the head of his troops, composed of one hundred and fifty horsemen, two hundred archers, and eight hundred Indians. Having reached Culiacan, the army halted to take rest. At the end of a fortnight Coronado moved forward, accompanied by fifty horsemen, a few foot soldiers, and his best friends, among whom was father Marcos. The command of the remainder of the troops was confided to Don Tristan d'Arrellano, with orders to leave fifteen days later, and to follow the same route as the captain-general.

After a month of fatigue and of privation of all kinds, Vasquez Coronado arrived at Chichilticale. This name, which signifies Red House, was given to this locality because a large house of that color was to be seen there, where the last desert begins, which house was inhabited by an entire tribe that came from Cibola. At this place the Spaniards lost several horses, and even some men, from want of food. Nevertheless, encouraged by their chief, they continued their march, and a fortnight after they had left Chichilticale, they arrived within twenty-six miles of Cibola. They saw, for the first time, the natives of this singular kingdom, but the latter immediately took to flight, spreading the alarm throughout the country by means of great fires, which they kindled on the high mountains: a custom in use to this day among the tribes of New Mexico.

Next day, Coronado came in sight of Cibola. The inhabitants of the province had all assembled, and awaited the Spaniards with a steady attitude. Far from accepting the proposals of peace which were offered them, they threatened the interpreters with death. The Spaniards then cried out, "San Iago! San Iago!" attacked the Indians with impetuosity, and, notwithstanding a vigorous resistance, Coronado entered the town of Cibola as conqueror. In fighting, the Indians had made use of arrows, and of stones which they threw with much skill. During the assault, the Spanish gen-

eral was thrown down by an enormous stone which was hurled at him, and would have been killed had it not been for the strength of his armor, and the devotedness of his friends, Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and Hernando d'Alvarado, who shielded him with their bodies, while some others helped him up.* Coronado found neither old men, women, nor children under fifteen years of age, in the town. The besieged had caused them to be taken to the mountains before the action began. The description which, in his report to the emperor Charles V., he gives of the country, its climate, its inhabitants, their customs, and their usages, resembles much what we see now-a-days among the Zunis, and in their province. In general, when one studies attentively the writings of the missionaries, and of the other Spaniards of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sent by the viceroys of New Spain to discover distant countries, the information given by those writers is found to be exact, though often incomplete or exaggerated.

The remainder of the army, which had remained at Culiacan, took the route at the time appointed to join the commander-in-chief. Every one was on foot, with a lance on his shoulder, and carrying provisions. After unheard-of fatigues, the column reached the valley of San Miguel, amidst the Corazones. But as the maize was not yet ripe, and the soldiers were dying from hunger, their commander, Don Tristan d'Arrellano, changed routes and marched towards a valley, which the Spaniards call Señora, a name which was changed into that of Sonora. The valley of Suya, where the army, at this epoch, founded the town of San Hieronymo, is one hundred and twenty miles farther on than the one of the Sonora. These two valleys were peopled with Indians, agricultural tribes whose language, manners, usages, and religion were alike. The women painted their chins, and around their eyes; the men were very depraved, and intoxicated themselves with wine made from the Pitahaya, which grows everywhere there in abundance; they also tamed eagles, as is yet the custom among some tribes of New Mexico.

On reaching the Sierra Mogoyon the Spaniards lost several of their companions, from the severe privations and difficulties of the route. During this march the army crossed many rivers which flow into the Californian Gulf, and on the banks of which they found numerous Indian tribes, who cultivated maize, kidney beans, pumpkins, and melons of such an enormous size that a man could scarcely

* From this it may be inferred that the Indians hurled large stones from their house-tops. The protection and assistance that the general required in this accident show that the defence was vigorous, and that Coronado, at Cibola, lacked very little of experiencing a fate similar to that of Pyrrhus, at Argos.

move them. After a march of nine hundred and seventy-five miles, the detachment directed its course towards the northwest, and soon made its junction with Vasquez Coronado, the general-in-chief, at Cibola. In consequence of this reinforcement, Coronado took measures to follow up his conquest by sending Alvarado, his lieutenant, to take possession of the province of Tigex, on the Rio Grande.

This province was subdued, after a resistance of fifty days on the part of the Indians. It contained twelve towns, governed by a council of old men. The whole community helped to construct each house; the women made the mortar and built up the walls, and the men brought the wood and prepared the timbers. Underneath the houses and the court-yards were subterraneous stoves or drying places, paved with large polished flag-stones. In the middle was a furnace, on which they threw, from time to time, a handful of thyme, which was sufficient to keep up an intense heat there, so that one felt as if in a bath. The men spent a considerable part of their time in those places, but the women could not enter there except to carry food to their husbands or sons. The men spun, wove, and attended to the tillage of their grounds; the women occupied themselves with the care of their children and household affairs; they were the mistresses of the house, and kept it remarkably clean. In the large houses each family had several rooms; one served as a sleeping room, another as a kitchen, and a third for the purpose of grinding wheat [corn]?. In the latter was an oven and three large stones; three women would seat themselves before these stones; the first would crush the grain, the second bruise it, and the third pulverize it completely. While they were thus employed, a man seated at the door played on a kind of bagpipe, and the women worked to measure, all three singing together and marking the rhythm by striking with their tools the wheat they were grinding.

The young girls were completely deprived of raiment, even during the most severe frosts; it was only when they married that they were allowed to cover themselves. The young people could only enter the married state with the permission of the old men who governed the town. The young man had then to spin and weave a mantle; when completed, the girl who was destined to become his bride, was brought to him; he wrapped the mantle round her shoulders, and she thus became his wife.

From Tigex, the Spaniards went to Cicuye—now called Pecos—which they also subdued. From thence Coronado started for Quivira, with a few men chosen among his best soldiers; postpon-

ing until the following spring the conquest of the whole province. In 1542, the Spaniards found themselves masters of almost all New Mexico, whose centre was formed by the province of Tiguex, around which were grouped seventy-one towns, distributed among fourteen provinces, viz.,—Cibola, which contained seven towns; Tucayan, seven; Acuco, one; Tiguex, twelve; Cutahaco, eight; Quivira, seven; the Snowy Mountains, seven; Ximena, three; Cicuyè, one; Hemès, seven; Aquas Calientes, three; Yuque-Yunque, six; Braba, one; and Chia, one. Besides these seventy-one towns, there were many others scattered outside this circle; as also several tribes living in tents.

In the spring that followed Coronado's visit to Quivira, the commander-in-chief set about preparing another expedition, with the object of making new discoveries; but on the occasion of a festival, while he was "running the ring" with Don Pedro Maldonado, he fell from his horse; his adversary's went over his body and nearly killed him. This accident caused the general to alter his resolution, and inspired him with the desire of returning to New Spain, where he possessed large estates, to die quietly near his wife and children. The officers and soldiers, finding that the country was not so rich as they had been led to believe, and instigated by Coronado's secret emissaries, petitioned him to be allowed to return to Mexico; taking advantage of this disposition of his army, the general at once gave orders for departure, and returned to Culiacan in the month of April, 1543. Juan de Padilla, of the order of Saint Francis, preferred remaining at Quivira, to preach the gospel to the Indians, and became a martyr. Brother Louis, of the same order, went to Cicuyè, but was never more heard of. Such was the end of this expedition, which, instead of having a favorable result for the Spaniards, only tended to arouse against them the profound antipathy of the natives, who had been very ill-treated by the conquerors.

In 1581, a band of adventurers, commanded by Francisco de Leyva Bonillo, took possession of part of the province of Tiguex, and finding its products, riches, and inhabitants very like those of Mexico, they called it New Mexico.

In 1594 Count de Monterey, then viceroy of Mexico, sent the famous General Don Juan de Onate de Zacatecas to take possession of New Mexico in the name of the king of Spain, and to establish colonies, forts, and missionaries there. In a short time the Franciscan missionaries succeeded in Christianizing numerous Indian tribes who inhabited towns or villages which the Spaniards called "Pueblos," to distinguish those half-civilized tribes from those who,

more savage or more independent, would not submit to the conqueror's authority.

For a long period the country enjoyed perfect tranquillity; the grounds were tilled, and the mines explored throughout this large territory; but in 1680 there occurred a general rising of the Indians with the object of shaking off the foreign yoke; and all the Spaniards who fell into the hands of the natives were unmercifully massacred. After several bloody conflicts and unexampled efforts, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor of New Mexico, was obliged to retire with his troops from Santa Fé, seat of the government. He stopped on the Rio Grande, where he fell in with some friendly tribes who helped him to build the town which now bears the name of Paso del Norte. It was only after ten years of a most obstinate warfare that Spain was able to reconquer New Mexico. Other insurrections again nearly wrested this fine province from the Spaniards, but none proved so fatal to them as that which broke out in 1680. An inveterate hatred exists to this day in the hearts of the Indians of this country against their former masters; the Mexicans who inhabit it are scarcely better liked; and the Americans, who now possess this state (only very recently, it is true), will with difficulty find much sympathy there.

New Mexico, properly so called, is a very mountainous region; it is traversed in its centre by a great valley going from north to south, and formed by the Rio Grande, formerly called the Tiguex. The average width of this valley is twenty miles; it is bounded on the east by the Sierra Blanca, the Sierra of Los Organos, and the Sierra Oscura; and on the west by the Sierra of Los Grullos, the Sierra of Acha, and that of Los Mimbres, which form the prolongation of the Rocky Mountains. These mountains measure, south of Santa Fé, from 6000 to 7000 feet in height, and on the north are desolated peaks constantly covered with snow, which rise to 9000 and even to 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. They abound in gold, copper, iron, and even silver mines. The auriferous ground covers an extent of more than two hundred and sixty-five miles around Santa Fé, but it is scarcely explored. Near Jemez, formerly Hemez, towards the sources of the Rio Grande, there is a great quantity of coal and some gypsum, and the windows of the greater number of the houses are made of selenite instead of glass.

Lakes are numerous throughout this country; the Mexicans draw from them muriate of soda, common salt, which they use for domestic purposes. It is close to one of these lakes, between the Rio Pecos and the Rio Grande, that the ruins of Gran Quivira may be seen.

Coronado visited this town in 1542 in hopes of finding the treasures of which a wonderful account had been given him. Quivira, nevertheless, disappointed the conqueror's expectations; but it appears that, in the seventeenth century, this town became very rich and flourishing, and sent twice a year considerable quantities of gold to Spain. It is probable that this town was destroyed after the general insurrection of 1680.

New Mexico is divided into three districts: the central, the north, and the southeast. The principal Indian tribes who live outside of this circle are Navajos, the Yampais, the Moquis, the Apaches, the Cosninos, the Tontos, the Coco Maricopas, and the Mojaves. The Navajos country is comprised between the Rio San Juan, the valley of Tumeca, and the cañon of Chelly. Their hunting territory extends to the sources of the Gila. These Indians cultivate in beautiful valleys a little wheat, maize, and vegetables; but their greatest wealth consists principally in herds of cattle, of sheep, and of horses. They manufacture blankets, called *gorongos* in Texas, which are much prized throughout New Mexico. West of the Navajos, in the delta formed by the two Colorados, are situated the seven towns belonging to the Moquis. Between the Colorado, Chiquito, and the Rio Gila dwell two bands of Apaches, called Coyoteros and Pinal Leñas. Those Indians depend more for their subsistence on the plunder they make in the Sonora than on the produce of agriculture. The Cosinos live near the volcanic mountains of San Francisco, and even as far as the great Colorado. The borders of the Rio Verde and the range of the Aztecs are occupied by the Tontos. The Yampais' villages are situated to the west and north-west of the Rio Virgen, which falls into the California Gulf. Four tribes are concentrated in the valley of the Colorado, viz.: the Mojaves, Chemchuevis, the Yumas or Cuchans, and the Cocopas. These Indians, particularly those of the pueblos of New Mexico, are generally remarkable for their sobriety and industry, the chastity of the women, the conjugal fidelity of both sexes, their integrity of manners, and their honesty in the ordinary transactions of social life. If these half-civilized populations are inferior to the ancient Mexicans in the development of the intellectual faculties, they are decidedly superior to them in the exercise of the moral ones.

When New Mexico was discovered all the country extending from Culiacan to the desert of Cibola, on one side, and to the Rio Colorado on the other, was but a succession of towns, villages, and habitations, joined together by cultivated fields, orchards, gardens, and roads. But those great multitudes of human beings have almost

disappeared since the conquest; the silence of the wilderness has succeeded to the joyful songs of the extinct populations, and the aridity of the desert replaces the primitive fertility of the soil.*

II.

PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO.

These monuments are dispersed throughout the country which extends from the Rio Grande, in New Mexico, to the Gila, the Colorado, and the Gulf of California. All these towns are so ancient that no Indian tradition of the present race makes any mention of them. In all these ruins are found fragments of pottery which still retain a very perfect varnish; they are ornamented with brilliant paintings, lines, scallops, frogs, butterflies, tortoises, and monkeys' heads. These remains of towns are extremely numerous in the country of the Zunis, Navajos, and Jemez. There is a pueblo at Taos composed of two edifices separated by a river, and connected by a bridge which reached from one edifice to the other.

The most remarkable are the pueblos Pintado and Wejegi, in the narrow pass of Chaco, situated $35^{\circ} 56' 27''$ north latitude, and $107^{\circ} 46'$ west longitude. The Pueblo Pintado is built of small flat slabs of gray, fine-grained sandstone. The wall stones are only two inches and a half thick, sometimes less; and the way in which they are built is indicative of much art and ingenuity. The walls show no trace of cement, the intervals between each layer being neatly filled up with small colored pebbles, incrusting in mortar made without lime. It has three stories, its whole elevation being about thirty feet. Each story forms a terrace, and a step to the story above, which is attained by means of wooden ladders resting against the wall. The thickness of the outer wall is one yard at the base, diminishing at each successive story, so that the top wall is but little more than one foot thick. The length of the edifice is one hundred and thirty yards. There are fifty-three rooms on the ground floor, some being only five feet wide on each side; others, twelve by six. All these rooms communicate by means of very small doors, some of which are only thirty-three inches high by equal width. The floors are made of rough beams seven and a half inches in diameter, over which are transversely laid cross-beams of less size; above these is a layer of bark and brush-wood covered over with mortar. These beams show

* "Deserts of North America," by Abbé E. M. Domenech.

no mark of having been wrought by ax or saw; they rather appear to have been cut or broken off with some rough instrument more blunt than sharp. The ground floor of this pueblo has no windows; those belonging to the other stories are of the same dimensions as the doors.

The banks of the Rio Verde abound in ruins of stone dwellings and fortifications. They are found in the most fertile valleys, where traces of former cultivation and of small canals for artificial irrigation are yet visible. The solidly built walls are twenty or thirty yards long, by thirty or forty-five feet high. The houses are two-storied, with small openings for doors, windows, and loopholes for defence against attacks from the outside. The style of these constructions recalls that of Chichilticale (Red House) of the Pimas. Excavations among these majestic ruins have yielded abundant fragments of beautiful pottery ornamented with brilliantly colored paintings.

The ruins of Wejegi present the same character as those of which we have already made mention. They are two hundred and thirty yards [feet?] in length, and there are ninety-nine rooms on the ground floor. The Pueblo Una Vida, situated in the defile of Chaco, is ninety-eight yards longer than that of Wejegi. The Pueblo Bonito is more extensive still. The ruins of Pueblo Chettro Kettle measure four hundred and thirty-three yards in length, and have four stories. The doors and windows are larger than those of other monuments of the kind, and the floor-beams are of pine and cedar wood. The number of rooms is one hundred and twenty-four on each story. One of these rooms is in a state of perfect preservation. It is four yards twenty inches long, by two yards and a half broad, and ten feet high. The walls are stone, covered over with plaster.

On the banks of the Gila are seen ponderous ruins, called Casas Grandes, a description of which exists in the works of Humboldt and in the collection of Ternaux Compans; but many others have never been described.

The country inhabited by the Coco-mari-copas, towards the Salt River and the Gila, seems once to have been very populous, to judge from the remains of walls, houses, and pottery which the traveller meets at every step. In this place lie the Aztec ruins called Casa de Montezuma, which possibly may be nothing else than the oft-mentioned Casas Grandes. They consist of remains of the walls of four buildings, and heaps of rubbish indicating the places of other edifices. The largest house appears to have had four stories; the floors and ceilings have long since crumbled away, but in the walls there still exist pieces of round cedar beams more than a yard [foot?]

thick. The walls are four feet thick at the base, and gradually diminish as they rise to the top; they are made of a kind of concrete, composed of pebbles and white earth, polished and whitened over.

Two hundred yards beyond this house there is a tumulus surrounded by an earthen wall one hundred yards in circumference. Still further on is a terrace of one hundred yards by seventy, supporting a pyramid of thirty feet in height by twenty-five square yards at the summit. The whole of the plain extending north, east, and west of the left bank of the Gila, and formerly washed by its waters, is discoverable from the top of this pyramid.*

Near Salt River the remains, and especially the ruins of houses, are even more considerable than those we have described, but they present nothing remarkable or worthy of particular mention. Tumuli, truncated pyramids, and filled-up wells surrounded by inclosure walls are frequently met with in those latitudes. All these monuments contain red and painted pottery, and perforated shells, which were used as coins or ornaments.

All these pueblos of New Mexico contain small circular structures, called estufas, often placed within the building itself, or else only a few yards distant, once used as places of meeting for political or religious assemblies. When a question of public interest has to be discussed, the cacique who governs a pueblo calls the different chiefs together in the estufa, where secret debate is held over the affair. Sometimes the warriors assemble there after an expedition, to rejoice together for a day or two before they meet their families.

These estufas are, properly speaking, round or square store rooms, usually situated beneath the soil, like cellars; they are sometimes of large dimensions. The ceiling is supported by enormous pillars of masonry, or made of stout pine trees. The interior is heated by means of aromatic plants, which are kept continually burning. These edifices are generally devoid of door or window, and the only ingress to them is from an aperture at the top. There are pueblos which possess not less than four, and even six estufas of different sizes. The estufas of Jemez were rectangular and one story only, being about twenty-five feet wide, and thirty feet high. The interior walls of these edifices were always covered with hieroglyphic paintings and various ornaments. Among the ruins of Hungo-Pavie, near the beautiful plateau of the Mesafachada, one of these edifices is found, which had at least four stories, buttresses in the interior, and walls a yard thick by thirty feet in height. The

* The general direction of the Gila is westwardly; the left bank would, consequently, be the southern.

estufas in Pueblo Bonito are sixty yards in circumference, and their walls are regularly formed of layers of small stones, alternating with layers of larger ones.

The Jemez, Zunis, and several other Indian tribes, still dwell in pueblos like those we have described, and it is most probably to their ancestors, and to those of nearly all the tribes of New Mexico, that the construction of these gigantic edifices ought to be attributed.

In the interior of the estufas one finds a system of picture writing more perfect than that of ordinary inscriptions. The tribes of New Mexico not yet converted to Catholicism adore the planets and fire, as did their ancestors; emblems of this worship, and signs of their veneration for Montezuma, are painted on the surface of the interior walls of the estufas. These paintings, in point of form and color, have great analogy with what may be called Indian pictography, notwithstanding they are anterior to the discovery of America by Columbus. In the estufas, more or less in ruins in the country of the Jemez, one sees painted red and blue, plants, birds, and animals; such as turkeys, stags, wolves, foxes, dogs, etc. The stags and hinds, above all, are remarkable for the exactness of their proportions, and the clearness of their outline. The Jemez pretend that these figures have no signification whatever; that they are mere ornaments, and in no way representations of any events of their political, civil, or religious history.

The narrow passes of the Chaco, the Chelly, and of all the valleys of New Mexico, as well as estufas, possess numerous inscriptions of all kinds, indicating (except the Spanish ones) the same degree of civilization, if not the same epoch. In the grotto in Rocky Dell, the ceilings are covered with paintings, and the walls and floors with hieroglyphic figures; there are combinations of allegoric drawings signifying some historical fact; there is a ship with sails; then a man standing upon a horse, and an Indian with naked legs looking at him from behind; after which there are priests with crosses, and Spaniards.

Modern Indian idiography does not differ from the method in use among the ancient colonists of the united states of New Mexico: a little more or less address, or natural talent, in the formation of the lines of drawing, is all the difference to be perceived between the hieroglyphic inscriptions of savages of our days, and those of their ancestors.*

* "Deserts of North America," by Abbé E. M. Domenech.

III.

THE GILA AND THE CASAS GRANDES OF THE GILA, AND THE CASAS GRANDES OF SAN MIGUEL.

To illustrate a portion of the account of Alvarez Nunez, and especially of that of Coronado, I have extracted the following from "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance," from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego, made in 1846-7, by W. H. Emory, brevet major (now general), U. S. A., in which extracts will be found an account of the Gila from the mouth of Night Creek to its junction with the Colorado, including notices of the Apaches, Pimos, and Maricopa Indians, the Casa Grande or Casa Montezuma, the interesting ancient ruins and remains along the route, and a general view of the regions bordering on both sides of the Gila.

"Oct. 19th, 1846. Three miles from the camp last night we had reached the divide, and from that point the descent was regular and continuous to Night Creek.

"20th. The broad, level valley we had been travelling the last few miles was narrowing rapidly by the intrusion of high precipices, and the proximity of great mountains in confused masses, indicated some remarkable change in the face of the country. We were in truth but a few miles from the Gila.

"The general sent word to the Apaches he would not start till nine or ten. This gave them time to come in, headed by their chief, Red Sleeve. A large number of Indians had collected about us, all differently dressed, and some in the most fantastical style. The Mexican dress and saddles predominated, showing where they had chiefly made up their wardrobe. Several wore beautiful helmets decked with black feathers, which, with the short shirt, waist-belt, bare legs, and buskins, gave them the look of pictures of antique Grecian warriors.

"These men have no fixed homes. Their houses are of twigs. They hover around the beautiful hills that overhang the Del Norte, between the thirty-first and thirty-second parallels of latitude. These hills are covered with luxuriant gramina. The light and graceful manner in which they mounted and dismounted, always upon the right side, was the admiration of all. Their children are on horseback from infancy. There was among them a poor deformed woman, with legs and arms no longer than an infant's. She was well mounted, and the gallant manner in which some of the plumed

Apaches waited on her, for she was perfectly helpless when dismounted, made it hard for me to believe the tales of blood and vice told of these people.

"We wended our way through the narrow valley of Night Creek. On each side were huge stone buttes shooting up to the skies. At one place we were compelled to mount one of these spurs almost perpendicularly. A good road was subsequently found, turning the spur and following the creek until it debouched into the Gila, which was only a mile distant.

"Some hundred yards before reaching this river, the roar of its waters made us understand that we were to see something different from the Del Norte. Its section where we struck it, four thousand three hundred and forty-seven feet above the sea, was fifty feet wide, and an average of two feet deep. Clear and swift, it came bouncing from the great mountains which appeared to the north, about sixty miles distant. We crossed the river; its large, round pebbles and swift current caused the mules to tread warily. We followed its course and encamped under a high range of symmetrically formed hills overhanging the river.

"Oct. 21st. After going a few miles, crossing and re-crossing the river a dozen times, it was necessary to leave its bed to avoid a cañon. This led us over a very broken country.

"Oct. 22d. We were now fast approaching the ground where rumor and the maps of the day place the ruins of the so-called Aztec towns. We encamped on a bluff, high above the river.

"Oct. 23d. The table-land, one hundred and fifty feet above the river, was covered so thick with large paving pebbles as to make it difficult to get a smooth place to lie upon. The growth to-day and yesterday on the hills, and in the valleys, very much resembles that on the Del Norte; the only exception being a few new and beautiful varieties of cactus. After leaving our last night's camp, for a mile, the general appearance, width of the valley, and soil much resembled the most fertile parts of that river.

"To-day we passed one of the long-sought ruins. I examined it minutely, and the only evidences of handicraft remaining were immense quantities of broken pottery, extending for two miles along the river. There were a great many stones, rounded by attrition of the water, scattered about; and if they had not occasionally been deposited in lines forming rectangles with each other, the supposition would be that they had been deposited there by natural causes.

"Oct. 24th. To-day we lay by to recruit.

"Oct. 25th. We were now approaching the region made famous in olden times by the fables of Friar Marcos, and eagerly did we as-

cend every mound, expecting to see in the distance what I fear is the fabulous "Casa Montezuma." The Indians here do not know the name Aztec; Montezuma is the outward point in their chronology. The name at this moment is as familiar to every Indian, | Puebla, Apache, and Navajoe, as that of our Saviour or Washington is to us. In the person of Montezuma they united both qualities of divinity and patriot.

"We to-day passed the ruins of two more villages, similar to those of yesterday. The foundation of the largest house seen yesterday was sixty by twenty feet; to-day forty by thirty. About none did we find any vestiges of the mechanical art, except the pottery; the stone forming the supposed foundation was round and unhewn, and some cedar logs were also found about the houses, much decayed, bearing no marks of an edged tool. Except these ruins, of which not one stone remains upon another, no marks of human hands or footsteps have been visible for many days, until to-day we came upon a place where there had been an extensive fire.

"Oct. 26. The mountains, on the north side, swept in something like a regular curve from our camp of last night to the mouth of the San Carlos, deeply indented in two places by the ingress into the Gila of the Prieto and Azul rivers.

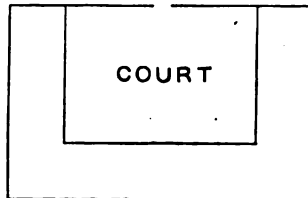
"Oct. 27. After a day's work we were obliged to lie by to-day. I strolled a mile or two up the San Carlos, and found the whole distance, it has its way in a narrow cañon, worn from the solid basalt. On either side in the limestone, under the basalt, were immense cavities, and near its mouth we found the foundation of a rectangular house, and a mound adjacent that of a circular building a few feet in diameter. Both of these ruins were of round unhewn stones, and the first was surrounded by pieces of broken pottery.

"Our camp was near an old Apache camp. The Gila at this place is much swollen by the affluence of the three streams just mentioned, and its cross section here is about seventy feet by four.

"Oct. 28th. One or two miles' ride and we were clear of the Black Mountains, and again in the valley of the Gila, which widened out gradually to the base of Mount Graham, abreast of which we encamped. Almost for the whole distance, twenty miles, were found at intervals the remains of houses like those before described. Just before reaching the base of Mount Graham, a wide valley, smooth and level, comes in from the southeast. Up this valley are trails leading to St. Bernardino, Fronteras, and Tucson.

"At the junction of this valley with the Gila, are the ruins of a large settlement. I found traces of a circular wall two hundred and seventy feet in circumference. Here, also, was one circular inclosure

of four hundred yards. This must have been for defence. Large mezquites now grow in it, attesting its antiquity. Most of the houses are rectangular, varying from twenty to one hundred feet front; many were in the form of the present Spanish houses, thus—



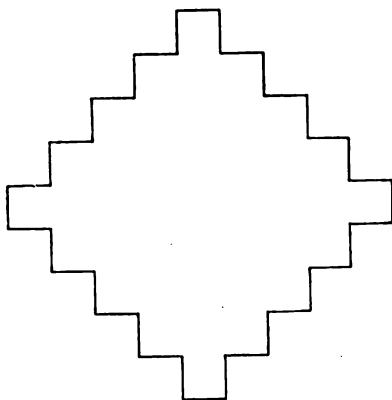
Red cedar posts were found in many places, which seemed to detract from their antiquity, but for the peculiarity of this climate where vegetable matter seems never to decay. No mark of an edged tool could be found, and no remnant of any household or family utensils, except the fragments of pottery, which were everywhere strewn on the plain, and the rude corn-grinder still used by the Indians. So great was the quantity of this pottery, and the extent of ground covered by it, that I have formed the idea it must have been used for pipes to convey water. There were about the ruins quantities of the fragments of agate and obsidian. This valley was evidently the abode of busy, hard-working people.

"Oct. 29th. A subterraneous stream flowed at the foot of Mount Graham, and fringed its base with evergreen. Everywhere there were marks of flowing water, yet vegetation was so scarce and crisp that it would be difficult to imagine a drop of water had fallen since last winter. The whole plain, from three to six miles wide, is within the level of the waters of the Gila, and might easily be irrigated, as it no doubt was by the former tenants of these ruined houses. The crimson tinted Sierra Carlos skirted the river on the north side the whole day.

"Oct. 30th. Mt. Turnbull, terminating in a sharp cone, had been in view down the valley of the river for three days. To-day, about three o'clock P.M., we turned its base, forming the northern terminus of the same chain in which is Mt. Graham.

"Half a mile from our camp of last night were other very large ruins, which appeared, as well as I could judge (my view being obstructed by the thick growth of mezquite), to have been the abode of five or ten thousand souls. The outline of the buildings and the pottery presented no essential difference from those already described. But about eleven miles from the camp, on a knoll over-

looked in a measure by a tongue of land, I found the trace of a solitary house somewhat resembling that of a field-work *en cremal-liere*. The inclosure was complete, and the faces varied from ten to thirty feet. The accompanying cut will give a more accurate idea than words.



"Last night, about dusk, one of our men discovered a drove of wild hogs. The average weight of these animals is one hundred pounds, and their color invariably light pepper-and-salt. Their flesh is said to be palatable, if the musk which lies near the back part of the spine is carefully removed.

"Oct. 31st. To-day, reaching the San Francisco about noon, we unsaddled to refresh our horses, and to allow time to look up a trail by which we could pass the formidable range of mountains through which the Gila cuts its way, making a deep cañon impassable for the howitzers.

"Nov. 1st. No alternative seemed to offer but to pursue Carson's old trail, sixty miles over a rough country without water, and two, if not three, days' journey. I took advantage of an early halt to ascend with the barometer a very high peak overhanging the camp, which I took to be the loftiest in the Piñon Lano range on the north side of the Gila. Its approximate height was only 5724 feet above the sea.

"Nov. 4th. Six miles from our camp of last night we reached a summit, and then commenced descending again rapidly towards the Gila.

"Nov. 5th. The Gila now presented an inhospitable look. The valley, not more than three hundred feet from base to base of these perpendicular mountains, is deep. In the course of six miles we had to cross and recross the river twice as many times, when we

left it by turning abruptly up a dry ravine to the south. This we followed for three miles, and crossed a ridge at the base of Saddle-Back Mountain, and descended by another dry creek to the St. Pedro, running nearly north.

"The dry creek by which we crossed to the St. Pedro River is the great highway leading from the mountain fastnesses into the plains of Santa Cruz, Santa Anna, and Tucson, frontier towns of Sonora. Since the 1st of November we have been traversing with incredible labor the stronghold of these mountain robbers (Apaches).

"Nov. 6th. It is decided this should be a day of rest. In the sandy arroyos where our fires burn, were broken pottery and the remains of a large building similar in form, substance, and apparent antiquity to those so often described.

"Nov. 7th. About two miles from our camp the San Pedro joins the Gila, just as the latter leaps from the mouth of a cañon. The place of meeting is a bottom three miles wide, seeming a continuation of that of the Gila. Flights of geese and myriads of blue quail were seen, and a flock of wild turkeys. The river-bed at the junction of the San Pedro was seamed with tracks of deer and turkey, some *signs* of beaver, and one trail of wild hogs.

"Our camp was on a flat sandy plain of small extent, at the mouth of a dry creek. At the junction a clear, pure stream flowed from under the sand. From the many indications of gold and copper ore at this place, I have named it Mineral Creek. There was a great deal of pottery about our camp, and just above us were the supposed remains of a large Indian settlement, differing very slightly from those already described.

"Nov. 8th. The whole day's journey was through a cañon. The latitude of this camp, which is within a mile of the spot where we take a final leave of the mountains, is $33^{\circ} 05' 40''$, its longitude $111^{\circ} 13' 10''$ west of Greenwich, and the height of the river above the sea, as indicated by the barometer, 1751 feet.

"Nov. 9th. We started in advance of the command. The first thing we noticed in the gorge was a promontory of pitch-stone, against which the river impinged with fearful force. Mounting to the top of the rock, on a beautiful table we found sunk six or eight perfectly symmetrical and well-turned holes, about ten inches deep and six or eight wide at the top; near one in a remote place was a pitch-stone, well turned, and fashioned like a pestle. These could be nothing else than the corn-mills of long-extinct races.

"The Gila at this point, released from its mountain barrier, flows off quietly, at the rate of three miles an hour, into a wide plain, which extends south almost as far as the eye can reach. Upon this

plain mezquite, chamiza, the green acacia, prosopis, artemisia, obione, canescens, and pitahaya were the only vegetation. In one spot, only, we found a few bunches of grass; more than four-fifths of the plain was destitute of vegetation; the soil a light-brown, loose sandy earth. We made our noon halt at the grass patch. At this place were the remains of an immense Indian settlement; pottery was everywhere to be found, but the remains of foundations of the houses were imbedded in dust. Outlines of the zequias, by which the soil was irrigated, were sometimes quite distinct.

"Nov. 10th. The valley on the south side of the Gila still grows wider. Away off in that direction the peaks of the Sonora mountains just peep above the horizon. On the north side of the river, and a few miles from it, runs a low chain of serrated hills. Near our encampment a corresponding range draws in from the south-east, giving the river a bend to the north. At the base of this chain is a long meadow, reaching many miles south, in which the Pimos graze their cattle; and along the whole day's march were remains of zequias, pottery, and other evidences of a once densely populated country. About the time of the noon halt, a large pile, which seemed the work of human hands, was seen to the left. It was the remains of a three-story mud house, sixty feet square, pierced for doors and windows. The walls were four feet thick, and formed of layers of mud two feet thick. We made a long and careful search for some specimens of household furniture, or implements of art, but nothing was found but a corn-grinder, always met with among the ruins, and on the plains. The marine shell cut into various ornaments was also found here. No traces of hewn timber were discovered; on the contrary, the sleepers of the ground floor were sound and unhewn. They were burnt out of their seats in the wall to the depth of six inches. The whole interior of the house had been burnt out, and the walls much defaced. What was left bore marks of having been glazed, and on the walls in the north room of the second story were traced hieroglyphics.*

"Where we camped, eight or nine miles from the Pimos village, we met a Maricopo Indian looking for his cattle. The frank, confident manner in which he approached us was in strange contrast with that of the suspicious Apache. The camp of my party was pitched on the side nearest the town, and we saw the first of these people and their mode of approach. It was perfectly frank and unsuspecting. Many would leave their packs in our camp and be absent for hours; theft seemed to be unknown among them.

* See end of this article for a description of this building.

"Nov. 11th. Leaving the column, a few of us struck to the north side of the river to visit the ruins of another Casa Montezuma. The casa was in complete ruins, one pile of broken pottery and foundation stone making a mound about ten feet above the ground. The outline of the ground plan was distinct enough. We found the description of pottery the same as ever; and among the ruins the same sea-shells; one worked into ornaments; also a large bead an inch and a quarter in length, of bluish marble, exquisitely turned.

"Turning from the ruins towards the Pimos village, we came in at the back of the settlement of the Pimos Indians, and found our troops encamped in a corn-field from which the grain had been gathered. We were at once impressed with the beauty, order, and disposition of arrangements for irrigating and draining the land. Corn, wheat, and cotton are the crops of this peaceful and intelligent race of people. The fields are subdivided, by ridges of earth, into rectangles of about two hundred by one hundred feet, for the convenience of irrigating. The fences are of sticks wattled with willow and mezquite. The houses of the people are mere sheds thatched with willow and cornstalks.

"The dress of the men consisted of a cotton serape of domestic manufacture, and a breech cloth. Their hair was very long and clubbed up. The women wore nothing but the serape, pinned about the loins.

"Nov. 12th. They have but few cattle, which are used in tillage, and apparently all steers, procured from the Mexicans. Their horses and mules were not plenty, and those they possessed were prized extravagantly high.

"To us it was a rare sight to be thrown in the midst of a large nation, of what was termed wild Indians, surpassing many of the Christian nations in agriculture; little behind them in the useful arts, and immeasurably before them in honesty and virtue. During the whole of yesterday our camp was full of men, women, and children, who sauntered amongst our packs unwatched, and not a single instance of theft was reported.

"Each abode consists of a dome-shaped wicker work, about six feet high, and from twenty to fifty feet in diameter, thatched with straw or cornstalks. In front is usually a large arbor, on the top of which is piled the cotton in the pod, for drying. In the houses are stowed watermelons, pumpkins, beans, corn, and wheat; the three last articles are generally in large baskets. A few chickens and dogs were seen, but no other domestic animals except horses, mules, and oxen. Their implements of husbandry were steel axes,

wooden hoes, shovels, and barrows. Their molasses, put up in large jars, hermetically sealed, of which they had quantities, is expressed from the fruit of the *Cereus giganteus*.

"A woman was seated on the ground under the shade of one of the cotton sheds. Her left leg was tucked under her seat, and her foot turned sole upwards; between her big toe and the next, was a spindle about eighteen inches long, with a single fly of four or six inches. Ever and anon she gave it a twist in a dexterous manner, and at its end was drawn a coarse cotton thread. This was their spinning-jenny. I asked for the loom by pointing to the thread and then to the blanket girded about the woman's loins. A fellow stretched in the dust sunning himself, rose up leisurely and untied a bundle which I had supposed to be a bow and arrow. This little package, with four stakes in the ground, was the loom. He stretched his cloth and commenced the process of weaving.

"We travelled fifteen and a half miles, and encamped on the dividing ground between the Pimos and Maricopas. For the whole distance we passed through cultivated grounds, over a luxuriantly rich soil. The plain appeared to extend in every direction fifteen or twenty miles, except in one place about five miles before reaching camp, where a low chain of hills comes in from the southeast, and terminates some miles from the river. The bed of the Gila opposite the village, is said to be dry, the whole water being drawn off by the zequias of the Pimos for irrigation; but the ditches are larger than necessary for this purpose, and the water which is not used returns to the bed of the river with little apparent diminution in its volume.

"Looking from our camp north 30° west, you see a great plain with mountains rising in the distance on each side. In almost an opposite direction, north 50° east, there is a gap in the mountains through which the Salt River flows to meet the Gila, making with it an acute angle, at a point ten or fifteen miles from our camp, bearing northwest. A little north of east another gap, twenty or thirty miles distant, shows where the Rio San Francisco flows into the Salt River.* Near the junction of the Gila and Salt Rivers, there is a chain of low serrated hills coming in from both sides, contracting the valley considerably. Around the South Spur the Gila turns, making its course in a more southerly direction. To the east, except where the Spurs, already mentioned, protrude, the plain extends as far as the eye can reach.

"The population of the Pimos and Maricopas together is estimated

* Salt or Salina.

variously at from three to ten thousand. The first is evidently too low. They are without other religion than a belief in one great and overruling spirit. Their peaceful disposition is not the result of incapacity for war, for they are at all times enabled to meet and vanquish the Apaches in battle. The prisoners are sold as slaves to the Mexicans.

"The Maricopas occupy that part of the basin lying between Camp 97 [Rio San Pedro?] and the mouth of the Salt River [Rio Salina], and all that has been said of the Pimos is applicable to them. They live in cordial amity, and their habits, agriculture, religion, and manufactures are the same. In stature, the Maricopas are taller; their noses more aquiline, and they have a much readier manner of speaking and acting. Most of the interpreters of the Pimos were of this tribe. Though fewer in number, they appear to be superior in intelligence and personal appearance.

"Nov. 13th and 14th. We were notified that a long journey was to be made without water (to cut off an elbow in the river). The interpreter who guided us to the Casa Montezuma on the north side of the Gila, said that on the Salt River, about a day's journey and a half, there was one of those buildings standing, complete in all respects, except the floors and roof. He said it was very large, with beautiful glazed walls, that the footsteps of the men employed in building the house could yet be seen in the adobe, and that the impression was that of a naked foot. Whenever a rain comes Indians resort to these old houses to look for trinkets of shells, and a peculiar green stone.*

"At twelve o'clock, after giving our horses a last watering, we started off in a southwest direction to turn the southern foot of the range of hills pointing to the Salt River. We travelled till long after dark, and dropped down in a dust hole near two large green-barked acacias. There was not a sprig of grass, nor a drop of water. There was nothing but the offensive *Larrea*, which even mules will not touch. As soon as the moon rose, at 3 A. M., the bugle sounded to horse, and we were up and pursuing our way. A little after sunrise, we had passed the summit, and were descending towards the Gila. We reached it after making forty miles from our camp of yesterday. Our poor brutes were so hungry they would drink no water, but fell to work on the young willows and cane. After letting them bite a few minutes, we moved down the river five miles further, to a large and luxuriant patch of *paspalum* grass.

* It probably was the stone so often mentioned by early authors as "turquoise."

"Nov. 15th. In the morning the general found the mules so much worsted by the forty-five miles journey, without food or water, that he determined to remain for the day. This has been a gloomy day for the dragoon camp. The jornada cost them six or eight mules.

"The remains of an old zequia crossed our trail, and the plains were covered with broken pottery. About us there are signs of modern Indian tenements, and the zequia may possibly have been the work of their hands. We know the Maricopas have moved gradually from the gulf of California to their present location. They were found so late as the year 1826, at the mouth of the Gila. The shells found to-day were, in my opinion, evidently brought by the Maricopas from the sea. They differ from those we found among the ruins.

"Nov. 16th. The valley on the south side continues wide, and shows continuously the marks of former cultivation. On the north side the hills run close to the river.

"After making ten miles we came to a dry creek coming from a plain reaching far to the south, and then we mounted the table-lands to avoid a bend in the river, made by a low chain of black hills coming in from the southeast. About the summit was a mound of granite boulders, blackened by augite, and covered with unknown characters; the work of human hands. On the ground near by were also traces of some of the figures, showing some of the hieroglyphics, at least, to have been the work of modern Indians. Others were of undoubted antiquity, and the signs and symbols intended, doubtless, to commemorate some great event. One stone bore on it what might be taken, with a little stretch of imagination, to be a mastodon, a horse, a dog, and a man. Their heads are turned to the east and this may commemorate the passage of the aborigines of the Gila on their way south.

"Nov. 17th. The route to-day was over a country much the same as that described yesterday. Wherever we mounted the table-lands to cut a bend in the river, we found them dreary beyond description. The bottoms of the river are wide, and alive with flights of white brant (wing tipped with black), geese, and ducks, with many signs of deer and beaver.

"Nov. 18th. After travelling some ten or twelve miles through the valley, we mounted the table-land. The arroyo by which we descended to the river was cut from a bed of reddish pebbles twenty or thirty feet deep. The chain of broken hills still continue on the north side, and when near our camp of this date, circled in an amphitheatre, with its arch to the north.

"Nov. 19th. The table-lands were the same as those described

yesterday, but the valley widens gradually and for the most of the way is six or eight miles wide, and soil excellent. Some remains of former settlements, in broken pottery, corn-grinders, etc., but much fewer than above. Nine miles from camp a spur of mountains came in from the southeast, sharp and shooting into pinnacles. On this spur we killed a mountain sheep, one of a large flock, from which we named it Goat's Spur. We encamped on an island, where the valley is contracted by sand buttes, in what had been very recently the bed of the river. The pools in the old bed of the river were full of ducks, and all night the swan, brant, and geese were passing.

"Nov. 20th. The table-lands were of sand, and the bottom of the river constantly received deposits from them, which changed its bed frequently. Our camp was pitched on a little patch of grass two miles from the river.

"Nov. 21st. To-day we marched only eight and a half miles. The plains are now almost entirely of sand.

"Nov. 22d. Mr. Warner and I started before the advance, rounded and climbed the sharp spur of a continuous comb of mountain coming from the southeast, to try if we could see the Colorado of the west. The mountains rose abruptly from the plains, as they mostly do in this region, resembling in appearance large dikes, terminating at top in a sharp ridge, which a man could at any part straddle. They were of hard granite, pepper-and-salt color, traversed by seams of white quartz. This spur gives the river Gila quite a bend to the north, and from that point to its mouth, which we reached at night, the river is straight in its general direction; but its course is crooked and dotted with sand bars, by incursions from the sand hills which now flank both its sides. The sand is brought down by the winds from the valley of the Colorado. The day was warm, the dust oppressive, and the march twenty-two miles.

"Nov. 23d. We did not move camp to-day, in order to give our mules an opportunity to pick what little grass they could before taking the desert of ninety miles, which lies on the other side of the Colorado, and between us and water.

"Warner, Stanley, and myself saddled up to visit the junction of the Gila and Colorado, which we found due north from our camp, and about a mile and a half distant. We mounted a butte of feldspathic granite, and looking 25° east of north, the course of the Colorado was tracked by clouds of flying sand. The Gila comes into it nearly at right angles, and the point of junction is the hard butte through which, with their united forces, they cut a cañon, and then flow off due magnetic west. The walls of the cañon are vertical, and about fifty feet high and a thousand feet long. For the distance

of three or four miles below the junction the river is perfectly straight, and about six hundred feet wide; and up to this point there is little doubt that the Colorado is always navigable for steamboats.

"Near the junction, on the north side, are the remains of an old Spanish church, built near the beginning of the seventeenth century, by the renowned missionary, Father Kino.

"The stone butte through which they have cut their passage is not more than a mile in length. The Gila once flowed to the south and the Colorado to the north of this butte, and the point of junction was below.

"At the ford the Colorado is fifteen hundred feet wide and flows at the rate of a mile and a half per hour. Its greatest depth, in the channel at the ford where we crossed, is four feet. The banks are low, not more than four feet high. The ford is entered at the lower extremity of the plateau upon which we encamped, and a few feet to the right or left sets a horse afloat. Report makes the distance of the mouth of the Colorado from the crossing eighty miles. Departing from the ford of the Colorado in the direction of Senora there is a fearful desert to encounter. The distance is not exactly known, but it is variously represented at from four to seven days' journey."*

CASAS GRANDES OF THE GILA.

In a book entitled "Adventures in the Apache Country: A Tour through Arizona and Sonora," by J. Ross Browne, is the following in regard to the "Casas Grandes" of the Gila.

"At the Pimo villages Mr. Poston and myself organized a party to visit the Casas Grandes, situated about twenty miles above, near the Gila. The first night we spent at the Sacatone Station, from which the Tucson road diverges across the ninety-mile desert. Following the banks of the river next morning through dense groves of mesquite, keeping in view, a little to the left, a peculiar conical peak, which forms a prominent landmark, we travelled some eight or ten miles, till we struck the remains of an ancient acequia, very large and clearly defined. This was evidently the main artery of a series of acequias, by which a large tract of river-bottom was irrigated in ancient times. That villages and farms extended over a vast area of valley land in this vicinity was evident from the quantity of broken pottery and indications of cultivation we found on all sides. Mesquite trees, apparently falling into decay from age, now stand in the bed of the main acequia. Diverging to the right

* See Appendix note (4).



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when within a few miles of White's ranche, we struck out through the mesquite groves, and in about half an hour's ride from the river reached the famous Casas Grandes of the Gila.

"The earliest account we have of the Casas Grandes of the Gila is that of Mangi, who visited them in company with Father Kino in 1694. He speaks of the main ruin as a great edifice with the principal room in the middle, four stories high, and the wall two yards thick, and composed of strong mortar and clay; and also mentions the existence of twelve other ruins in the vicinity. Only three of these are now seen above the surface of the ground, although there are evidences of many more in detached mounds which abound in the neighborhood.

"Each group of ruins stands upon a slight eminence, distant from the other a few hundred feet. The tower or central part of the principal building is about forty feet high, and there were originally four stories in the main body of the building, as well as we could judge by the holes in the walls, in which are still seen the ends of round poles, or rafters, which supported the floors. Several of these that we took out are some five or six inches in diameter, and seemed to be a species of cedar. The ends show very plainly marks of the blunt instrument with which they were cut—probably a stone hatchet. It is evident the use of iron was unknown to the people who originally dwelt here.

"The walls of the Casa Grande are composed of a concrete of mud and gravel, very hard, and capable of long enduring the wear and tear of the seasons in this equable climate. The upper portion has been somewhat washed and furrowed by the rains, and the base is worn away to such a depth as to threaten the permanency of the whole fabric, from which one may judge of its antiquity. This concrete, or adobe, was cast in large blocks several feet square, presenting originally, no doubt, a smooth, flat surface; but the outside has been affected by the changes of the seasons. The inner surface is as smooth and hard as the finest plastered room. At the time of Mr. Bartlett's visit, there were traces of rude paintings and hieroglyphics to be seen on the interior walls; but these have been either so defaced as not now to be perceptible, or washed away by heavy rains. The outer dimensions are fifty feet north and south, and forty feet east and west; the thickness of the walls at the base, four feet. We spent half a day very pleasantly in exploring these interesting ruins, and took our departure for the camp on the Gila late in the evening, well laden with curiosities. Every member of the party had his fragment of pottery and specimen of adobe and plaster. The next day we returned to the Sacatone, and prepared for our journey across the desert."

THE CASAS GRANDES OF THE SAN MIGUEL.

On the San Miguel River, about one hundred and fifty miles northwest of the city of Chihuahua, in Mexico, are the ruins of the Casas Grandes (Great Houses). The Casas Grandes were built of sun-dried blocks of mud and gravel, about twenty-two inches thick, and of irregular length, generally about three feet. The walls are in some places about five feet thick, and they seem to have been plastered both inside and outside. The principal edifice extends eight hundred feet from north to south, and two hundred from east to west; its general outline is rectangular, and it appears to have consisted of three separate piles united by galleries or lines of lower buildings. The apartments have evidently varied in size from mere closets to extensive courts. The walls still stand at many of the angles, with a height of from forty to fifty feet, and indicate an original elevation of several stories, perhaps six or seven. At a distance of about four hundred and fifty feet from the main building are the substructions of a smaller edifice, consisting of a series of rooms ranged round a square court, so that there are seven to each side, besides a larger apartment at each corner. The whole district of Casas Grandes is further studded with artificial mounds, from which are excavated from time to time large numbers of stone axes, *metates* or corn-grinders, and earthen vessels of various kinds. These last have a white or reddish ground, with ornamentation in blue, red, brown, or black, and are of much better manufacture than the modern pottery of the country. Similar ruins to those of the Casas Grandes exist near the Gila, the Salinas, and the Colorado.*

The following is from the Abbe D. Francisco Saverio Clavigero's "History of Mexico:"—

"The ancestors of the nations which peopled the country of Anahuac, of which alone we are treating, might pass from the northern countries of Europe into the northern parts of America, or rather from the most eastern parts of Asia to the most westerly parts of America. This conclusion is founded on the constant and general tradition of those nations, which unanimously says that their ancestors came into Anahuac from the countries of the north and northwest. This tradition is confirmed by the remains of many ancient edifices built by those people in their migrations, which we have already mentioned, and the common belief of the people in the

* Encyclopædia Britannica.

north. Besides, from Torquemada and Betancourt we have a clear proof of it. In a journey made by the Spaniards in the year 1606, from New Mexico unto the river which they call Tizon, five hundred miles from that province, towards the northwest, they found there some large edifices and met with some Indians who spoke the Mexican language, by whom they were told that a few days' journey from that river, towards the north, was the kingdom of Tollan; and many other peopled places, from whence came those who peopled the Mexican empire, and that by the same people these and other like buildings had been erected. In fact, the whole people of Anahuac have usually affirmed that, towards the northwest and the north, there were the kingdoms and provinces of Tollan, Teocolhuacan, Amaquemecan, Aztlan, Tehuajo, and Copalla, names which are all Mexican, and the discovery of which, if the population of the Spaniards should spread into these parts, will throw great light on the ancient history of Mexico. Boturini says that, in the ancient paintings of the Toltecas, was represented the migration of their ancestors through Asia and the northern countries of America, until they established themselves in the country of Tollan, and even endeavors to ascertain, in his General History, the route they pursued in their travel; but, as he had not opportunity to compose the history which he designed, we can say no more on this matter."

CHAPTER VIII.

HERNANDO DE SOTO IN NICARAGUA.

1523-1526.

IN the year 1514, Pedrarias de Avila, who had been appointed governor of the mainland, called Castillo del Oro, by the Catholic king, embarked at Seville with nineteen ships and fifteen hundred men—the most distinguished company that had yet set out from Spain. He was accompanied by a bishop of the new colony, named Juan de Quevedo, Gaspar de Espinosa as *alcalde mayor*, the Bachiller Enciso as *alguazil mayor*, and Gonzalvo Hernandez de Oviedo, the historian, as *veedor* or inspector of gold foundries; Bernal Diaz, author of the "Conquest of Mexico," also was in this expedition. The first land of the Indies at which he arrived was the island of Dominica. Here he disembarked with his troops.*

Leaving the island of Dominica, Pedrarias sailed for Darien, and arrived in the Gulf of Uraba or Darien in the month of June, and, anchoring about a league and a half from the settlement, sent a messenger on shore to announce his arrival, who found Vasco Nunez a plain, unassuming man, clad in a cotton frock and drawers, and hempen sandals, directing and aiding the labor of several Indians, who were thatching a cottage, in which he resided.

Pedrarias disembarked on the 30th of June, accompanied by his wife, Doña Isabella de Bobadilla, and two thousand men well armed. A brilliant train of youthful cavaliers, in glittering armor and brocade, formed a kind of body-guard. All this pomp and splendor formed a striking contrast with the humble state of Nunez, who came forth unarmed, in simple attire, accompanied by his counselors and a handful of the old soldiers of Darien.

On the day after his entrance into Darien, Pedrarias held a private conference with Nunez, in the presence of the historian, Oviedo. The governor assured him that he was instructed by the king to treat him with great favor and distinction, to consult him about the affairs of the colony, and to apply to him for information relative to the surrounding country. Nunez was of a frank, con-

* Pascual Andagoya.

fiding nature, and opened his whole soul to the politic courtier. He gave to Pedrarias a minute and able statement in writing, detailing the circumstances of the colony, and the information collected respecting various parts of the country, the route by which he had traversed the mountains; his discovery of the South Sea; the situation and reputed wealth of the Pearl Islands; the rivers and ravines most productive of gold; together with the names and territories of the various caciques with whom he had made treaties.

When Pedrarias had thus beguiled the unsuspecting soldier of all the information necessary for his purpose, he dropped the mask, and within a few days proclaimed a judicial scrutiny into the conduct of Nunez and his officers. He was acquitted of the criminal charges made against him, though he remained involved in difficulties from the suits brought against him by individuals for losses and damage occasioned by his measures. Pedrarias was incensed at this acquittal, and insisted upon the guilt of Nunez, which he pretended to have established to his conviction, by his secret investigations; and he even determined to send him in chains to Spain, to be tried for the death of Nicuessa,* and for other imputed offences.

The town of Darien was situated in a deep valley, surrounded by lofty mountains, which, while they kept off the breezes, reflected the concentrated rays of the sun, insomuch that at noon the heat was insupportable; the river which passed it was shallow, with a muddy channel, and bordered by marshes; over-hanging forests added to the general humidity, and the very soil on which the town was built was of such a nature that on digging to the depth of a foot there would ooze forth brackish water.

This situation, in a tropical climate, proved fatal to the health of the men who had recently arrived; Pedrarias himself fell sick, and was removed with most of his people to a healthier spot, on the river Corobari; the malady, however, continued to increase. The provisions brought out in the ships had been partly damaged by the sea, the residue grew scanty, and the people were put upon short

* The inhabitants of Darien, differing among themselves, had called Nicuessa, then at Nombre de Dios, which he founded, to take charge of the government of Darien, which was in the territory allotted to him, but his threats and conduct having alienated the friendship of the inhabitants, even before his arrival at Darien, they refused to receive him when he did arrive; and to be rid of him and some of his partisans, they put him and them in a crazy boat. They left Darien and were never afterwards heard of. Nunez was at this time one of the two alcaldes of Darien.

allowance; the debility thus produced increased the ravages of the disease; at length the provisions were exhausted, and the horrors of absolute famine ensued.

Every one was more or less affected by these calamities, but to none were they more fatal than to the crowd of young cavaliers. As the famine increased, their case became desperate. Some would be seen bartering a robe of crimson silk, or some garment of rich brocade, for a pound of Indian bread; others sought to satisfy the cravings of hunger with the herbs and roots of the field, and one of the principal cavaliers absolutely expired of hunger in the public streets. In this wretched way, and in the short space of one month, perished seven hundred of the little army that had embarked with Pedrarias. The bodies of some remained for a day or two without sepulture, their friends not having sufficient strength to bury them. Unable to remedy the evil, Pedrarias gave permission for his men to flee from it. A ship-load of starving adventurers departed for Cuba, where Diego Velasquez was colonizing that island; others made their way back to Spain.

The departure of so many hungry men was some temporary relief to the colony; and Pedrarias, having recovered from his malady, bestirred himself to send expeditions in all directions, for the purpose of foraging the country and collecting treasure. The various expeditions sent out by him to explore and subjugate the surrounding country, too often, through the rash conduct and ignorance of those who conducted them, ended in misfortune and disgrace. In fine, the colony became so weakened by these repeated losses, and the savages so emboldened by success, that they beleaguered it with their forces, harassed it by assaults and ambuscades, and reduced it to great extremity.

While Pedrarias was harassed and perplexed by these complicated evils, he was haunted by continual apprehension of the ultimate ascendancy of Nunez. He knew him to be beloved by the people, and befriended by the bishop; and he had received proof that his services were highly appreciated by the king. The politic bishop perceived the uneasy state of the governor's mind, and endeavored by means of his apprehensions to effect a reconciliation between him and Nunez. He represented to him that his treatment of Nunez was odious in the eyes of the people, and must eventually draw on him the displeasure of his sovereign. "But why persist," added he, "in driving a man to become your deadliest enemy, whom you may grapple to your side as your firmest friend? You have several daughters—give him one in marriage; you will then have for a son-in-law a man of merit and popularity, who is a hidalgo by

birth, and a favorite of the king. You are advanced in years and infirm, he is in the prime and vigor of life, and possesses great activity. You can make him your lieutenant; and while you repose from your toils, he can carry on the affairs of the colony with spirit and enterprise; and all his achievements will redound to the advancement of your family, and the splendor of your administration.”*

The governor and his lady, won by the eloquence of the bishop, readily listened to his suggestion; and Nunez was but too happy to effect a reconciliation on such flattering terms. Written articles were accordingly drawn up and exchanged, contracting a marriage between him and the eldest daughter of Pedrarias.† The young lady was then in Spain, but was to be sent for, and the nuptials were to be celebrated on her arrival at Darien.

The governor, now that he looked upon Nunez as his son-in-law, loaded him with favors. Nunez was authorized to build brigantines, and make all necessary preparations for his long-desired expedition to explore the South Sea. The place appointed for this purpose was the port of Careta, situated to the west of Darien. A town called Acla had been founded at this port. Two hundred men were placed under his command to aid him in carrying his plans into execution, and a sum of money was advanced to him from the royal treasury. Hernando de Arguello, a notary at Darien, who had amassed considerable property, embarked a great part of it in the proposed enterprise.

On arriving at Acla, Vasco Nunez set to work to prepare the materials for four brigantines to be launched into the South Sea. The timbers were felled on the Atlantic seaboard, and were then, with the anchors and rigging, transported across the lofty ridges of mountains to the opposite shores of the Isthmus. Several Spaniards, thirty negroes, and a great number of Indians, were employed for the purpose. They had no other roads but Indian paths straggling through almost impervious forests, across torrents, and up rugged defiles, broken by rocks and precipices. On the summit of the mountains a house had been provided for their temporary repose. After remaining here a little while to refresh themselves and gain new strength, they renewed their labors, descending the opposite side of the mountains until they reached the navigable part of

* These sentiments of the Bishop Juan de Quevedo show the great merits of Nunez, and the high esteem in which he was held by those whose superior intelligence could perceive and appreciate the extraordinary qualities that distinguished him.

† De Soto married with Doña Isabella de Bobadilla, daughter of Pedro Arias de Avila, Earl of Punno en Rostro.

a river, which they called the Balsas, and which flowed into the South Sea.

Much time and trouble and many lives were expended on this arduous undertaking before they had transported to the river sufficient timber for two brigantines. To add to their difficulties, they had scarcely begun to work upon the timbers before they discovered that it was totally useless, being subject to the ravages of the worms* from having been cut in the vicinity of the sea-water, they were obliged, therefore, to begin anew, and fell trees on the border of the river.

Nunez divided his people into three bands; one was to cut and saw the wood, another to bring the rigging and iron-work from Acla, which was twenty-two leagues distant; and the third foraged the neighboring country for provisions.

Scarcely was the timber felled and shaped for use when the rains set in, and the river overflowed its banks so suddenly that the workmen barely escaped with their lives by climbing trees; while the wood on which they had been working was either buried in sand or mud, or swept away by the raging torrent.

When the river subsided the workmen again resumed their labors; a number of recruits arrived from Acla, bringing various supplies, and the business of the enterprise was pressed with redoubled ardor, until Nunez had the satisfaction to behold two of his brigantines floating on the river Balsas. As soon as they could be equipped for sea, he embarked in them with as many Spaniards as they could carry; and issuing from the river, launched triumphantly on the great ocean he had discovered.

The first cruise of Vasco Nunez was to the group of Pearl Islands, on the principal one of which he disembarked the greater part of his crews, and dispatched the brigantines to the mainland to bring off the remainder. It was his intention to construct the other two vessels at this island. On the return of his vessels, and while preparations were making for the building of the others, he embarked with a hundred men and departed on a reconnoitering cruise to the eastward, towards the region pointed out by the Indians as abounding in riches. Having passed about twenty leagues beyond the Gulf of San Miguel the mariners were alarmed at beholding a great number of whales, which resembled a reef of rocks stretching far into the sea and lashed by breakers. The seamen feared to approach these fancied dangers in the dark; Vasco Nunez anchored,

* From the mention of salt-water, these worms were probably teredos, a sea-worm that perforates the timbers of sea-vessels until they become honeycombed and ruined.

therefore, for the night under a point of land, intending to continue in the same direction on the following day. When the morning dawned, however, the wind had changed and was contrary; whereupon he altered his course. Steering for the mainland he anchored on that part of the coast governed by the cacique Chuchama, who had massacred Bernardo Morales and his companions when reposing in his village. Here landing his men Nunez came suddenly upon the dwelling of the cacique. The Indians sallied forth to defend their homes, but were routed with great loss. Having thus avenged the death of his countrymen Nunez re-embarked and returned to Isla Rica.

He now applied himself diligently to complete the building of his brigantines, dispatching men to Acla to bring the necessary stores and rigging across the mountains. While thus occupied a rumor reached him that a new governor, named Lope de Sosa, was coming out from Spain to supersede Pedrarias. Nunez was troubled at these tidings. A new governor would be likely to adopt new measures or to have favorites. In this perplexity he held a consultation with several of his confidential officers. After some debate it was agreed that a trusty and intelligent person should be sent to Acla, under pretence of procuring munitions for the ships. Should he find Pedrarias in possession of the government, he was to request re-enforcements and supplies; but should he find a new governor arrived, he was to return immediately with the tidings. In the latter case it was resolved to put to sea before any contrary orders could arrive.

The person entrusted with this mission to Acla was Andres Garabito, in whose fidelity and discretion Nunez had implicit confidence; his confidence, however, was destined to be fatally betrayed. Vasco Nunez had continued to have a fondness for the daughter of the Cacique Careta, whom he had received from her father as a pledge of amity. In the course of some dispute with Garabito concerning her, he had expressed himself in severe and galling language; Garabito was deeply mortified at some of Nunez's expressions, and being of a malignant spirit, he cherished a secret and vindictive enmity against his commander, and determined on a dastardly revenge. He wrote privately to Pedrarias, assuring him that Nunez had no intention of marrying his daughter; being completely under the influence of an Indian paramour.* This mischiev-

* This Garabito or Garavita had a difficulty of a similar character with Cortes in Cuba, on which occasion he received a chastisement from the future conqueror of Mexico.

ous letter Garabito had written immediately after the last departure of Nunez from Acla.

When Garabito arrived at Acla he found Pedrarias still in possession of the government; for Lope de Sosa had died in the very harbor. The conduct and conversation of Garabito were such as to arouse suspicions; he was arrested, and his papers and letters were sent to Pedrarias. When examined he readily suffered himself to be wrought upon by threats of punishment and promises of pardon, and revealed all that he knew, and declared still more that he suspected and surmised of the plans and intentions of Nunez.

Hernando de Arguello wrote to Nunez, informing him of the critical posture of affairs, and urging him to put to sea without delay; that he would be protected at all events by the Hieronimite Fathers at San Domingo, who were at that time all-powerful in the New World, and who regarded his expedition as calculated to promote the glory of God as well as the dominion of the king. This letter fell into the hands of Pedrarias, and convinced him of a dangerous plot against his authority. He immediately ordered Arguello to be arrested; and now devised means to get Nunez within his power. Dissembling his suspicions and intentions therefore, he wrote to him in amicable terms, requesting him to repair immediately to Acla, as he wished to confer with him about the impending expedition. The tenor of this letter awakened no suspicion in the mind of Nunez. Leaving his vessels in command of Francisco Companon, he immediately departed, unattended by any force, to meet the governor at Acla. Having crossed the mountains and drawn near to Acla, he had not proceeded far when he was met by a band of armed men led by Francisco Pizarro, who stepped forward to arrest his ancient commander. Nunez paused for a moment, and regarding him with a reproachful look of astonishment, said: "How is this, Francisco? Is this the way you have been accustomed to receive me?" He suffered himself quietly to be taken prisoner by his former adherent and conducted in chains to Acla. Here he was imprisoned, and Bartolome Hurtado, once his favorite officer, was sent to take command of his vessels.

Pedrarias urged the alcalde mayor, Espinosa, to proceed against Nunez with the utmost rigor of the law. The charge brought against him was a treasonable conspiracy to cast off all allegiance to the crown, and to assume an independent sway on the borders of the South Sea. He was also charged anew with the wrongs inflicted on Enciso, and with the death of the unfortunate Nicuessa.*

* Enciso, as lieutenant of Ojada, had founded Santa Maria de la Antigua del Darien, and by his stern edicts incurred the displeasure of the people. They

Espinosa at length gave a reluctant verdict against Vasco Nunez, but recommended him to mercy on account of his great services, or, that at least he might be permitted to appeal. "No," said Pedrarias; "if he has merited death, let him suffer death!" He accordingly condemned him to be beheaded. The same sentence was passed upon several of his officers who were implicated in his alleged conspiracy, and also on Hernando de Arguello. As to the perfidious informer, Garabito, he was pardoned and set at liberty.

The execution took place in the public square of Acla, and the historian Oviedo, who was in the colony at that time, assures us that the cruel Pedrarias was a secret witness of the bloody spectacle, which he contemplated from between the reeds of the wall of a house about twelve paces from the scaffold. Vasco Nunez was the first to suffer death. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step and calm and manly demeanor. Three of his officers were in a like manner brought one by one to the block. One victim still remained. It was Arguello, who had been condemned as an accomplice for having written the intercepted letter. The populace entreated Pedrarias that this man might be spared. The daylight, they said, was at an end, and it seemed as if God had hastened the night to prevent the execution. "No," said Pedrarias, "I would sooner die myself than spare one of them." The unfortunate Arguello was led to the block.*

The vengeance of Pedrarias was not satisfied with the death of his victim; he confiscated his property, and dishonored his remains,

refused to acknowledge his authority. Nunez took advantage of this discontent to form a party to depose Enciso, who was summoned to trial, found guilty of usurpation, and imprisoned. By the intercession of his friends he was released, and permitted to return to Spain.

* The cruel and malicious spirit of Pedrarias is in strong contrast with the genius of Cortes.

Some Spanish soldiers, partisans of Velasquez, governor of Cuba, secretly agreed to take the life of Cortes, Alvarado, Sandoval, and Tapia, and of all those who appeared most attached to the party of Cortes. And this they planned, when Cortes was on the eve of besieging the city of Mexico. The conspirators not only determined the time and manner of securely executing the blow, but elected also those on whom the vacant posts of general, judge, and captains were to be conferred; when one of the accomplices, having repented of the deed, seasonably revealed the treason to Cortes. This general immediately had the chief conspirator seized, committed his examination to a judge, and he, having freely confessed his crime, was hanged from a window of the quarters. With respect to his accomplices, Cortes prudently dissembled, affecting not to believe them culpable, and ascribing the infamy imputed to them by the confession, to be the malice of the convict.—CLAVIGERO.

causing his head to be placed upon a pole, and exposed for several days in the public square. Thus perished, in his forty-second year, in the prime and vigor of his life and the full career of his glory, Vasco Nunez de Balboa, one of the most illustrious and deserving of Spanish discoverers; a victim to the basest and most perfidious envy.*

The Fathers of St. Jerome, who possessed then a great authority in the Indies, manifested a strong resentment against Pedrarias; they wrote to him in a manner to let him know what was the opinion of all America of his conduct; they added that he had forgotten the orders of the king, which obliged him to do nothing without the participation of the Council of his province; but these warnings came too late, the unfortunate Nunez was no more. Las Casas reproaches Pedrarias with having devastated all the country from Darien to the lake Nicaragua. He accuses him also of having exercised against the Indians cruelties which made humanity shudder. A man of his character could but with impatience see himself subject to several governors; he wished to shake off the yoke which wounded his ambition; he had Santa Maria del Darien destroyed; charged Diego d'Espinosa, in 1518, to repair to Panama, and build a town there. He wrote at the same time to the king, that the place where Santa Maria del Darien had been founded was not fit for a settlement, and that it was the interest of his majesty to transfer the Episcopal seat to Panama. Having received a favorable reply the following year, he sent orders to Oviedo, who then commanded at Darien as his lieutenant, to transport to Panama all the inhabitants of Darien. Other settlements were not slow in being formed in so rich a country.†

Vasco Nunez de Balboa "having been executed, Pedrarias set out for the Pearl Islands with the troops that were at Acla. The ships were there [at Pearl Islands], with the people who had remained on the South Sea. Thence he went in the ships to Panama, where he founded the present city [old Panama], the rest of the people going round by land with the licentiate Espinosa."

"Panama was founded in the year 1519, and at the end of that year Diego Alvites founded Nombre de Dios, by order of Pedrarias. Having founded Panama in this year, the governor sent the licentiate Espinosa in command of the ships, with as many men as they could hold, to the westward. The licentiate arrived at the province of Burica, on the coast of Nicaragua."

* Washington Irving's Columbus. His authorities quoted are Herrera, Peter Martyr, and Oviedo. The latter was an officer under Pedrarias.

† Richer.

"In the year 1517, Gil Gonzales de Avila arrived at Darien, with a certain capitulation which he had made with his majesty, accompanied by carpenters and laborers to build ships, and all the necessary fittings for them to be put together in the Rio de la Balsa, and their futtock timbers were brought ready made from Spain. They disembarked at Acla, and Gil Gonzales went to Darien to secure the support of the governor for the enterprise."

"The ships, having been built on the Balsa, were sent down to the sea, passed the Island of Pearls; and, Panama having been peopled in 1519, the flotilla was brought there. This Gil Gonzales had to discover a certain number of leagues to the westward, concerning which the capitulation had been made; and thus he coasted along, and arrived at the gulf of San Lucar, which had already been discovered by [Espinosa, under the orders of] Pedrarias. It is at the commencement of the land of Nicaragua. Having passed the place where Leon and Granada now stand, he disembarked, and came to a village where he found one hundred thousand pesos of gold. As soon as his arrival was known in the land, a large force of warlike Indians came against him, and obliged him to fall back and embark again, as he had not sufficient force to resist them. He returned to Panama with the gold, and went thence to Spain; but returned to San Domingo, and equipped an expedition to settle in Nicaragua, going by the way of Honduras."

In the mean time Pedrarias sent Francisco Hernandez de Cordova in command of a force to subdue and settle Nicaragua; and he entered that land, subduing and conquering, and fighting in many skirmishes and battles. He founded the cities of Leon and Granada, and built fortresses in them for defence.

Gil Gonzales, who set out from San Domingo in search of Nicaragua, via Honduras, encountered, in a province called Manalea, Captain Soto whom Hernandez had sent to that part. Soto resisted the passage of Gonzales through the district, and Gonzales stopped and cunningly treated for peace. Soto, finding himself more powerful in numbers than his adversary, did not fear him, and, though the one force was very near to the other, he did not set a guard on his camp. So, one night, Gonzales took him unawares, made him prisoner, and secured his arms. Of the troops which came out to resist, two men were killed with two arquebuses. But Gonzales did not deem it prudent to keep these persons in his company, so he released them, and, seeing that there was no way to enter Nicaragua, he returned to Puerto de Cavallos, where was Christoval de Olid, a captain whom Cortes had sent to conquer and settle Honduras, but who, having revolted, Las Casas was sent to capture him, but was himself taken

by Olid, and kept as a prisoner with Gonzales; but these, having conspired, a short time afterwards slew Olid. About this time Cortes arrived in Honduras, and soon Hernandez, desiring to revolt from Pedrarias, sent to invite him to come and receive the province [of Nicaragua] from him.

Hernandez, finding himself powerful in the number of his followers, meditated a project to rise and throw off obedience to Pedrarias, or any one he might send. With this view, he assembled the principal people of the two settlements [Leon and Granada] to induce them to write to his majesty, praying that he might be appointed their governor. But the captains Francisco Campanon and Soto not only refused their assent, but condemned the proceedings. Fearing these captains and their followers (for there were ten or twelve who took counsel to resist this act), he seized upon Soto and put him in the fortress of Granada. Campanon, however, with nine of his friends, marched to Granada and took Soto out of prison. The whole party then took the field, well armed and mounted. Hernandez, as soon as he knew this, came to Granada with sixty men, and found his opponents in the field; but he would not attack them, because he knew that they would try to kill him before any one else. The dissentients then took their way to Panama, and, after many hardships and dangers, and having abandoned their horses because they could not pass that way, they arrived barefooted. They had passed the villages of the Indians at night, and taken provisions from them. Thus they had reached the province of Chiriqui, which is between Burica and Nisca, where there was a settlement called the city of Fonseca, which, by the order of Pedrarias, had been made by Captain Benito Hurtado. Here they were refreshed, and Hurtado gave them a canoe, in which they came as far as Nata. Having reported to Pedrarias what had taken place, the governor assembled ships and men to go to Nicaragua, where, having captured Hernandez, he cut off his head [1526].*

It is probable that De Soto remained in Nicaragua till the death of Pedrarias, which happened at Leon in the year 1530. He went from there, in 1532, to Peru.

* Andagoya.

CHAPTER IX.

HERNANDO CORTES IN HONDURAS.

1524-1526.

WHEN Cortes had rebuilt and repeopled the city of Mexico, and had founded the towns of Guanaca, Zacatula, Colima, Vera Cruz [Villa Rica], Panuco, and Guacasualco, he also determined to subdue the thickly populated province of Guatemala, the inhabitants of which were very warlike. He therefore resolved to dispatch Pedro de Alvarado thither to subdue the country and to found colonies in it. For this important campaign he selected above three hundred foot, of which one hundred and twenty were musketeers and crossbow-men, one hundred and fifty-three horse, and four field-pieces, to which were added three hundred auxiliary troops, composed of Tlascalans, Cholulans, and Mexicans.*

As soon as these troops were in marching order, Alvarado took leave of Cortes, and left the city of Mexico on the 13th† of December, 1523. After various encounters with the Indians on his route, the most dangerous of which was that with the tribes of Utatlan, he finally arrived in Guatemala, where the inhabitants gave him a kind and hospitable reception. Father Olmedo, who had accompanied Alvarado, did everything in his power to convert the Indians to Christianity; he ordered an altar with a cross to be erected, in front of which he regularly performed mass, and the inhabitants on these occasions imitated the Spaniards in all their religious ceremonies. Father Olmedo also placed on the altar an image of the Virgin Mary, which had been presented to him by Garay in his dying moments. This image was of such extreme beauty that the Indians became quite enamored of it. By degrees, every township of the surrounding neighborhood sent ambassadors to Alvarado, and declared themselves vassals of the emperor.‡

At the same time that Cortes sent Alvarado to Guatemala, he fitted out a naval armament under the command of Cristobal D'Olid, to coast along the North Sea [Caribbean] and establish a

* These are the numbers Diaz gives, but Cortes makes them somewhat more.

† Cortes says 6th.

‡ Diaz.

colony at the Cape of Hibueras [Honduras], sixty leagues from the Bay of Ascension, which is to the windward of what they call Yucatan, and on the coast above Terra Firma towards Darien. The object of this expedition was to obtain information about the country, and also in reference to the opinion [then] entertained by many pilots, that through this bay a passage might be found to the other sea; the thing that of all others in the world Cortes most desired to meet with. Cortes considered it certain, according to the information he had concerning the country and its configuration, that Pedro de Alvarado and Cristobal D'Olid would meet, unless the strait divided them.

The armament committed to Olid consisted of five large ships and a brigantine, and four hundred men, provided with artillery, munitions, arms, victuals, and everything else necessary for them. Cortes also sent two agents to the island of Cuba, with eight thousand pesos of gold, to purchase horses and provisions, both for the first voyage, and to be in readiness for loading the ships on their return from the expedition. Thus the expedition departed from the port of San Juan de Chalchiqueca [present Vera Cruz], on the 11th of January, 1524, having to touch at the Havana, the place on the island of Cuba where they were to obtain the supplies that were wanting, especially horses, and for the ships to rendezvous in order to proceed together thence to the place of their destination. On reaching the first port in the country to which the expedition was sent, they were to disembark men, horses, provisions, and everything else, and seek the most favorable site that offered to be fortified with artillery (of which they took a great deal of the best kind), and for the settlement of a colony. They were then to dispatch, at once, three of the larger ships to the port of Trinidad, in the island of Cuba, as most conveniently situated on their route, and where an agent was to be left to get ready a cargo of such things as they required, for which the captain should send. The smaller ships and brigantine, with the principal pilot, a cousin of Cortes, named Diego Hurtado, for captain, were to run along the coast of the Bay of Ascension, in quest of the strait that was believed to be there, and to remain until they had explored every part of it; and in case they discovered the strait, they should return to the place where captain Cristobal Olid was, and from thence dispatch one of the ships to Cortes, with an account of the discovery, and all the information Cristobal Olid might have acquired concerning the country, and also the occurrences of the expedition.*

* Cortes.

To this armament were also appointed two priests, and they were to induce the Indians to abolish their human sacrifices, with other abominations practised by them. Every place the troops visited they were to look out for those diabolical cages in which the Indians shut up those they intended for victims for their sacrifices; these they were ordered to release, and the cages were to be destroyed.*

After Cortes had strongly impressed all this on Olid's mind, he bid him and all his troops an affectionate farewell. When Olid arrived at Vera Cruz, he found everything in readiness, so that he was enabled to embark immediately with his troops, and had a very favorable passage to Havana, where he found the horses, with the provisions and other things, in readiness. Here Diego Velasquez, governor of Cuba, the mortal enemy of Cortes, visited Olid on board the vessels, urged him in the strongest terms to refuse all further obedience to Cortes; and they came to a secret agreement between themselves, jointly to subdue the Higueras and Honduras in the emperor's name. Olid was to take upon himself the active part, and Velasquez, on his side, was to procure him every necessary, and support him with his money.

The armament being now fully equipped, Olid sailed from the Havana, and, after a very prosperous voyage, arrived, on the 3d of May, about sixty miles on the other side of Puerto Caballo, and disembarked his men in a small bay, where he immediately began to lay the foundations of a town, to which he gave the name of Triunfo de la Cruz.

It was not until eight months afterwards that Cortes received intelligence of this revolt of Olid. When, therefore, he learned that Olid had made common cause with Diego Velasquez, and had determined to act independent of him, he resolved to send against him Francisco de las Casas, a relation of his on whom he could

* Diaz, to avoid the tediousness of constantly mentioning these cages, in his account of the various places through which he passed on his way to the city of Mexico, gives the reader to understand they were in every town. Not only were there teocalis in towns, but like heathen temples of antiquity, also on islands and in secluded places, and they were their temples and their altars on which the Indian priests immolated their victims to their hideous idols. The unfortunate Valdivia and several of his companions, being cast upon the shores of Yucatan, were seized by the Indians, confined in cages, and, when sufficiently fattened, sacrificed by the Indians to their deities, and then devoured. The first structure of stone and mortar that Columbus discovered on the continent was on the coast of Honduras, and was probably a teocali, of which, perhaps, he knew not the use, as his son only mentions the fact: "The first place in the Indies where they saw any sign of a structure which was a great mass or imagery, that seemed to be of lime and mortar."

place implicit reliance, as he had previously declared to the emperor. For this purpose he fitted out five vessels, well provided with cannon and other ammunition. On board this fleet he embarked one hundred men.

Francisco de las Casas received full power from Cortes to seize Olid and put him in chains. He sailed from Vera Cruz with very favorable weather, and arrived in a short time in the bay of Triunfo de la Cruz, where in front of the town lay at anchor the vessels of Olid. As Las Casas on entering the bay had hoisted a white flag, Olid scarcely knew what to think at first, but thought, at all events, it was better to be upon his guard, and ran out two of his smallest vessels, well armed with a strong body of men, in order to prevent Las Casas from entering the harbor and landing his troops, though he was as yet quite ignorant who the new-comers were. Las Casas, who was a man of great courage and determination, immediately lowered his boat, on board of which he placed one of the falconets, and the most active of his men well armed with muskets and cross-bows, being resolved he said to land his troops somehow or other. A severe conflict now ensued, in which Las Casas bored one of Olid's vessels into the ground, killed four of his men and wounded several others.

Olid, seeing that matters were growing very serious, thought it advisable, on his part, to stay hostilities in order to gain time to assemble all his troops about him; for he had a few days previous dispatched two companies to the river Pechin against Gil Gonzales de Avila, who had begun to subdue the country there. He, therefore, sent word to Las Casas that he was desirous of making terms of peace with him; to which Las Casas so far consented that he staid hostilities for the present, and lay out at sea with his vessels for the night, in order to effect a landing in some other bay. Fortunately for Olid and unfortunately for Las Casas, a furious north wind, which is the most dangerous of all on this coast, arose during the night, and the whole of his vessels were wrecked; thirty of his men were drowned, and all the ammunition and stores went to the bottom. Las Casas and the rest of his men, after wandering about the country for two days, benumbed with wet and cold, without a morsel of food to eat, were all taken prisoners by Olid's troops.

Olid, it may be imagined, was excessively rejoiced that things had thus terminated so unexpectedly in his favor, and he exulted greatly in having the person of Las Casas in his power. He immediately took the latter's troops into his service, and compelled them to take a solemn oath never to desert him, but to oppose

Cortes if he should come with an army against him. Las Casas alone he kept a prisoner.

Shortly upon this the detachment returned which he had sent against Gil Gonzales de Avila. This man had arrived in the country with the appointment of governor of Golfo Dulce, and he had already founded, at about four miles distance from the bay of the same name, a town which he called San Gill de Buena Vista. The country bounding on the river Chipin was at that time inhabited by a very warlike people; and as by far the greater part of Gil Gonzales's troops were suffering from ill health, the latter had only been able to throw a feeble garrison into the town of Buena Vista. Olid had been duly apprised of this and ordered the town to be attacked; but his troops could not so easily get possession of the place as they expected. Gil Gonzales's small body of men defended themselves most vigorously, and eight of the soldiers with a cousin of his were killed. Olid was both rejoiced and proud to have taken prisoners the chief commanders of two separate armaments; and as it was of importance to him that the success of his arms should be made known through the islands,* he immediately sent information of his good fortune to Velasquez, governor of Cuba.

After this victory Olid, taking his prisoners with him, marched his troops towards the interior of the country, to a large township named Naco, which lay in a very populous district. It was upon this occasion that Naco was completely destroyed and the whole of the surrounding country laid waste, and this *Diaz* relates from eye-witness, as *he* subsequently visited those parts *himself*.†

From Naco, Olid sent out a strong detachment to forage the country, under the command of Briones. Some time after Briones had been sent out by Olid to a distant part of the country, with a considerable body of his troops, he received intelligence that he had deserted with the whole of the men under his command, and was marching in the direction of New Spain; this news was indeed found to be perfectly correct. This circumstance, Las Casas and Gil Gonzales thought, presented to them a most favorable opportunity to rid themselves of Olid, who still continued to treat both of them as prisoners of war, though they were allowed to go at large. The whole of the adherents of Cortes secretly joined Las Casas and Gonzales, and they agreed, upon a certain signal, to fall upon Olid and stab him to death. Everything had been arranged in the best possible manner for this purpose.

* Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, Porto Rico.

† *Diaz's* own words, as translated into English, except the italics.

One evening Las Casas, Gonzales, Juan Nunez de Mercado, and other soldiers of Cortes's party, were invited to sup with Olid. The first two, as prisoners of war, were not allowed to carry arms, but had concealed on their persons large knives, which were ground very sharp. The whole of the company had already laid aside their cloaks to seat themselves at the table, and stood around Olid discoursing on Cortes's good fortune. As Olid was thus quite off his guard, not in the least suspecting there was any design upon his life, Las Casas on a sudden seized him forcibly by the beard, and stabbed him in the neck with his knife. Upon this, the other conspirators fell in a body upon him and gave him so many stabs that he fell to the ground, and was left as dead; but, as he was a man of enormous muscular power, he regained his consciousness while the conspirators were sitting at the table enjoying their suppers, and assembling all his strength he started up from the floor, with the cry, "*My friends, assist your captain!*" and then ran out to hide himself in the woods until his adherents should have rallied around him. And, indeed, a great part of his troops instantly assembled for this purpose; but Las Casas cried out to them: "In the name of the emperor and of Cortes, I command you to fall upon the tyrant; his tyranny is no longer to be borne!"

As soon as these names were mentioned, no one durst stir a finger in Olid's defence; on the contrary, every one quietly submitted, and immediately obeyed Las Casas's commands by hurrying off in search of Olid, to bring him in prisoner. He then made known that any one who knew of Olid's concealment, and neglected to give information of it, should suffer death. By this means it was soon discovered where Olid lay concealed, and, after he had been brought in a prisoner, a criminal suit was commenced against him in due form, and, sentence of death being passed on him, he was decapitated by order of these two officers, Las Casas and Gonzales, on the market-place of Naco.

As soon as Las Casas and Gonzales had got rid of their common enemy, they assembled all the troops; they divided the command equally between them, and continued on the best terms with each other. Las Casas soon after founded the town of Truxillo, and Gonzales dispatched a small body of troops to the town which he had previously founded, called Buena Vista, in order to see what condition the colony was in. The command of this small detachment he gave to an officer named Armenta, with orders not to make any change there if, at least, he found everything in the same condition as when he left it, but to await his return from New Spain, whither he would immediately repair to beg Cortes for a fresh

supply of troops. Las Casas likewise determined to proceed with Gonzales to the city of Mexico, in order that they might jointly give Cortes an account of every circumstance that had transpired.*

Several months having elapsed after the departure of Las Casas with the armament, and Cortes still without any tidings from him, he began to fear that some misfortune had befallen him. The more he thought of the many dangers to which vessels are exposed, the more he regretted, notwithstanding all the confidence he placed in Las Casas, that he had not gone to Honduras by land at the head of his army; he therefore determined to march thither in person.

Cortes left the city of Mexico at the head of his army [in October, 1524], and took the road leading to Guacasualco, where he staid altogether six days. [From Guacasualco Cortes continued his march to Honduras, and having arrived at Coliste, the Indians], on being questioned by Dona Marina about the town where the Spaniards had settled, they answered that it lay on the sea-coast about five days' journey from *there*. On this information Cortes dispatched Sandoval, with six men on foot, to the sea-coast in the direction the Indian had pointed out, in order to learn, if possible, what number of Spanish troops Olid† had under his command; for at that time Cortes was still ignorant of what had taken place there.

Sandoval took three Indian guides with him from Oculizti, and set out on his journey. When he had arrived on the north coast [of the gulf of Honduras], and was marching along the beach, he espied a canoe making for the land, with sails and paddles. He therefore hid himself behind a rising ground until the vessel should have run ashore. This canoe belonged to some Indian merchants, was laded with salt and maize, and was destined for the large river which flows into the Golfo Dulce.

In the night time Sandoval sallied forth from his hiding place, captured all the crew, then stepped into the canoe, with two of his companions and the three guides, and desired the Indian merchants to row him along the coast, while the four other Spaniards followed by land. Sandoval was sure the great river could not be far dis-

* Cortes at that time was probably on his expedition to Honduras, as he left the city of Mexico October, 1524, and on Easter, 1525, he was at a place between Lake Peten and the head of the Gulf of Honduras.

† In Cortes's letters, this name is Christoval D'Oli. Bernal Diaz has it Olid, and so Clavigero has it. There was in Cortes's army a Christoval de Olea, who, on two occasions in battle, saved the life of Cortes. These two names, Oli and Olea, are enough alike to be mistaken one for the other.

tant, and in this he was not deceived, for he entered it soon after, and he had the good fortune to come up with four Spaniards of the new town [Buena Vista], founded by Gil Gonzales de Avila. These men had just arrived, in a canoe, from an excursion in search of provisions, of which there was an uncommon scarcity in the colony, as the inhabitants were at enmity with the Indians, who had already killed ten of their number since Gonzales's departure for Mexico.

When Sandoval was approaching in the canoe, he found these Spaniards busily occupied in gathering cocoanuts. Two of them who had climbed up the tree were the first to observe the strange vessel, and they immediately called out to their companions below. The whole of them were so astonished and alarmed that they scarcely knew whether they should run away or stay where they were, but on Sandoval coming up and addressing them in a friendly manner, they took courage, and related to him the whole history of the foundation of the colony, and then gave him a full description of the miserable condition of the colony, adding that the commandant [Armenta] had obstinately refused to allow them to return to Cuba, for which reason, and because he had scourged a Spanish priest who had caused an insurrection in the town, the inhabitants rebelled against him, hung him, and appointed Antonio Nieto commandant in his stead. They also informed him that two miles further on there was a harbor, in which a vessel was being fitted out to convey the colonists to Cuba. Sandoval considered it best to take these men along with him to Cortes, in order that his approach to the colony might not be made known to it.

When arrived in the presence of Cortes, the colonists related to him all that they had told Sandoval. Cortes now marched with all his troops in the direction of the sea-coast, the distance to which was full twenty-four miles. At length he arrived at the broad river of Golfo Dulce. Here the two canoes—one which Sandoval had captured on the coast, and the other belonging to the colonists—were fastened together, in which Cortes, with six men and a few of his servants, embarked, and was ferried across the water. Upon this a few of the horses were swam across, the grooms holding the animals by the bridles, which were kept as short as possible for fear of the horses upsetting the canoes. The passage across this rapid stream was excessively dangerous. Cortes left strict commands that none should cross the river until further orders, which he would send in writing.

The town of Buena Vista, which Gil Gonzales had founded in this neighborhood, lay about eight miles from the broad river of the Golfo Dulce, near the sea-shore, whither Cortes immediately re-

paired with his small body of men, after crossing the river. When he entered the town, the arrival of strangers on horseback, and others on foot, in the first moment spread a great consternation among the inhabitants, but, as soon as they learned that it was Cortes, they were almost overcome with joy. All the inhabitants waited on him, and he received them in the kindest manner; and then ordered the commandant, Nieto, to load the two boats belonging to the town, and all the canoes he could get, with cassava bread, and dispatch them to Sandoval. Nieto immediately set about to fulfil these commands, but was unable to collect more than fifty pounds of this bread, as the colonists had had no other food than the fruits which they gathered from the trees, some vegetables, and what fish they could catch. Even this small quantity of cassava bread had been set apart for their voyage to Cuba. With these provisions the two boats, manned with eight sailors, left for the place where Sandoval was encamped with the troops.

The population of the town of Buena Vista consisted of forty Spaniards, four Spanish ladies, and two mulattoes. The whole of these people were suffering from ill health, and had a yellow, sickly appearance. They had no provisions, and suffered as much from hunger as the men of Cortes, nor could any one tell where to go in search of maize. Cortes therefore saw that there was not a moment to be lost, and he dispatched Luis Marin with the eighty men of Guacasualco, into the country. They all set out on foot for some townships which lay thirty-two miles further up the country. When they reached these they found that they contained great abundance of maize, beans, and other vegetables; besides that, the whole neighborhood was literally sown with cocoanut trees.

When Cortes learned that Marin and his men had arrived in so fertile a neighborhood, and was told that the road to Naco led through that township, he ordered Sandoval to follow them with the greater part of the remaining troops, and not to leave this township until he should receive further instructions.

Sandoval, on arriving at Marin's camp, immediately dispatched thirty bushels of maize to Cortes, who distributed it among the colonists, who ate so ravenously of it that the greater part fell sick in consequence of it, and seven of them died.

During this great distress for want of provisions, a vessel from Cuba ran into the harbor, having on board seven passengers, seven horses, forty hogs, eight barrels of pickled meat, and a large quantity of cassava bread. The cargo belonged to Antonio de Comargo, and Cortes purchased the whole of it upon credit, distributing a great part of the provisions among the colonists; but

the consequences again proved fatal to many of these unfortunate persons, for this very nourishing food brought on dysentery, and ten more of them died.

As this vessel had brought a few soldiers, and had eight sailors on board, Cortes determined to embark in her and sail up the river, to visit the townships along its banks, and to explore the interior of the country. He also ordered one of the brigantines of Gil Gonzales to be repaired, and a boat to be constructed in the shape of those used for unloading vessels; also four canoes to be securely fastened together. On board these vessels Cortes embarked with thirty soldiers, the eight sailors, and twenty Mexicans. He may have sailed up the river to the distance of about forty miles, when he came to a large lake which was apparently about twenty-four miles in breadth, and its banks were quite uninhabited, as the whole surrounding country was subject to frequent inundations. Further up, the river continually became more rapid, until the vessels arrived at some cataracts which none of them were able to pass. Cortes therefore landed his men here, and, after leaving six Spaniards in charge of the vessels, he commenced his march up the country, along a very narrow path. First he arrived at some townships which were deserted by the inhabitants, and then to a few maize plantations, in which he captured three Indians, whom he took along with him as guides. These people conducted him to several small villages where there was abundance of maize and fowls. The inhabitants here also kept pheasants, tame partridges, and pigeons. This breeding of partridges as domestic birds, Diaz never observed in any other part of the country but in the townships on the Golfo Dulce. From this place Cortes took new guides, and next arrived at some townships where the whole surrounding neighborhood was covered with maize, cacao, and cotton plantations. When Cortes had approached within a short distance, he heard the sound of drums, trumpets, and a noise as if the Indians were in the midst of some festive orgie. He then concealed himself, with his men, on a rising ground, in order to watch for an opportunity of falling upon these Bacchanalians. This he accordingly did before they were in the least aware of it, and captured ten men and fifteen women. The rest of the Indians fled to their town, armed themselves, and commenced discharging their arrows at the Spaniards. Cortes immediately fell upon them, and very soon cut down eight of their chiefs; they then dispatched four old men, of whom two were *papas* [priests], to Cortes, with a trifling present in gold, and begged hard that the prisoners might be restored to them. Cortes gave them to understand that they should

send maize, fowls, salt, and a large supply of other provisions to his vessels. If they complied with this, he would immediately restore the prisoners to their families. They accordingly set their canoes afloat, which lay in a hollow communicating with the river, and loaded them with the required provisions; but as he did not release all the prisoners at once, and detained three men with their wives to bake some bread, the whole of the inhabitants again flew to arms, and showered forth their arrows, stones, and darts, upon the Spaniards, wounding twelve men, and Cortes himself, in the face.

Cortes was twenty-six days on this expedition, from which he returned to Buena Vista with a greater supply of provisions than it had ever before had.

As Cortes considered the site of Buena Vista every way unfavorable for a colony, he embarked the whole of the inhabitants in two vessels and the brigantine, and sailed for the bay of Puerto de Caballos, where he arrived in the space of eight days. Finding that there was an excellent harbor in this bay, he determined to found a colony in this place, to which he gave the name of Natividad, and appointed Diego de Godoy commandant of the town. He then made an excursion into the interior of the country to visit the several townships. The inhabitants assured him that there were several other townships in the neighborhood, and that Naco was not far off. He well stocked the new town, and wrote to Sandoval, whom he imagined had already reached Naco, to send him ten of the men of Guacasualco. From this place [Puerto Caballos], he added, it was his intention to repair to the Bay of Honduras, in order to visit the new town of Truxillo. Sandoval received this letter in the township where he had first halted, for he had not yet broken up his quarters for Naco. He would gladly, that instant, have set out for Naco, if he had not dispatched a great part of his troops into the surrounding townships in search of provisions and fodder for the horses. He was, therefore, compelled to await the return of these troops.

When the troops returned, he marched further on to some townships in the neighborhood of which gold mines were discovered three years afterwards. From this place he came to Quinistan, and the following day, in the afternoon, he arrived at Naco, which at that time was a township of considerable magnitude; but there was not a single inhabitant to be seen, and the troops quartered themselves in a large courtyard where Cristobal de Olid was beheaded. In some houses they were fortunate enough to find a good supply of maize, beans, and even salt. In this place they quartered them-

selves as comfortably as if they never meant to leave the spot again.

In Naco there was a well of the most delicious water. Here, likewise, stood a wide-spreading tree, under the shade of which, even during the hottest part of the day, the air was so cool that their very hearts became refreshed and invigorated. From this tree there also continually fell a very delicate dew, which produced a most comfortable feeling to the head. The surrounding neighborhood abounded in various kinds of provisions, and numerous small townships lay dispersed in all directions.

Before the departure of the soldiers that Cortes had ordered to be sent to him, Sandoval requested the caciques to dispatch five distinguished personages to accompany them to Puerto Caballos. He then ordered them to provide these soldiers with the best of provisions on their route.

Cortes was just about to embark for Truxillo when the Spaniards marched into Puerto de Caballos. Soon after he sailed with all his troops, leaving Diego de Godoy as commander-in-chief of the new colony, consisting of forty persons belonging to Buena Vista, and of the passengers lately arrived from Cuba. After a favorable voyage of six days, Cortes arrived in the harbor of Truxillo. The whole inhabitants assembled on the beach to receive him, and the most comfortable mansion was prepared for him. The chief inhabitants then detailed to him every circumstance respecting Las Casas's arrival and capture, with that of Gil Gonzales, and the subsequent beheading of Olid; how the two former officers had then departed for Mexico.

Cortes then confirmed the several authorities of the town in their respective offices, both civil and military, but appointed his cousin Saavedra captain-general of the whole country. He then summoned the inhabitants of the surrounding country to declare themselves vassals of the emperor. As the caciques of the four principal townships happened to stand all together in his presence, he took the opportunity of addressing them at some length, which was interpreted to them by Dona Marina.* Cortes then ordered them to furnish the colony with provisions, and to send a number of Indians with the necessary tools to level a rising ground which lay in the town and obstructed the view of the harbor and of the sea. He

* Diaz mentions, on another occasion, Marina addressing the inhabitants of Honduras; the inference, therefore, is that the languages of Tabasco, Mexico, and Honduras were the same, or very similar; so much so, that she could address the Hondurans in her native language.

also desired them to repair with their canoes to some townships of the Guanajas Islands, to request the inhabitants there to supply him with fish, which they had in abundance. The inhabitants of these islands readily complied, and brought a present consisting of fowls and fish. Cortes, in return, gave them some of the swine he had taken with him on his expedition.* The caciques sent so large a body of Indians to level the hill that in the space of two days there was a good prospect of the sea from the town. They likewise constructed fifteen houses, of which one, for Cortes, was of large dimensions.

While Cortes was at Truxillo, he sent in a vessel his cousin Avalos, the two Franciscan monks, the licentiate Pedro Lopez, and others, who all were ill, to Cuba, or to St. Domingo, and on this occasion forwarded dispatches to the Hieronimites. The vessel sailed with a favorable wind. She had already doubled the cape of St. Antonio, and had arrived within seventy leagues of the Havannah when a heavy storm arose, in which she was wrecked off the coast of Cuba. The Franciscan monks, the captain Avalos, and a great number of others, met with a watery grave; only a few by great exertions saved themselves in the boat, and others drifted ashore by clinging to pieces of wood. The licentiate, Pedro Lopez, who had escaped destruction, hastened to San Domingo, and there related to the royal court of audience every circumstance of Cortes's expedition to Honduras; and how he was staying at Truxillo, occupied in subduing the surrounding country. He likewise stated that the troops were in great want of provisions, wine, and horses.

In St. Domingo,† the spirit of speculation was soon stirred up, and two vessels were quickly dispatched to Truxillo, with horses, shirts, caps, and Spanish toys, to all of which these speculating merchants unfortunately forgot to add provisions, and only sent one pipe of wine.

Cortes himself had remained at Truxillo, where his time was fully occupied in making various regulations. While staying here, sev-

* The islands of Guanajas were discovered by Columbus in 1502, on his fourth and last voyage. The swine mentioned in the text shows that Cortes had taken these animals from the city of Mexico to Truxillo, in Honduras, as he set out on his expedition with them. De Soto took some hogs from Tampa Bay to the mouth of the Arkansas River, and Gonzales Pizarro took hogs with him on his expedition to the Napo.

† The capital of Hispaniola, or Hayti, or St. Domingo, or Isabella, all of which names have been given to the same island; but the town of St. Domingo, founded by the brother of Christopher Columbus, and named after their father, was, from 1597, the capital of the *Indies*.

eral of the inhabitants of the Guanajas Islands came, and complained to him about a vessel that lay at anchor in front of their township. This vessel, they said, had a great number of Spaniards on board, all armed with matchlocks and crossbows, and they were intent upon carrying off the inhabitants into slavery. To all appearances, added they, these Spaniards were pirates, and the same who had visited their country some years previously in a similar manner, and forcibly dragged away a considerable number of their countrymen.

Upon this information, Cortes hastily fitted out one of the brigantines with the largest piece of ordnance, and sent twenty men on board, under the command of one of his best officers, who was ordered, at all events, to bring the strange vessel, with all her hands, into the port of Truxillo. The Indians likewise promised to man all their canoes, and accompany the brigantine to where the vessel lay moored.

When the strange vessel observed a well-armed brigantine approaching, with several canoes, she quickly weighed anchor, and made off at the utmost of her speed, and so eluded the pursuit of the brigantine. It was subsequently learnt that this vessel was commanded by the bachelor Moreno, whom the royal court of audience at St. Domingo had dispatched on certain business to Nombre de Dios, and he had either been driven by contrary winds off these islands, or had purposely repaired thither to carry away a cargo of slaves.

While Sandoval was staying at Naco, four caciques arrived at his camp from the two townships of Quecuscapa and Tanchinalchapa, complaining bitterly of some Spaniards, who plundered the inhabitants of all their property, and forcibly carried off their wives and daughters in iron chains. Sandoval was exceedingly vexed at this intelligence. On inquiring of the caciques how far distant their townships lay, they told him only one day's journey. He then immediately marched out with sixty of his men, all well armed, and they arrived in the above-mentioned townships before the Spaniards there had the least notice of their approach; yet the instant they saw them they flew to their arms, but Sandoval came so suddenly upon them that he took the greater part of the men, with their captain, prisoners, without a drop of blood being spilt on either side. He then commanded the men and women they had taken prisoners, around whose necks they had fastened iron collars, to be instantly released and restored to the caciques of the district. He then marched back to Naco, carrying along with him his Spanish prisoners, and their captain, whose name was Pedro de Garro.

Almost all of these men had horses, and were followed by num-

bers of female Indians of Nicaragua, some of whom were uncommonly beautiful; besides a great many female slaves to attend upon them. When they arrived in Naco, Cortes quartered each of them according to his respective rank and station, as there were several men of distinction and quality among them.

When these men found that their captors formed a part of Cortes's troops, their captain, Garro, did all in his power to ingratiate himself into Sandoval's favor. Respecting their arrival in this neighborhood they gave the following explanation.

Pedro Arias de Avila [Pedrarias] was governor of Terra Firma, and had sent out Francisco Hernandez [de Cordoba], one of his most distinguished officers, with a considerable body of foot and horse, in order to make conquests in the provinces of New Leon and Nicaragua, which he subdued and colonized. Hernandez, finding that everything went on so successfully, and thinking himself sufficiently far removed from Pedrarias* to do what he liked, listened to evil counsellors, and came to some secret understanding with the bachelor Moreno, before mentioned, who had been dispatched, by the royal court of audience at St. Domingo, to Terra Firma to make inquiries into the death of Balboa [Vasco Nunez], whom Pedrarias had most unjustly beheaded. This Moreno hinted to Hernandez that it would not amount to treachery if he strove to gain for himself the government of the countries he should subdue, which would be the more easily obtained, since Pedrarias had acted so wickedly against Balboa [Nunez†], who had had the best claim to be appointed adelantado of these countries. Francisco Hernandez lent a willing ear to this advice, and began by dispatching his chief officer, Pedro de Garro, to the northern provinces, in search of some harbor where he might found a colony, and send the emperor thence an account of the countries he had subdued and colonized; and he doubted not that his endeavors would be crowned with success, since the provinces of which he should petition to be the governor lay so far distant from Terra Firma.

Respecting these matters Sandoval and Garro had several secret conferences with each other, which terminated in the former writing to Cortes, at Truxillo, to induce him to confer on Hernandez the government of Nicaragua. For this purpose he dispatched Luis

* Pedro Arias de Avila has heretofore been written contracted to Pedrarias, in accordance with other accounts.

† Vasco Nunez de Balboa was beheaded in the year 1517, at Acla, under the administration of Pedrarias. Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba subdued and settled Nicaragua, founding the cities of New Leon and Granada.

Marin, with ten of his men and five of Garro's men, to Truxillo. Great were the difficulties they had to encounter on this journey. On approaching near to the coast they had to pass arms of the sea which abounded with alligators, and when they arrived at the river Xaquá, which lay forty miles from Triunfo de la Cruz, it took them two whole days before they reached the opposite shore, in canoes. Here they saw the remains of seven horses which had belonged to Olid's troops. At length they arrived in Triunfo de la Cruz, where they found nothing but the wood of some vessels which had been wrecked. They then marched on for another four days, and came to the township of Guemara, where the inhabitants rose up in arms against them. These Indians were armed with long, heavy lances, and covered their bodies with shields. Two days further march brought them into the neighborhood of Truxillo. It was about the hour of vespers, and they speedily came in sight of five persons who were strolling along the shore on horseback, one of whom was Cortes himself, who soon recognized them at a distance, and galloped up to them. He instantly dismounted and embraced them.

After the first welcomes were passed, Cortes accompanied them to Truxillo, where they were shown their quarters, and then invited to sup with the general. The letter they brought from Sandoval he read to them at the table, and Cortes declared his willingness to do all in his power for Hernandez.

Three days previously two small vessels from St. Domingo had run into the harbor of Truxillo, but had unfortunately brought nothing in the shape of provisions but a pipe of wine. While they were still in conversation with Cortes, some one came running in with information that another vessel was making full sail for the harbor. This vessel came direct from Havana, and had been dispatched hither by the licentiate Zuazo, whom Cortes had appointed alcalde mayor of Mexico.* Zuazo sent Cortes some refreshments, by this vessel, and a letter.

After this vessel had cast anchor, the captain, who was a person of quality, stepped on shore and delivered to Cortes a letter from the licentiate Zuazo.

When Cortes had finished reading this letter [which contained an account of what had happened in the city of Mexico during his absence], he shut himself up for half a day, and would not allow any one to come near him. When he made his appearance it was unanimously proposed to him immediately to embark, with the three

* But, in a revolution, being expelled from the city of Mexico, had gone to Cuba.

vessels which lay in the harbor, for New Spain. To this he replied, "I intend, with God's assistance, to embark with no more than four or five of you gentlemen."

Cortes then wrote to Francisco Hernandez, who was staying at Nicaragua, offering to promote his interests to the utmost of his power; and sent him two mules laden with horseshoes,* of which he knew he was in great want, a quantity of agricultural implements, several splendid articles of dress, and four pieces of beautiful plate, besides several golden ornaments. With these things a certain Cabrera,† one of the five men, of Garro's troop, which had been sent from Naco to Truxillo, was dispatched to the camp of Hernandez. He then desired Godoy, commandant of Puerto Caballos, to repair to Naco with those of the inhabitants who were suffering from ill health. The rest of the troops, under the command of Luis Marin, were to take the route overland to Mexico, and, if possible, to march through Nicaragua.

The men sent by Sandoval to Cortes then took leave of the latter, and marched in a direct line for Naco. After suffering a great deal of fatigue and hunger, they arrived safely there. Pedro Garro had already left with the whole of his men for Nicaragua, to inform Hernandez of the arrangement he had made with Sandoval.

Among the troops under Francisco Hernandez there were two soldiers named Garaveta and Zamarano, who were close adherents of Pedrarias, the governor of Terra Firma [then at Panama]. When these men saw the presents which Cortes had sent to Hernandez, and observed how the latter held secret conferences with Garro and other of his officers, they suspected that Hernandez designed giving Cortes possession of the province of Nicaragua. They consequently hastened off to communicate their suspicions to Pedrarias. Garavita in particular evinced a considerable degree of zeal in this matter, for he had an old spite against Cortes, for, when they were both young men and lived at St. Domingo, they came to blows about some woman, and Garavita came off with a good drubbing.‡

On receiving this information, Pedrarias marched out in person at the head of a large body of troops, and soon arrived in Nicaragua, where he instantly seized Hernandez. Pedro de Garro had been wise enough not to await his arrival, and sought refuge in Sandoval's

* These were worth their weight in gold.

† Cabrera afterwards served in Peru under Benalcazar, and was quartermaster-general under Blasco Nunez Vela, viceroy of Peru, and fell in the same battle with him, according to Diaz.

‡ He also had a quarrel with Vasco Nunez in regard to Caritas's daughter.

camp. Hernandez had had sufficient time to do the same, but, unfortunately for him, he put his trust in the previous friendship which had existed between himself and Pedrarias, and felt quite confident the latter would behave leniently towards him. Pedrarias, however, paid no respect to former friendship, but immediately put him upon his trial, and, as it was proven that he intended to declare his independence of his commander-in-chief, Pedrarias sentenced him to decapitation, which was put into execution in the town which he had himself founded shortly before.

Cortes, after setting sail from Truxillo two several times, was again obliged to put back into the harbor; the first time on account of a tremendous storm which arose, and the second time on account of the foremast snapping in two. He then dispatched three couriers in all haste with orders for the troops at Naco to discontinue their march to Mexico, and to proceed with the further conquest of the country, as his guardian angel, he said, had pointed out this course to him.

When the troops received these orders they became greatly enraged, and told Sandoval he might remain if he liked, but they were determined to continue their march to Mexico. Sandoval said he would only request of them to halt until he had informed Cortes of the resolution they had taken, and had received his answer in return. Sandoval set out for Truxillo, promising to do all in his power to persuade Cortes to embark for Mexico.

Cortes could not then be persuaded to embark for New Spain, but was determined to continue the colonization of the country about Truxillo. [Afterwards the news which Cortes received from Mexico induced him to return there, but] he said, however, he would return to New Spain by land, as he was afraid of the sea, after having twice set sail and each time been obliged to put back into the harbor.* The pilots, however, assured him that now being the month of April, there was less apprehension of boisterous weather, and the best of weather was to be expected at this time of the year. By these representations Cortes was induced to alter his determination; and he made up his mind to journey thither by sea, but would postpone his departure until the return of Sandoval, whom he had dispatched with a detachment of troops to Olancho, to drive out of this province a captain named Rojas, who had been sent out by Pedrarias to explore the gold mines of the country, after the latter had beheaded Francisco Hernandez.(5)

* Cortes while in Honduras was twice in a critical condition from extreme illness, and at the present time was very weak.

The Indians had journeyed all the way to Truxillo to make bitter complaints to Cortes of the Spaniards of Nicaragua, who, they said, had fallen hostilely into their country, plundering them with impunity, and carrying off their wives and daughters.

Sandoval on this expedition was accompanied by only sixty men, and on arriving in Olancho, at first was going to imprison Rojas, but several cavaliers stepping in as mediators between the two captains, they came to more amicable terms, and parted the best of friends. While Sandoval was still here he received Cortes's letter, in which he was desired immediately to repair with his troops to Truxillo. He, therefore, after arranging matters with Rojas marched to the coast.

Cortes conferred upon Saavedra the chief command of the provinces about Truxillo, and gave him particular instruction as to what he was to do. He also wrote to Luis Marin, desiring him to march forward, with his troops, to Guatemala. Diego de Godoy, who had previously commanded in Puerto de Caballos, was ordered to march with his men into the province of Naco.

Cortes, previous to embarking, again fell dangerously ill, yet he had the good fortune to recover, and he set sail from Truxillo with a considerable suite. He had the most beautiful weather all the way to the Havana, where, after having remained for five days, he gave orders for embarking without further delay, and, after a very favorable passage of twelve days, arrived in the harbor of Medellin, opposite the island of Sacrificios, where he dropped anchor for the night. The next morning he disembarked with twenty men, intending to march to San Juan de Ulua, which was only a couple of miles distant, but fortunately coming up with a party of travellers, who had a number of horses with them, and were on their way, to the harbor he had just left, to embark for Spain, Cortes took possession of the horses, and then proceeded direct to Vera Cruz, which was distant about twenty miles.*

* Bernal Diaz, Conquest of Mexico, translated by John Ingram Lockhart, F.R.A.S.

Cortes left the City of Mexico, October, 1524, and he re-entered it June, 1526; he was, therefore, absent one year and eight months, or thereabout, as the day of the month is not given.

CHAPTER X.

HERNANDO DE SOTO IN PERU.

1532-1536.

WHEN Pedrarias, governor of Darien, had put to death Nunez, he continued to signalize his cruelties by bloody executions; made war upon different Indian tribes and subdued them. He finally formed the project to extend the limits of his government on the coast of the South Sea, and to make new discoveries in following the directions which Nunez had given him.

After Vasco Nunez de Balboa had discovered the South Sea, and acquired some imperfect notions of the rich countries to which it would lead, all the eyes and projects of the adventurous Spaniards settled in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned to these unknown countries. In an age when the spirit of adventure was sufficiently ardent to engage a great number of men to hazard their whole fortunes, and brave the greatest dangers to attempt a discovery barely possible, the least ray of hope was seized with avidity, and upon slight information they undertook the most perilous expeditions. It was thus that different armaments were made to take possession of the country situated to the east of Panama. But these enterprises, confided to chiefs whose talents were not equal to the emergencies, were unsuccessful. As these excursions did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards had given the name of Terra Firma,(6) a wooded and sparsely populated country, and very unhealthy, at their return they made discouraging reports of the hardships they had endured, and of poor prospects presented by the places they had visited. These accounts calmed a little the furore of discovery in that direction, and they produced a general sentiment that Nunez had permitted himself to be misled by some ignorant Indian, who had sought to deceive him, or who had been misunderstood.*

* The son of Comagre, a cacique whose province bordered on the North Sea, had said to Nunez, "Behold those lofty mountains, beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be discerned from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels almost as large as yours, and furnished like them with sails and

But there were then at Panama three men upon whom the circumstances which discouraged all the rest made so little impression that, at the very moment when all others regarded as chimerical the hope of discovering to the east the rich countries which Nunez had announced, they determined to undertake the execution of his project. These extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego d'Almegro, and Hernando de Luque. The governor had no difficulty in granting them what they requested of him; it cost him nothing, and being master of the conditions, he could derive all the advantages of it. This confederation formed through avarice and ambition was confirmed by the most solemn ceremonies of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided the consecrated host into three parts, for himself and his two associates, and a contract which had for its object pillage and murder was ratified in the name of the God of peace!

The preparations for the expedition were ready about the end of October, 1524, and Pizarro left about the middle of November of the same year. He had had the precaution to consult Pascal d'Andagoya,* who had made a part of the route which he undertook to travel over; Andagoya advised him to abandon his enterprise. But the dangers which were represented to Pizarro only excited his courage and confirmed him in his resolution. His fleet consisted, at first, but of a single vessel and two canoes.† After enduring great hardships, suffering many privations, and repeated efforts, Pizarro finally reached Tumbez, on the Gulf of Guayaquil, in the empire of the incas.

Almegro, Du Luque, and Pizarro, having exhausted nearly all their wealth in the search for Peru, were by their united talents and efforts, in 1530, enabled to collect only three small vessels and a hundred and eighty soldiers, of whom thirty-six were cavalry; with this small force Pizarro did not hesitate to undertake the conquest of a great empire. Almegro remained at Panama to collect and

oars. All the streams which flow down the northern side of those mountains into the sea abound in gold, and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold, in fact, is as plentiful and common among these people of the south, as iron is among you Spaniards." But this had no reference to Peru. The hostile Indian tribes at constant war with each other would have rendered intercourse with Peru impossible. Pizarro with his vessels was from November 1524 to 1526 in making his way to Peru. But the Indian's story served a purpose, to send to Diego Columbus and the King of Spain.

* He wrote an account of what occurred in Terra Firma while he was there, and from this account have been drawn some of the quotations in this volume.

† Richer.

send the reinforcements and provisions of which Pizarro might have need. The proper season for sailing from Panama to Peru being better known, Pizarro made the voyage in thirteen days, although contrary winds and currents forced him a hundred leagues to the north of Tumbes, and he was obliged to land his forces in the bay of St. Matthew. He lost no time in returning to the south without leaving the shore, as well to be more easily joined by the re-enforcements which he expected from Panama, as to secure a retreat upon his vessels in case of accident. The seducing description of the country, which Pizarro had made to his followers, so little corresponded with their expectations, that many of his companions began to reproach him on account of it, and the soldiers would have lost all confidence in him if, even in those sterile parts of Peru, he had not found some appearances of wealth and culture which seemed to justify the reports of their chief. Finally they arrived in the province of Coaque, and, having surprised the inhabitants of the principal town, they found there vases and ornaments of gold and silver, valued at more than thirty thousand pesos, and other riches which dissipated their doubts and restored courage and hope to even the most discontented.

Pizarro, himself, was so transported with these rich spoils, which he considered as the firstfruits of a land abounding in treasures, that he immediately dispatched a vessel to Panama with a large part of the booty for Almagro; and another to Nicaragua, charged with considerable sums for persons of influence in that province, in hopes that this display of the wealth which he had acquired in so short a time might determine many of the adventurers to come and join him. In the mean time he continued his march along the coast. Pizarro did not meet with any resistance as far as the island of Puna, in the bay of Guayaquil; this island was more peopled than the other countries which he had traversed, and its inhabitants were more courageous and less civilized than those of the continent. They defended themselves with so much valor and obstinacy that Pizarro spent six months in subduing them.

While here he began to gather the fruits of the care which he had taken to spread the renown of his first success. There arrived to him from Nicaragua two detachments, which it is true did not exceed thirty men each, and some horses for the cavalry; but it appeared to him a re-enforcement so much the more important as the one was commanded by Sebastian Benalcazar, and the other by Hernando de Soto; two of the best officers that had served in America.

Pizarro found many prisoners in the island of Puna, which showed that its inhabitants were very warlike. Among these prisoners he found many inhabitants of Tumbez; he set them all free, and those of Tumbez he sent back to their country, and requested them to take in their bark three of his men whom he sent to their cacique. Scarcely had these perfidious Indians arrived in their town when they sacrificed these three deputies to their idols.* Hernando de Soto, who with many Indians was put upon another bark, came near experiencing the same fate. Some of his friends seeing him leaving, stopped him and made him come ashore, and thus saved his life.

The next day Pizarro landed his troops in Tumbez, on entering the town he was surprised to find it not only deserted, but with the exception of a few buildings entirely demolished. He advanced more than two leagues into the country without encountering a single Indian. It appeared to him that all the inhabitants had retired to a neighboring height. On his return he met a detachment of cavalry sent to seek him. He resolved to establish a camp there in order to take time to examine the country and its inhabitants.

He sent propositions to the cacique; but three weeks elapsed without receiving from him any answer. The cacique made dreadful menaces to all the Spaniards who left the camp. One day Pizarro discovered a large body of Indians posted on the other side of a river. Irritated at the cacique's obstinacy, he finally determined to attack him. He prepared secretly some flats and crossed the river at the close of day, with his two brothers and fifty cavaliers, marched all night; finding himself the next day, at day-break, very near the camp of the Indians, he rushed upon them with an impetuosity that so frightened them that they thought only of escaping. He slew a great number of them, and made a cruel war upon them for fifteen days, to avenge the death of the three Spaniards whom they had slain. The cacique, frightened, sued for peace, accompanying his request with some presents of gold and silver. The fame of this victory caused all the inhabitants of this province to sue for peace.

This victory excited the courage of Pizarro. He advanced into the country with the greater part of his troops, and left the rest near Tumbez under the command of Antonio de Navarre and Alonzo Requelme, his design being to penetrate as far as Port Payta, and reconnoitre the land before deciding on any plan of operations.†

* Pizarro on his first visit to Tumbez (1527) had been hospitably received, but since then a revolution had occurred, and the place had been destroyed.

† Richer.

He set out early in May 1532, and keeping along the more level regions himself, sent a small detachment under the command of Hernando de Soto to explore the skirts of the vast sierra that border the lowlands of Peru on the Pacific. At the expiration of some three or four weeks spent in reconnoitring, Pizarro came to the conclusion that the most eligible site for his settlement was the rich valley of Tangarala, thirty leagues south of Tumbes. To this spot, accordingly, he ordered the men left at Tumbes to repair at once with their vessels; and no sooner had they arrived than busy preparations were made for building up the town. Pizarro gave his infant city the name of San Miguel,* in acknowledgment of the services rendered him by that saint in his battle with the Indians of the island of Puna. The site was afterwards found to be so unhealthy that it was abandoned for another on the banks of the Piura. Hence the name San Miguel de Piura still commemorates the founding of the first European colony in Peru.†

When Pizarro embarked at the bay of St. Matthew, a civil war which raged between Atahualpa and Huascar, two contestants for the throne of Peru, was in all its force. If in his expedition in 1526 Pizarro had attacked this country, he would have had to oppose the forces of a great state united under Huayna Capac, a skilful and courageous monarch without anything to divert him. But when the two competitors learned the outrages and violence of the Spaniards, they were so occupied with a war so interesting to each of them that they could not give the least attention to the movements of an enemy who seemed too feeble to alarm them, and whom they believed they could easily stop when they had leisure.

Huascar sent to Pizarro to ask his assistance against Atahualpa, as against a rebel and usurper. Pizarro immediately comprehended

* This saint had appeared to the faithful in the battle with the Indians on the Island of Puna. The saints, Peter and James, had, according to Gomara, appeared to the faithful of Cortes's army at the battle of Tabasco; but Diaz, who was in that battle, says he was such a sinner that he could not see them. At the battle of Xochimilco, Cortes, being overpowered by his enemies, would have been captured and sacrificed to the Indian idols had not a brave Tlascalan seasonably come to his relief. Herrera and Torquemada say that the day after this event Cortes sought for the Tlascalan who had rescued him, but could not find him, either dead or alive; on which account, from the devotion which the general paid to St. Peter, he became convinced that the apostle had been the person who had saved his life. These same saints who, with flaming swords, hovered over the army of Cortes at the battle of Tobasco, were represented in a fine painting in the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli at Rome, hovering over Pope Leo in the presence of Attila.

† Prescott.

the importance of this overture, and so clearly foresaw all the advantages that could be derived from the civil war which divided the kingdom, that, without awaiting the reinforcements from Panama, he determined to advance into the interior while the domestic discord deprived the Peruvians of the possibility of attacking him with all their forces; hoping that in taking (according to circumstances) the defence of one of the competitors he would be able the more easily to overcome them both.

As he was obliged to divide his forces, he left at San Miguel a garrison sufficient for the defence of this place, which, in case of mishap, was to serve as a retreat and shelter where he could receive the succors which he was expecting from Panama. He began his march on the 24th of September, 1532, five months after landing at Tumbez, with sixty-two cavaliers, one hundred and two foot soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with arquebuses, and three with muskets.* He marched for Caxamalca, a town twelve days' journey from San Miguel, and where Atahualpa was encamped with the greatest part of his troops.

The Spaniards were obliged to cross the sandy plains between San Miguel de Piura and Motupe, seventy miles in extent, and without water, tree, or plant, or any verdure on this horrible extent of burning sand; but as soon as they had left them they found populous villages, where they supplied their wants.† He had proceeded but a short distance when an officer, dispatched by the inca, met him with a rich present from this prince, who offered him his friendship, and had him assured that he would be well received at Caxamalca. Pizarro, employing the artifice already made use of by his fellow-countrymen in America, pretended that he was the ambassador of a powerful prince, and declared that he advanced with the intention

* Probably *arquebuses* was intended for *arbaletes*—crossbows; for arquebus and mousquet were at that time the same thing. Arquebuses were at first fired by applying by hand the match to the touch-hole, but in 1476 there was a contrivance, suggested by the trigger of the arbalast, by which the burning match could be applied with more celerity and certainty. The arquebus was fired from the chest, with the butt in a right line with the barrel; but the Germans soon gave a hooked formed to the butt, which elevated the barrel, and then the weapon was called *haguebut*. The former were common in 1485, and the latter in 1540. Xeres says that "he (Pizarro) had sixty-seven horses, and one hundred and ten foot soldiers, *three of them with guns*, and some with crossbows." Xeres makes no mention of the two falconets, the smallest class of cannon, weighing from five to fifteen hundred weight; and carrying a ball weighing from one to three pounds. But in the attack on Atahualpa he mentions Candia with his guns.

† Richer.

of offering to Atahualpa his assistance against the enemies who disputed his throne.

The Peruvians, not being able to form any correct idea of what object the Spaniards had in view in entering their country, exhausted themselves in conjectures. Should they regard these foreigners as beings of a superior nature, who came to them to do them good or to punish them for their crimes, or should they consider them as enemies of their peace and liberty? The protestations of the Spaniards, who ceased not to say that they came to bring to the Peruvians a knowledge of the truth, and to lead them into the way of happiness, gave some appearance of probability to the first opinion; but they were disproved in the second by the violence, rapacity, and cruelty of these terrible guests. In this uncertainty the declaration that Pizarro made of his pacific intentions dissipated the fears of the Inca, and determined him to receive the Spaniards as friends. In consequence of this they were permitted to cross undisturbed the sandy desert between San Miguel and Motoupe,(7) where the least effort of an enemy, joined to the distress in which they were in crossing so wretched a country, would have been fatal to them; and afterwards they were allowed to pass through a mountain defile, so narrow and difficult that a few resolute men would have been able to defend it against a numerous army. But there again, through the imprudent credulity of the inca, they did not meet with any obstacle, and they took peaceable possession of a fort constructed for the defence of this important pass.

From Motoupe he advanced towards the mountains which environ the low country of Peru,* and arrived at a place called Zaran, situated in a fruitful valley among the mountains. The curaco received him with kindness and hospitality, and the troops were quartered in one of the royal *tambos*.† Shortly before entering Zaran, Pizarro learned that a Peruvian garrison was at Caxas, at no great distance from Zaran. He immediately dispatched a small party under Hernando de Soto, in the direction of Caxas, to reconnoitre the ground, and bring him intelligence of the state of things to Zaran, where he would halt until his return.

Day after day passed, and a week had elapsed before tidings were received of De Soto and his men, and Pizarro was becoming seriously alarmed for their fate, when on the eighth morning they appeared, accompanied by an envoy from the inca himself. The

* Richer.

† Large public buildings along the highways of Peru.

Spaniards had met at Caxas this envoy, and he had accompanied them to Zaran, to deliver the message of his sovereign, with presents to Pizarro. The Indian ambassador came charged with his master's greeting to the Spaniards, whom Atahualpa welcomed to his country, and invited Pizarro to visit him in his camp among the mountains.

Pizarro now received from De Soto a full account of his expedition. Soto, on entering Caxas, found the inhabitants mustered in hostile array, as if to dispute his passage. But he soon convinced them of his pacific intentions, and they received the Spaniards with the same courtesy which had been shown to them in most places on their march. Here Soto saw one of the royal officers employed in collecting the tribute for the government; from this functionary he learned that Atahualpa was quartered with a large army at Caxamalca. Soto also gathered much important information in regard to the resources and general policy of the government, the state maintained by the inca, and the stern severity with which obedience to the law was everywhere enforced. He had an opportunity of observing this himself; on entering the village he saw several Indians hanging dead by their heels, having been executed for some violence offered to the Virgins of the Sun, of whom there was a convent in the neighborhood.

From Caxas, Soto passed to the adjacent town of Guancabamba; much larger, more populous, and better built than Caxas. The houses, instead of being built of clay baked in the sun, were many of them constructed of solid stone so nicely put together that it was impossible to detect the line of junction. A river which traversed the town was crossed by a bridge and the high-road of the incas. The road was raised in many places like a causeway, paved with heavy stone flags, and bordered with trees, while streams of water were conducted through aqueducts along the sides. At certain distances there were small houses for the accommodation of travellers, who might thus pass from one end of the kingdom to the other. In another quarter they beheld magazines destined for the army, filled with grain and clothing; and at the entrance of the town was a stone building occupied by a public officer, who collected the tolls and duties on various commodities brought into or taken out of the town. These accounts of De Soto not only confirmed all that the Spaniards had heard of the Indian empire, but greatly raised their ideas of the resources and domestic policy of the empire.*

* Prescott's Conquest of Peru.

The envoy presented Pizarro with such a quantity of rich presents that it made the Spaniards believe that the prince who sent them possessed immense treasures. They doubted not that he was offended at the treatment of the inhabitants of Tumbez; but they were ignorant, says Garcialasso, that the Peruvians regarded them as the sons of the Sun, and as executors of his vengeance, and that their object was less to purchase the friendship of the small number of men, than to appease the anger of the Sun, whom they believed was offended at them. The Spaniards received, on the part of the Peruvians, a welcome wherever they passed, and they brought them divers sorts of liquors and viands. And the Spaniards observed everywhere that they had spared nothing for their reception.

As they drew near Caxamalca, they had a view of the inca's army, which extended a whole league. In the afternoon they reached the town and found it deserted. Pizarro entered it and took possession of the great court or public square, the one side of which was formed by the palace of the inca and the other by the temple of the Sun, the whole environed by a strong rampart of earth.*

The population of Caxamalca was about two thousand. The town was built at the foot of a sierra, upon a flat space extending for a league. Two streams traversed the adjacent valley, and the town was approached by two bridges, under which these rivers ran. The great square, larger than any at that time in Spain, was connected with the streets by two gates. In front of this square, and incorporated with it in the direction of the plain, was a fortress built of stone. Stone stairs led up from the square to the fortress. On the other side of this fortress there was a secret staircase and a sally-port connecting the fortress with the open country.

Above the town, on the hill-side, where the houses begin, there was another fortress constructed on a rock, the greater part of it scarped. This hill-fortress, which was larger than the other, had a triple inclosure of more extent than the great square, and the ascent to it was by a winding staircase. There was still another inclosed space between the hill-fortress and the heights of the sierra, which was surrounded by buildings where the women-servants attached to the palace had their residence.

Outside the town there was a building surrounded by a court open to the air, but inclosed by mud walls and planted with trees. This was the temple of the Sun. There were also several other temples within the town. The houses, which probably formed two sides of the great square, were very large. The frontage of some of them

* Richer.

occupied no less than two hundred yards, and they were surrounded by walls about eighteen feet high. The walls were of good and solid masonry. The roofs of these houses were formed of straw and wood. The interior of these houses was divided into several blocks of buildings, each of these blocks consisting of a suite of eight apartments, and having a separate entrance. In the courtyard were reservoirs of water brought from some distance in tubes. The town was commanded by the fortress on the hill, and compressed, as it were, between the fortress and the great square, where probably the government buildings were. This square again, with its smaller fortress, commanded the open country.*

Pizarro, after a consultation with his officers, determined to send an embassy to the inca.† Accordingly, De Soto was appointed to execute this commission, with a retinue of twenty horse; he was directed to proceed with this party to the emperor's presence. The Spaniards found the Peruvian army drawn up to receive them, notice of whose arrival had been given by an Indian sent to prepare the way. As they passed the ranks, the Indians gazed with astonishment at the horses. Soto, leaping over a ditch, advanced rearing and curveting with his mare, to the unspeakable amazement of these simple people, who, having never seen any quadruped much larger than a llama, could hardly separate in their imagination the rider from the horse. The inca had dispatched one of his generals to receive the ambassadors and show them all possible respect. When this officer approached Soto and the Spaniards, he saluted them with the most profound obeisance; then, turning to the people, declared that these were the descendants of Viracocha, whom they ought to worship with the most humble adoration. Immediately

* Arthur Help's "Life of Pizarro."

† In the "Modern Universal History," vol. 34, p. 409, is the following: "Accordingly Hernando Pizarro and Ferdinando Soto were appointed to execute this commission with a retinue of twenty horse; Soto was directed to proceed with this party to the emperor's presence, and Pizarro to remain a little distance behind with *another party* to bring him off in case any violence should be offered to his person." This was done by Pizarro after deliberating with his officers, and probably Soto was appointed, at their suggestion, as the proper person for such an embassy. It was not till after Soto had set out that Hernando Pizarro, according to his own account, followed him; and he gives as a reason why he should do so, "That their numbers (Soto's) were insufficient for defence." "He (Francisco Pizarro) therefore ordered me to follow, and to act according to circumstances." Xeres says the same, and probably had it from Hernando Pizarro himself. Every Spanish officer who went to Peru in those days had the exploits of Cortes and his heroes before him, and aspired to emulate them, or to appear, in the eyes of the world, great heroes.

all the Indian files began their protestations, which they continued even as they accompanied the Spaniards into the incas's presence.* The amazement of both parties was almost equal. The Spaniards admired the riches, grandeur, and magnificence of the inca, while the monarch was surprised at the habits, beards, complexion, manners, arms, and horses of the Spaniards. Some minutes passed in profound silence; when, at length, Soto came within proper distance, the inca rose up, embraced him cordially, and bade him welcome into his dominions. After this compliment, an elegant entertainment of bread, fruits, and divers kinds of liquors, was served up by six virgins and as many boys, well dressed. Two beautiful maidens of the royal blood advanced before these, holding in their hands small golden cups filled with the liquor usually drunk by the inca, of which they gave one to Atahualpa and another to the ambassador, who drank peace and friendship to each other, this ceremony being deemed in Peru a mark of the most cordial reception and sincere welcome. At length, Soto began to deliver his commission, but was stopped by the inca, that he might admire a little longer in his form and figure the image of the god Viracocha.(8) Soto, mounting his horse, made him prance, leap, and curvet, to the great satisfaction of Atahualpa, who suffered the beast to come up and smell him, without seeming afraid, though the Indian soldiers fled in crowds when the animal approached. The emperor's curiosity being now satisfied, the ambassador was allowed to speak, but was requested to be concise. Soto accordingly began to inform the inca of the Roman pontiff, of Charles the Fifth, etc., and concluded with acquainting him of the arrival of the Spaniards at Caxamalca, and referring him for further particulars to a personal interview with Pizarro.†

Atahualpa promised him that he would go the next day to visit them in their quarters. The becoming deportment of the monarch, the order which reigned at his court, the respect with which his subjects approached his person, and executed his orders, astonished

* Soto did not ride into the presence of the inca, but dismounted before he reached him, and left his horse at a little distance in charge of some of his soldiers. When Hernando Pizarro arrived where Soto had left his men, he there left those who had accompanied him, and advanced from there with only two horsemen, but whether mounted or not is left to conjecture. The inca was so surrounded by his chiefs and retinue that he could not have been approached on horseback without way having been made for him. Cortes dismounted and advanced on foot to meet Montezuma.

† "The Spanish writers differ widely about the particulars of this audience, and, indeed, the whole conduct of the inca, but they agree that he told the ambassador he would visit Pizarro at Caxamalca."—RICHER.

the Spaniards, who had not till then seen anything in South America above the petty chiefs of some savage tribes. But their gaze was fixed much more upon the immense riches displayed with profusion in the camp of the monarch. The ornaments which were worn upon the person of the inca and the people of his suite, the gold and silver vases in which the repast he gave them was served, the multitude of utensils of every kind, made of these precious metals, were for them a spectacle which exceeded all the ideas of opulence that a European of the sixteenth century could form.

At the return of the Spaniards from the encampment of the inca, their imagination still heightened by the spectacle which they had witnessed, and their cupidity increased more and more, they made to their companions so seducing a description of what they had seen, that Pizarro was confirmed in the resolution which he had already taken. He knew, by the observations which he had made of the manners of the people of the new world, as well as by the example of Cortes, of what importance it would be to him to seize the person of the inca. To succeed in it he formed a plan which required as much audacity as perfidy. In contempt of the character with which he had invested himself, in announcing himself as the ambassador of a great monarch who sought the alliance of the inca; in violation of the repeated assurances of friendship which he had given him, and of the offer of services which he had made him, he resolved to profit by the confiding simplicity with which Atahualpa counted upon his protestations, and to seize upon the person of the inca in the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared the execution of his plan as coolly and with as little scruple as if this treason were not to be one day the disgrace of himself and his country. He divided his cavalry, consisting of sixty, into three equal squads, under the command of his brother Hernando, Benalcazar, and De Soto. They were drawn up behind a wall, so as not to be at first perceived by the inca. He made one corps of his infantry, except that he retained near his person twenty of the most determined soldiers, to aid him in the perilous enterprise which he reserved for himself. The artillery, which consisted of two falconets, and the arquebusers, were placed opposite the route by which the inca was to arrive. All received orders not to leave their posts, nor to make any movement until the signal of action was given.

At dawn the whole camp of the Peruvians was in motion; but, as Atahualpa wished to appear with the greatest magnificence in his first interview with these foreigners, the preparation for his march was so long that the day was already far advanced when he

commenced it. The inca advanced with great order and solemnity, amidst the din of warlike instruments. He was preceded by four hundred men, dressed alike, who opened the way for him. Sitting, himself, upon a kind of throne or palanquin adorned with plumes of divers colors, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, he was carried upon the shoulders of his principal courtiers. Behind him, some of his principal officers were borne in the same manner. Several bands of dancers and singers accompanied the march, and all the plain was covered with troops to the number of more than thirty thousand men.*

The advance guard entered, the first, the great square, while a troop of three hundred Indians, clothed in chequered livery, made clean the way before the inca's litter. After them came a corps of dancers and singers, then a number of Peruvians in golden armor, wearing crowns of gold and silver, in the midst of whom was borne along the inca himself. Then came several columns of men. As each body of men advanced they deployed to the right or the left; and Atahualpa's litter was borne on towards the centre of the great square. He then ordered a halt, and that his and the other litters should continue to be held up.†

As soon as the inca was near the quarters of the Spaniards, Vincent Valverde, a Jacobin priest, almoner of the expedition, advanced through the crowd with a crucifix in one hand and his breviary in the other, and in a long discourse expounded to the monarch the doctrine of the creation, the fall of the first man, the incarnation of Jesus Christ, the choice that God had made of St. Peter to be his vicegerent upon earth, the power of St. Peter transmitted to the popes, and the donation made to the king of Castile by the pope, Alexander VI., of all the regions of the new world. After having disclosed all this doctrine he summoned Atahualpa to embrace the Christian religion, to recognize the supreme authority of the pope, and the king of Castile as his legitimate sovereign, promising him, if he submitted, that the king, his master, would take Peru under his protection and permit him to continue to reign there; but declared war against him, and menaced him with the most terrible vengeance if he refused to obey and if he persisted in his idolatry.

This strange discourse, which embraced incomprehensible mysteries and unknown facts, of which all human eloquence could not give a distinct idea to an Indian in so short a time, was so badly

* Richer. This procession of the inca was much like that of the Mexican monarch, Montezuma, at his first interview with Cortes.

† Arthur Help's "Life of Pizarro."

rendered by the interpreter, who understood but little Spanish, and who could not express himself with clearness in the language of the inca, that Atahualpa comprehended scarcely any of it. Only some items of the harangue of the priest, more easy to be seized, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was moderate; he commenced by observing that he was master of his own kingdom by the right of succession, and that he could not conceive how a foreign priest claimed to dispose of what did not belong to him; and that if this pretended donation had been made he, who was the legitimate proprietor, refused to confirm it; that he was not at all disposed to renounce the religion which he held from his ancestors, and to abandon the worship of the sun, the immortal divinity which he and his people adored, to worship the god of the Spaniards who was subject to death; that in regard to the other points treated of in his discourse he had never heard of them, that he comprehended nothing of them, and that he desired to know of the priest where he had learned such extraordinary things. In this book said the priest, presenting to him his breviary. The inca eagerly took the book, and, after having turned over a few leaves, placed it to his ear, and then said: This here which you have given me does not speak, and tells me nothing;—so saying, he with disdain threw the book upon the ground. The monk picked it up and, furious, rushed to his companions, crying out, to arms! to arms! slay these miscreants who tread under their feet the law of God.*

The friar had no sooner returned than Pizarro gave the signal for attack. Immediately the artillery was discharged in order to begin the attack by astonishing the Indians. Then the musketeers poured in a most terrible fire, while the cavalry sallied out and trod and cut down the affrighted Indians. At the same time the foot pressed on with their crossbows, pikes, and swords, making dreadful slaughter of a confused multitude, who in their fear and flight trampled down one another, and thus facilitated the action of the Spaniards in the scene of slaughter. The suddenness of the attack, the astounding noise of the artillery and musketry, the vigor of the onset, the death of their companions, and the fury of the horses and dogs entirely disconcerted the Peruvians. Pizarro, sensible that the capture of the inca would secure a guarantee for the safety of his forces, fell desperately, with his guard, upon the corps that surrounded the royal litter. Great numbers of the nobility, who pressed around their monarch and shielded him with their bodies, were slain without resistance, but their places were undauntedly filled up by others; insomuch that the Spaniards must have relinquished their design of

* Richer.

seizing the monarch, through mere fatigue, had not Miguel, a resolute soldier, pierced through the crowd, laid hold of the litter and made way for Pizarro and some other soldiers, who immediately laid hands upon Atahualpa, who made no resistance, overturned the litter and made him prisoner.(9)*

The capture of their monarch decided the flight of all his troops. The Spaniards pursued and continued to massacre in cold blood, with a deliberate barbarity, the fugitives, who made no resistance. The carnage ended only with the day; more than four thousand of the Peruvians were slain; not a Spaniard perished! Pizarro alone, who had too eagerly seized the inca, was only slightly wounded in the hand by one of his own men.

The riches collected in the pillage of the camp exceeded all the ideas which the Spaniards had formed of the wealth of Peru, and they were so transported with this astonishing success, that they passed the night in drunken revels and foolish sport, natural to base adventurers who had made in so short a time such an extraordinary fortune.

In the first moments of his captivity the inca could hardly realize an event so unexpected; but he very soon felt all the horror of his situation, and his depression was proportioned to the elevation from which he had fallen. Pizarro, fearing to lose all the advantages which he might draw from the possession of a prisoner of such importance, endeavored to console him by demonstrations of mildness and respect which belied his action. In living among the Spaniards the inca very soon discovered the passion that ruled them, and which they did not take the trouble to conceal; he believed that he could make use of it to obtain his liberty. He offered to the Spaniards a ransom which astonished them, notwithstanding all that they already knew of the wealth of his kingdom. The chamber in which he was guarded was twenty-two feet by sixteen; he engaged to fill it with golden vases and utensils to the height to which a man could reach. Pizarro, without hesitation, accepted an offer so seducing, and drew a line along the walls of the room to mark the height to which the promised treasure should be raised.

Atahualpa, transported with joy by the hope of recovering his liberty, immediately took measures to fulfil his engagement. Very soon there were seen Indians, bending beneath the weight of the gold they bore, arriving from all directions. As it was necessary to collect this gold from all parts of the empire, the Spaniards, being impatient, thought that they did not fulfil the engagement of the inca with sufficient promptitude, and began to suspect artifice in

* Universal History.

this slowness. Atahualpa, perceiving their discontent, told Pizarro that the town of Cuzco being two hundred leagues distant, and the road to it being very difficult, it therefore was not astonishing that those who had charge of his orders were slow in returning. He added that if he would send there two of his men they would see with their own eyes that he was able to fulfil his engagement. Seeing that Pizarro was deterred by the danger which the Spaniards might incur in so long a route, he smilingly said to him: "You have me, my wife, my children, and my brothers, in your power; are we not sufficient security?" Hernando de Soto and Pedro de Varco offered to make the journey. Atahualpa advised them to make it in one of his litters, in order that they might be more respected.

They left, and met, at nine days' journey from Caxamalca, a body of Peruvian troops who led prisoner Huascar, the brother of Atahualpa. The unfortunate prince, having heard who they were, whom he saw in the litters, asked to speak to them. Soto assured him that the intention of his sovereign, and of Pizarro, was to cause justice to be done the Peruvians. Then Huascar explained to them his rights to the crown, the injustice of his brother, and begged them to return to the general to engage him in his interest, and added, that if Pizarro would declare in his favor, he would engage to fill with gold the hall of Caxamalca, not only to the line which they had marked, but even to the very ceiling (which was a third more). Atahualpa, he added, in order to fulfil his engagement, will be obliged to strip the temple of Cuzco, and I have in my power all the precious stones and all the treasures of my father. Having, in fact, received them by inheritance from his father; he had concealed them in the earth, in a place which was not known to any one, for he had slain the Indians who had worked at this operation.

Hernando de Soto, not wishing to disobey the orders which had been given him, refused to retrace his steps. On the other hand, the partisans of Atahualpa believing his deliverance near at hand, and regarding the offers of Huascar as an obstacle to his re-establishment, informed him of what had passed between Soto and Huascar. Atahualpa, perceiving of what importance it was that Pizarro should not be informed of it, gave orders to slay his brother immediately, and this order was punctually executed. In the mean time Soto and Varco continued their journey to Cuzco.* On their arrival in that city they were astonished at the respect and deference shown them by the Indians of both parties. The friends of Huascar, imagining that he still lived, endeavored to engage the strangers in his interest by the most liberal presents and offerings; those of the

* Richer.

opposite faction practised the same civilities and attentions in expectation of procuring the release of Atahualpa. The vestals, called Mamaconas, dedicated to the sun, were ordered to attend upon the strangers, whom they regarded as the children of that luminary. Unfortunately, however, four Spaniards, who attended Soto and Varco on this expedition, by their folly and insolence, abused the respect shown them; they laughed at the simplicity of their votaries, and thereby incurred their hatred and contempt. As the inca's chief treasures were lodged in the great temple, application was made to the high priest, Vilavena, to issue out what was necessary for Atahualpa's ransom, which he readily granted. Immense quantities of gold and silver were accordingly brought to the Spaniards, who set out with it for Caxamalca. Pizarro was greatly astonished at the prodigious wealth that flowed in, which greatly surpassed his most sanguine expectations. But not yet satisfied, he obtained a grant from his prisoner of the treasures contained in the temple of Pachacamac, to which place he sent his brother Hernando.

Not long after the departure of Soto, Hernando Pizarro began his journey to Pachacamac, in the temple of which place the inca affirmed there were immense treasures. Pizarro reached the temple of Pachacamac where he saw everything corresponding with the inca's account, returned after a fatiguing march with much treasure and one of the inca's generals, named Chalcuchima, who had been assembling troops to attempt the recovery of his king, but had yielded to the remonstrances of Hernando Pizarro, who was so bold as to go, attended only by an interpreter, into the midst of the Indian camp, and prevailed upon the Indian general to accompany him, to dismiss his troops, and submit quietly to the fate of his sovereign, and to repair to the place of his confinement to endeavor, with the rest of his friends, to alleviate his misfortunes until the ransom should be paid.

When Chalcuchima approached the palace where Atahualpa was detained prisoner he took off his shoes,* and, on approaching before him, he cast himself at his feet, and, shedding tears, said to him, that if he had been near his person he would not now be loaded with chains. Atahualpa replied to him that he recognized in his disgrace a just punishment for the negligence he had had for the worship of the Sun; and that his misfortune came principally from the cowardice of his people who had abandoned him.

Fame rapidly spread at Panama the news of the progress which

* "Put off thy shoes from off thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." The incas were considered by the Peruvians as holy.

Francisco Pizarro had made in Peru, and of the immense riches which he found there. Almegro, yielding to the influence of jealousy, conceived the project of putting himself in possession of the country which was beyond the limits of the government of Pizarro. He equipped some vessels and repaired to Puerto Viejo where was spread the news of the defeat of Atahualpa, and of the engagement he had made for his ransom. At this news Almegro changed his design and resolved to go to Caxamalca, hoping to share with Pizarro the riches of the inca. On arriving there he found that they had already amassed a great part of the ransom of Atahualpa; but the soldiers of Pizarro declared to him that the new-comers ought not to share with the conquerors the spoils of the vanquished. There arose on this subject a contest that might have had dangerous consequences. Pizarro, the strongest in the number of his soldiers and by the affection which they had for him, feigned not to notice the discontent of Almegro, and took occasion of his arrival to send his brother Hernando to Spain. He charged him to render to the court an account of the progress of his conquest, and to present to the emperor what belonged to him of the riches which they had amassed. Atahualpa saw with extreme sorrow the departure of Hernando Pizarro.

Hernando Pizarro took with him a hundred thousand pesos of gold, and as much in silver. Each cavalier had for his share twelve thousand pesos in gold and very near the same quantity in silver, that is to say, two hundred and forty marks of each kind. The infantry were paid in proportion. The general, knowing how dangerous it would be for him to let exist a motive of jealousy between his soldiers and those of Almegro, gave to these last a sum almost as considerable as that which he had distributed to his own.*

* The following is taken from a note to Xeres, on the distribution of the ransom of Atahualpa: "Almegro got 30,000 pesos of gold, and 10,000 of silver. The total ransom of Atahualpa, 4,605,670 ducats. Of this sum, 3,933,000 ducats was the value of the gold, and 372,670 ducats the value of the silver. This may be considered equal to £3,500,000."

The following is taken from the report of the notary, Pedro Sancho, in whose presence the distribution was made:—

To the Governor,	Marks of silver, 2350.	Pesos of gold, 57,220
To Hernando Pizarro,	" " 1267.	" " 31,080
To Hernando de Soto,	" " 724.	" " 17,740
To Juan Pizarro,	" " 407.	" " 11,100
To Pedro Caudia,	" " 407.	" " 9,909
To Gonzalo Pizarro,	" " 384.	" " 9,909
To Sebastian de Benalcazar,	" " 407.	" " 9,909
To Juan Pizarro de Orellano,	" " 362.	" " 8,980

These sums show the estimation placed upon the merits of the men to whom

Sixty soldiers asking permission to return to Spain to enjoy in peace their wealth, Pizarro, doubting not that their fortunes would excite the desire of the greater part of those who should see them, and in this way would procure him a great number of men, permitted them to leave.

All the treasure being now collected, Pizarro passed a decree, that the king's fifth should be deducted, and the remainder divided in a certain proportion to each, according to his merit. The prodigious treasures they had amassed served only to diminish the enjoyment of the adventurers. The great plenty of gold and silver diminished its value one-half. Gaming rose to an exorbitant height among them, and property was continually shifting from one hand to another. The tides of affluence and indigence brought along with them an infinity of vices which foiled all the authority and influence of the commander, and rendered the Spanish conquerors the most profligate, corrupt, and abandoned set of miscreants in the universe. No regard was paid to the most sacred obligations; wealth was the only pursuit, and power the only rule of right; nor was Pizarro himself untainted with the general depravity.*

The inca, after the division of his ransom among the Spaniards, summoned them to fulfil the promises they had made to set him at liberty; but nothing was farther from the thoughts of Pizarro. After having succeeded in his project, he held as of no account what he had promised, and while the credulous prince hoped soon to ascend his throne, Pizarro had secretly resolved to kill him. Several circumstances seem to have determined him to commit this crime, one of the most criminal and most atrocious with which the Spaniards have blotted their fame in the conquest of America.

Pizarro, in imitating the conduct of Cortes towards Montezuma, lacked the talents necessary to follow out the plan. As he had neither the address nor the moderation which would have enabled him to gain the confidence of his prisoner; he knew not how to profit of the advantage of being master of his person and authority. Atahualpa showed more discernment than Montezuma, and had better unravelled the character and plans of the Spaniards. Suspicion and distrust were very soon created between them and him, and Pizarro very soon beheld the inca as a burden of which he desired to be relieved.

they were given. Pizarro appears to have apportioned the several sums to the private soldiers, and probably did so to the officers.

* Universal History.

Whilst Almegro and his companions openly demanded the death of the inca, this prince imprudently contributed to hasten his own destruction. During his captivity he had conceived an attachment for De Soto and Hernando Pizarro, who, having received a better education than the other adventurers, conducted themselves toward Atahualpa with more propriety and attention. Calmed by the respect shown him by these officers of distinguished rank among the Spaniards, he was pleased with their society; but in the presence of the governor he was timid and constrained. To the fear was very soon joined a contempt of Francisco Pizarro. Among the arts of Europe that of reading and writing attracted the inca's greatest admiration. He sought for some time whether it was a talent acquired or natural. To enlighten his doubts he requested one of the soldiers who guarded him to write upon his thumb nail the name of God. He afterward showed this writing to different Spaniards, and asked them what it meant, and to his great astonishment they all made the same reply. Pizarro one day entering his room, the inca presented him his thumb, and asked the significance of the word. The governor blushed, and was forced to avow with some confusion his ignorance. From that time Atahualpa regarded him as a low character, less instructed than his soldiers. He had not the address to conceal the sentiments of contempt with which this discovery had inspired him. The general was so deeply wounded to see himself the object of the contempt of a barbarian, that his resentment, joined to all the other motives, determined him to destroy the inca.*

The inca now loudly demanded his freedom. The proposed amount had indeed not been fully paid. But an immense amount had already been realized, and it would have been a still greater one but for the impatience of the Spaniards. These considerations Atahualpa urged on several of the cavaliers, and especially on Hernando de Soto, who was on terms of more familiarity with him than Pizarro. De Soto reported Atahualpa's demands to the governor, but the latter evaded a direct reply. He did not disclose the dark purpose over which his mind was brooding.

Atahualpa in the most pressing manner urged the fulfilment of the compact for his liberty, but his remonstrances were in vain, and fresh pretexts were invented to prolong his confinement. Upon these delays some of his commanders proposed attempting his release by force of arms; to which the inca very prudently refused his consent. In obedience to him they laid aside their design, but suspicions were aroused in the Spaniards, which were corroborated

* Richer.

by the Peruvian slaves. They spread a variety of reports, the foundation of which could never be traced, though they were readily believed by the Spaniards, who wanted an apology for their own perfidious conduct.*

A large force, it was said, was already gathered at Guamachucho, not a hundred miles from the camp, and their attack might be hourly expected. Murmurs and menaces were now heard against the inca, as the author of these machinations. Many began to demand his life as necessary to the safety of the army. Among these the most vehement were Almegro and his followers. They were supported by Riquelme, the treasurer, and by the rest of the royal officers. These men had been left at San Miguel by Pizarro, who did not care to have such official spies on his movements. But they had come to the camp with Almegro, and now loudly demanded the death of the inca as indispensable to the tranquillity of the country, and the interest of the crown. To these dark suggestions Pizarro seemed to turn an unwilling ear, manifesting a reluctance to proceed to extreme measures with his prisoner. There were some few, and among them Hernando de Soto, who supported him in these views, and who regarded such measures as not at all justified by the evidence of Atahualpa's guilt. In this state of things Pizarro determined to send a small detachment to Guamachucho to reconnoitre the country and ascertain what ground there was for the rumors of an insurrection. De Soto was placed at the head of the expedition, which, as the distance was not great, would occupy but a few days.

After Soto's departure the agitation among the soldiers increased to such a degree that Pizarro consented to bring Atahualpa to instant trial. But to give some appearance of justice to an action so violent, and in order not to be alone responsible to his sovereign, Pizarro decided to have the inca tried according to all the forms of law, in criminal proceedings, observed in Spain. He and Almegro, with two advisors, were the judges, with absolute power to acquit or condemn. They brought to this strange tribunal accusations still more strange. They consisted in divers articles.

They pronounced that Atahualpa was guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. The friar Valverde prostituted his sacred functions so far as to confirm this sentence by the authority of his ministry and to attest the justice of it by his signature. The sentence was to be carried into immediate execution that very night. They were not even to wait for the return of De Soto, when the information he would bring would go far to establish the truth or falsehood of the reports respecting the insurrection of the natives.

* Prescott's "Conquest of Peru," and Richer.

The doom of the inca was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in the great square of Caxamalca; and two hours after sunset the Spanish soldiers assembled by torchlight in the public square to witness the execution of the sentence. On the 29th of August, 1532, Atahualpa was led out, chained hand and foot—for he had been kept in irons ever since the great excitement in the army respecting an attack. What added to the bitterness of the last moments of the unfortunate inca, the same monk who had just ratified the sentence presented himself to console and to convert him. The strongest argument which the priest could use to make the inca embrace the Christian religion was the promise to modify the rigor of his punishment; the fear of a cruel death wrung from him a request to be baptized; the ceremony was performed, and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at a post to which he had been tied.*

A day or two after this tragic event, Hernando de Soto returned from his excursion. Great was his astonishment and indignation at learning what had been done in his absence. He sought out Pizarro, and said to him, bluntly, "You have acted rashly. Atahualpa has been basely slandered. There was no enemy at Guamachucho; no rising among the natives. I have met with nothing on the road but demonstrations of good-will, and all is quiet. If it was necessary to bring the inca to trial, he should have been taken to Castile, and judged by the emperor. I would have pledged myself to see him safe on board the vessel." Pizarro confessed that he had been precipitate, and said that he had been deceived by Riquelme, Valverde [the priest], and the others. These charges soon reached the ears of the treasurer and the Dominican, who, in their turn, exculpated themselves, and upbraided Pizarro to his face, as the only one responsible for the deed. The dispute ran high; and the parties were heard by the bystanders to give one another the lie! This vulgar squabble among the leaders, so soon after the event, is the best commentary on the iniquity of their own proceedings, and the innocence of the inca.†

Fortunately for the honor of the Spanish nation, among these adventurers abandoned to every excess, and parted from their country to conquer and desolate the new world, there were yet found men who preserved the sentiment of honor and generosity worthy of the Castilian name. Although Fernando Pizarro had left for Spain before the trial of Atahualpa, and Soto had been sent to a post far from Caxamalca, yet this cruel execution was not made without opposition. Several officers, and particularly some

* Richer and Prescott.

† Prescott.

of the greatest reputation and the noblest families, made remonstrances and even protestations against this judgment as dishonorable to their country, and contrary to all the maxims of equity. They added, that it was a violation of the rights of nations to usurp over an independent sovereign a jurisdiction to which they had not any right. All their efforts were in vain; the number and opinion of those who regarded as legitimate all that they believed to be advantageous to themselves, prevailed. But history has preserved the names of those who thus endeavored to save their country from the stigma of so great a crime.

The death of Atahualpa and Huascar left the Peruvians without a king. The people, filled with the idea of the phantom of Viracocha, and convinced by the conduct of the two last incas, that the Spaniards were the children of the Sun, paid them an homage that approached adoration. However, there were found some generals who formed the project of maintaining their independence; among others, one named Ruminagui retired to Quito, with five thousand men, and resolved to seize the throne.

Some Peruvian officers believed that their honor required that they should render the honors of sepulture to their sovereign; they assembled two thousand soldiers, and took the corpse from the place where the Spaniards had deposited it, transported it to Quito, to place it in the tomb of his ancestors. Ruminagui, who then commanded in this town, received it with great manifestations of respect; gave it a magnificent funeral, and deposited it himself in the tomb of his fathers.

Quizquiz, another Peruvian general, assembled troops and made for himself a considerable party. Knowing that two young brothers of Atahualpa were still living, he sent for the youngest, named Paulu, and proposed to crown him. He made this proposition to the youngest of the two brothers that he might have but the phantom of an emperor. Paulu, raised in respect for his elder brother, Manco, whom he recognized as the legitimate successor to the throne, after the death of his two other brothers, refused the honor which did not belong to him, and of which he knew there would be left him only the title. He immediately left the army of Quizquiz and repaired to that of Pizarro.*

What to the Spaniards was the most unfortunate consequence of their late cruel and iniquitous conduct, was that loads of gold on the road to Caxamalca, by order of Atahualpa, were now carried back to Cuzco. The two factions of Indians united against Pizarro,

* Richer.

and many of the Spaniards who had exclaimed against the death of the inca as a base infraction of the law of nations and a violation of the Spanish honor, would have proceeded to open mutiny, had not the impending danger united them for their common safety. At Cuzco the friends of the late emperor, Huascar, immediately proclaimed as inca, Manco Capac, the legitimate brother of the late emperor, and determined to support him against the machinations and violences of the Spaniards. On the other hand, Pizarro set up Toparca, the son of Atahualpa.

It was essentially necessary to the success of Pizarro's designs that he should gain possession of Cuzco, the capital, and suppress the opposite faction before it could gather strength sufficient to maintain the vigorous resolutions it had taken. Accordingly he set out from Caxamalca, attended by the new inca, after having spent seven months in that town. Near the valley of Xuaxa, notice was brought that an army of Indians occupied the passes and resolved to oppose Pizarro's progress. Advancing a few miles further, he saw the plain covered with armed troops, a sight extremely formidable to the Spaniards, who were now fatigued with the march and the prodigious rains that had lately fallen. Almegro led the van; he approached so near as to hear the enemies' revilings, and, giving way to his indignation, attacked them with great impetuosity, after having passed a rapid river in despite of all their opposition, and defeated them. In the fruitful vale of Xuaxa was a temple dedicated to the sun; here Pizarro resolved to found a colony, which, however, was not permanent, but afterwards removed to the place where Lima now stands.*

While Pizarro was thus employed, he dispatched Hernando de Soto, with sixty horse, to make the best of his way to Cuzco, and clear the road for the remainder of his army. Soto had not advanced far when he received intelligence that a considerable body of the enemy had fortified themselves at Cababayo to defend the pass. Fearing that his forces would prove insufficient, he sent notice to Pizarro, and desired that the inca might join him, as the presence and influence of the monarch might probably prevent an effusion of blood and obtain the ends of a victory without the hazard of a battle; but Toparca fell sick about this time and died, an event which frustrated all the expectations entertained by the Spaniards of bringing the Indians, by means of this inca, to acknowledge their authority, without the necessity of having recourse to arms. Soto was now forced to place his dependence on his own valor; the

* Universal History.

Indians had cut down a bridge over an exceedingly rapid river that divided them from the Spaniards; but Soto, without regard to the violence of the stream, plunged in with his horse and reached the opposite bank, to the unspeakable astonishment and terror of the enemy, who fled in the utmost consternation. Thus Soto obtained a complete victory without striking a blow, after having performed what has never been since attempted—the fording, in the face of an enemy, a river which had always been deemed impassable, and without the loss of a single horse or soldier. The enemy flying to Lima Tambo, he continued the pursuit, notwithstanding he had received orders to advance slowly, saying it would be folly and cowardice to adhere so literally to orders as to neglect seizing the opportunity of an important advantage which could not possibly have been foreseen when the orders were issued. Accordingly he continued his march along the great road of Chinahayso to the mountains of Bilcaonga, seven leagues from Cuzco, where the Indians determined to fortify a difficult pass, to dig pits and trenches and fill them with sharp-pointed stakes, to incommode the horses. Here they resolved to make their best effort. Every measure was taken to defeat the intention of the Spaniards of seizing the capital.

Soto could have no reliance upon the assistance of Pizarro, who was employed in reducing the Yuanas and Yayos and settling his colony. He, therefore, reposed his whole hopes on the vigor of his arms and the possibility of defeating the Indian army before it could be re-enforced. As he advanced, however, it was perceived that the enemy were exceedingly numerous. The whole face of the mountain was covered with their forces, and unexpected difficulties occurred in reconnoitring the pass. The Indians began to pour in their darts and arrows upon the Spaniards with more resolution and regularity than they were accustomed to observe, a circumstance which produced murmurings and discontents among the soldiers. Soto told his people that it was necessary to conquer or die. He said the number of the enemy cut off all possibility of retreating without being exposed to disgrace and the most imminent danger, and if they hesitated a moment the same difficulty would attend their advancing, as new levies were continually joining the inca. One victory more, he observed, would remove every obstacle, and the same valor which had hitherto proved invincible would now likewise be successful, if they would exert it properly. This speech gave new life and vigor to the troops. They advanced with great resolution up the hill, amidst showers of the enemy's missiles. They formed themselves two abreast, cut their way through the

Indians with dreadful slaughter, and at last reached the summit of the mountain. Five soldiers and two horses were killed in this attack, and eleven men and fourteen horses wounded; however, the joy of obtaining a victory rendered this loss of less consideration. Soto probably would have had to encounter the same dangers the next morning, had not Almegro seasonably arrived with a re-enforcement, which so dispirited the Indians that they dropped their intention of renewing the engagement, and suffered the Spaniards to proceed unmolested.*

Pizarro now marched for Cuzco, but considering it most prudent not to hazard the loss of his treasures by taking them on the march, he left them at Xauxa, under a guard of forty soldiers who remained there in garrison. At the end of a few days he arrived before Cuzco; but he saw arising from it so thick a smoke that he believed the Indians had set it on fire. He sent a detachment of cavalry there to arrest the effects, which he attributed to their despair. This detachment was repulsed with an astonishing vigor, and the hostilities lasted all the night. The day following, Paulu declared to the inhabitants that he had made his reconciliation with Pizarro, and the Spaniards were admitted there without any resistance. The quantity of gold and silver they found there was even more important than that which they had received at Caxamalca. They were engaged in dividing it when they learned that Quizquiz was ravaging the province of Condefugos. It was a feint. Soto, with fifty cavaliers, was dispatched against him; the skilful Indian, informed of his march, took the route to Xauxa, in hope of surprising a part of the baggage of the Spaniards and the treasure which they had left under a guard of some infantry. But he found this little detachment so well posted that he could not cut it off; Pizarro, informed that he had turned in that direction, sent off his two brothers with a considerable detachment. When they had joined Soto, Quizquiz decamped; they pursued him the distance of more than a hundred leagues on the route to Quito, but losing hope of overtaking him, they returned to Xauxa, took their baggage and treasures, and carried them to Cuzco.

Whilst the troops of Pizarro were occupying Cuzco, Benalcazar, whom Pizarro had left in charge of San Miguel, became weary of inaction, and anxious to distinguish himself among the conquerors of the New World. A body of fresh troops, arrived very opportunely from Panama and Nicaragua, placed him in a condition to satisfy his wishes. After having left a sufficient force for the

* Modern Universal History, vol. 34.

security of the settlement, he placed himself at the head of the rest, and set out to subdue Quito, where, according to the reports of the Peruvians, Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasures. It was a great distance from San Miguel to Quito, and the march was difficult in a country of mountains covered with forests; he was often and vigorously attacked by the best soldiers of Peru, led by a skilful chief. His valor, perseverance, and good management surmounted all obstacles, and he entered victoriously into Quito. But he experienced a great mortification. The inhabitants, knowing by their own unfortunate experience the dominant passion of their enemies, had carried off all the riches that attracted the Spaniards, and which had made them undertake this perilous enterprise, endure so much suffering, and brave so many dangers.*

While Benalcázar was thus capturing Quito, Pizarro sent, at the same time, Almagro towards the coast to learn the truth of a very important rumor which was in circulation. It was asserted that Pedro de Alvarado, Governor of Guatemala, in Mexico, had embarked for Peru with a large army. Almagro repaired to San Miguel, and, not having learned anything which had relation to the rumor that was spread, he returned to Cuzco. Nevertheless, the rumor was not without foundation. Hernando Cortes, after having conquered Mexico, gave to Alvarado, as a recompense for his services, the province of Guatemala, the government of which was confirmed to him by the emperor Charles V. Alvarado, being informed of what was taking place in Peru, solicited the court of Spain for permission to contribute to the conquest of that kingdom. His request was granted. Alvarado, with regret, beheld himself second to Cortes in the former expedition, but he hoped to render himself equal to Pizarro in this, as to his own experience in the art of war, he joined the assistance of some of the best officers and most approved soldiers of the age. Garcilasso de la Vega, whose father attended Alvarado upon this expedition, alleges that he had a commission from Charles V. to conquer, govern, and colonize all those countries, on that part of the continent, which were not yet possessed by the Spaniards, and that his jurisdiction was wholly independent of the authority of Pizarro and Almagro. The conduct of Alvarado appears to confirm this.

While preparing his army and fleet at the port of Istapa,† in Guatemala, he dispatched Garcia Holquin, in a small vessel, to

* Richer.

† Celebrated for being the place where Alvarado equipped his armaments in the years 1534 and 1539. "This place," says Guarros, "is highly deserving of notice, in a commercial point of view, as it affords every convenience and

procure some intelligence of the country and coast against which he intended the expedition, and also of the progress of the Spaniards. Holquin, after encountering manifold hardships, could proceed no further than Puerto Viego, where he received some vague accounts of Pizarro, the riches he had acquired, the immense wealth that still remained, and a few other hints of general information, with which he returned to Alvarado, who now embarked. Having been informed that they were equipping two vessels in Nicaragua, with re-enforcements of men and provisions for Pizarro, he, with the five hundred men who embarked under his orders, had the address to approach and seize them during the night.

He now continued his voyage with seven hundred men, two hundred and twenty-seven of whom were horsemen, and after sailing thirty days arrived at Cape St. Francisco, in the first degree of north latitude. Alvarado, perceiving the crews grew sickly, and that the horses perished, or contracted such diseases as would render them useless, landed in the bay of Caragues, sent the provisions by sea to Puerto Viego, and proceeded with some cavalry to Mantu. Orders were given the pilots to sail along the coast of Peru to the furthest extremity of Pizarro's government, to make the necessary charts, observe the soundings and harbors, and set up marks of having taken formal possession. After landing, Alvarado marched towards the east, almost under the equator. Having an imperfect idea of the country, he undertook, without a guide, to march directly to Quito, in following the course of the river Guayaquil and crossing the mountains near its source. Hunger and thirst would have destroyed all his men if he had not found certain canes the size of a man's leg, hollow, and filled with water, which they believed came from the dews which collected during the night.(10) They had no other recourse against famine than to eat their horses. To aggravate their misfortunes, they were overwhelmed with hot cinders ejected from a volcano in the neighborhood of Quito. Before arriving at Quito, they were also obliged to cross mountains where a continual snow rendered the cold so piercing that there perished sixty men. In this route, one of the least practicable in America, his troops were so overcome by fatigue in opening roads through forests and marshes in the low-lands, and suffered so much from the

advantage for carrying on an extensive traffic in the Pacific. Its contiguity to the city of Guatemala" [founded by Alvarado] "would enable speculators to obtain all the productions of the country at a moderate rate, which could be conveyed by land-carriage to the place of embarkation at a trifling expense, on a road that was opened and levelled in 1539, for the purpose of transporting upon carriages some of Alvarado's small vessels."—"The Modern Traveller."

severity of the cold on the tops of the mountains, that, before he arrived on the plains of Quito, a fifth of the Spaniards and half of the horses had perished; the rest were discouraged and in a condition unfit for service. Alvarado and his companions finally arrived in the province of Quito; but the melting of the snows caused so great an inundation that several men perished. Being near a village where a party of Indians had fortified themselves, he besieged it and forced the Indians to leave it.*

At this time Pizarro and Almegro were deeply engaged in the progress of their conquests, and the news of Alvarado's approach and designs gave them the greatest uneasiness. A body of horse was immediately dispatched by Almegro to watch his movements, but this party falling into Alvarado's hands, was kindly treated and dismissed. This moderation suggested the first idea of compromising differences in such a manner that all should heartily unite in the same design. Almegro made the proposals, and they were accepted without hesitation by Alvarado. An interview was appointed, and the following agreement signed by the commanders: that a hundred thousand pesos should be paid by Pizarro and Almegro; that such of Alvarado's officers and soldiers as desired to serve under Pizarro and Almegro should be provided for as their own troops, according to the merit of their services; and that Alvarado should return to Mexico after he had visited Pizarro at Cuzco, of which capital he had heard the most exaggerated accounts. There were some other stipulations of less consequence in this treaty, to which both parties adhered with great punctuality, except that Pizarro, apprehensive that a sight of the immense wealth of Cuzco might stagger Alvarado's resolution, sent a message to Alvarado that he would save him the trouble of so tedious a journey, and give him a meeting in the valley of Pachacamac; for which place he immediately set out, escorted by a body of cavalry. There he met with Alvarado and Almegro. He gave Alvarado twenty thousand pesos more than was stipulated in the treaty, made him several valuable presents of turquoises and other precious stones, and conducted himself with so much address that Alvarado returned perfectly satisfied to Mexico, having been fully recompensed for the expense and trouble of the expedition, and assured that his soldiers and officers would be well provided for according to their several abilities.†

About this time Hernando Pizarro arrived in Spain. The im-

* Universal History, and Richer.

† Modern Universal History, vol. 34, p. 433.

mense quantity of gold and silver he brought caused as much astonishment as it had excited at Panama and the other Spanish colonies. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the respect due a man who brought him a present whose value exceeded all the ideas that the Spaniards had formed of the wealth of their acquisitions in America, even after having been ten years in possession of Mexico. To reward the services of Francisco Pizarro the emperor confirmed him in the dignity of governor, and joined to it new powers and new privileges, and extended the boundaries of his government seventy leagues to the south, along the coast, beyond the limits fixed by his first patent. Almegro also obtained the honors which he had so long sought. He was given the rank of adelantado, or governor, and his jurisdiction was extended over two hundred leagues, to commence at the southern limits of the government of Pizarro. Hernando Pizarro himself was made knight of the order of San Iago, and returned to Peru accompanied by many persons of greater distinction than those who had hitherto served in America.

They received in Peru some news of Hernando Pizarro's negotiation before his arrival there. Almegro was no sooner informed that he had obtained of the emperor a government independent of Pizarro, than he claimed that Cuzco was embraced in it, and prepared to take possession of this important post. Juan and Gonzales Pizarro prepared to repulse him. Each of the contestants had a powerful party, and the dispute was about to be decided by force of arms, when Francisco Pizarro arrived at the capital, and the address, mingled with firmness, which he showed in his complaints against Almegro and his partisans, diverted then the storm. He made a new reconciliation with Almegro, the principal condition of which was that Almegro should attempt the conquest of Chili, and that if he did not find there an establishment worthy of him, Pizarro, to indemnify him, would cede to him a part of Peru. This new convention was confirmed with the same religious solemnities as the first, and observed with as little fidelity.

In consequence of his convention with Pizarro, Almegro prepared to march into Chili. The inca placed at his disposal the services of his brother Paullo, and of the high priest Villac Umu, who were ordered to accompany Almegro to Chili. These he sent on before; he himself was to go next; and his lieutenant, Rodrigo Orgonez, was to follow with the rest of the people. It may show how much Almegro's service was sought after, that so distinguished a person in Pizarro's camp as Hernando de Soto was greatly disappointed at not having been named lieutenant-general of the maris-

cal's [Almegro's] forces.* Almegro set out for Chili with five hundred and seventy men. It was the largest body of Europeans that had to that time assembled in Peru.

There were two roads which led thence to Chili; one by the plain, but it was the longest; the other by the mountains, it was the shortest. The snows and the cold rendered the latter impracticable in every season but the summer. Paullo and the high priest advised Almegro to take the best of the two routes, but he took the shortest. The impatience to terminate promptly the expedition, or the custom to endure every labor and to brave every danger, the common custom of all the Spaniards who had served in America, determined Almegro to cross the mountains. The route was, indeed, the shorter, but almost impracticable. In this march his troops suffered all the ills that human nature can experience from fatigue, hunger, and the rigor of the climate of those elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the cold is almost as severe as that which is found under the polar circle. There perished a great number of them. One of his officers and several cavaliers remained upon the mountains frozen with their horses. The historians who confirm this fact say that five months afterwards the army repassing by the same place, found the corpses in the same position, holding in their hands the bridles of their horses. Their flesh was as fresh as if they had died that moment.†

Those who resisted the cold and arrived as far as the fertile plains of Chili, found there new obstacles to surmount. They had to do with men, very different from the Peruvians, intrepid, hardened to labor, much resembling, by their physique and their courage, the warlike nations of North America. Although astonished at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and still more at their cavalry, and the effect of their fire-arms, they very soon recovered from their surprise, not only to the degree of defending themselves with courage, but even to assail their new enemies with more resolution and vigor than any other American nation had hitherto shown. The Spaniards notwithstanding continued to penetrate into the country, and to collect gold in abundance; but they no longer thought of forming a settlement. Notwithstanding all the valor and skill of their chief, the success of their expedition was still extremely

* "Life of Pizarro," by Arthur Helps.

† The army of Almegro did not return over the mountains, but the forces under Diaz and Herreda crossed the mountains to join Almegro, and they may have seen these frozen horsemen on frozen horses. The Spanish soldiers under Almegro experienced all the vicissitudes and inclemency of the seasons and climates that the soldiers of Napoleon endured in Egypt and Russia.

doubtful, when they were recalled to Peru by an unexpected revolution.

Almegro had been joined by Ruyz Diaz and Juan de Herreda with more than a hundred Spaniards, who had crossed the mountains in a more favorable season of the year. Herreda informed Almegro of the situation of affairs in Peru, and of the general insurrection of the Indians of Peru.

The news of the general revolt of the Peruvians would have sufficed to induce Almegro to leave Chili and return to succor his compatriots, but he was led to this resolution by less generous and more interested motives. The same messenger who informed him of the situation of affairs in Peru, brought the royal patent which made him governor of Chili, and fixed the limits of his government. According to this patent Cuzco appeared to him evidently comprised within the limits of his department, and he had from this time as much eagerness to take from Pizarro the possession of this capital as to hinder the Peruvians from seizing it. Impatient to execute this double purpose, he ventured to return by a new route, through the sandy plains of the coast, the desert of Atacama. In this march he suffered almost as much from heat and thirst as he had suffered from cold and hunger in crossing the summits of the Andes.*

He arrived at Cuzco the 12th day of July, 1537, having left it shortly after his last compact with Pizarro, made the 12th day of June, 1535. It has already been mentioned that Soto sought the rank of lieutenant-general in this expedition, and was disappointed; that Hernando Pizarro returned to Peru, accompanied by many persons of greater distinction than any that had to that time served in America; and that Hernando Pizarro had been knighted. Hernando de Soto, in ability, was second to none of the conquerors of Peru; his ambition and love of fame, as his pride and sense of honor, were great and ennobling. He saw the spirit of faction and discord that raged in the rival parties of Almegro and Pizarro, and probably anticipated the storm that was destined soon to devastate Peru with the internecine strife of civil war. As after this period his name no more appears in the events of Peru, it is probable that he left the country about this time; and that he returned to Spain with Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, Nuño de Touar, and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo. He probably was in Spain during the years 1536 and 1537. In the spring of 1538 he sailed from Spain on his expedition to Florida.

* Richer's "Histoire Moderne."

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HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA.

VOLUME II.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA.

As the works of Garcilasso Inca de la Vega are the first literary productions of the native genius of South America, it is proper that here something should be said of the author and his works. In fact, Garcilasso might, with propriety, be called the first *distinguished* native author of the New World, though the Abbé Clavigero, in the preface to his "History of Mexico," mentions the following

INDIAN AUTHORS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Fernando Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, son of Coanacotzin, last king of Acolhuacan, and Antonio de Tobar Cano Montezuma Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the royal houses of Mexico, and Acolhuacan. These two nobles, at the request of the Count Benevente, and the Viceroy of Mexico, Luis de Velasco, wrote letters on the genealogy of the kings of Acolhuacan, and other points relative to the ancient history of that kingdom.

Antonio Pimentel Ixtlilxochitl, son of Fernando Pimentel, wrote Historical Memoirs of the Kingdom of Acolhuacan, by which Torquemada was assisted; "and from it we have taken the annual expenses incurred in the palace of the famous king Nezahualcojotl, great-great-grandfather of the author."

Taddeo de Niza, a noble Indian of Tlascala, wrote in the year 1548, by order of the viceroy of Mexico, the History of the Conquest, which was subscribed by thirty other nobles of Tlascala.

Gabriel d'Ayala, a noble Indian of Tezcúco, wrote, in the Mexican language, Historical Commentaries; containing an account of all the affairs of the Mexicans from the year 1243 of the vulgar era unto 1562.

Juan Ventura Zapata é Mendoza, a noble of Tlascala, wrote, in the Mexican language, the Chronicle of Tlascala; containing all the events of that nation, from their arrival in the country of Anahuac to the year 1589.

Pedro Ponce, a noble Indian, rector of Tzompahuacan, wrote in Spanish, An Account of the Gods and the Rites of Mexican Paganism.

The chiefs of Colhuacan wrote the Annals of the Kingdom of Colhuacan.

Christoval del Castillo, a Mexican mestee, wrote the History of the Travels of the Aztecas, or Mexicans, to the country of Anahuac.

Diego Mugnoz Camargo, a noble mestee of Tlascala, wrote, in Spanish, the History of the City and Republic of Tlascala. Torquemada made use of this work.

Fernando d'Alba Ixtlilxochitl, a Tezcucan, and descendant, in a right line, from the kings of Acolhuacan, wrote, at the request of the viceroy of Mexico, several very learned and valuable works, all written in the Spanish language. In order to remove any grounds for suspicion of fiction, he made his accounts conform exactly with the historical paintings which he inherited from his illustrious ancestors.

Juan Balesta Pomar, of Tezcucan, or Cholula, a descendant from a bastard of the royal house of Tezcucan, wrote Historical Memoirs of that Kingdom, which Torquemada made use of.

Domingo de San Anton Muñon Chimalpain, a noble Indian of Mexico, wrote, in the Mexican language, four works much esteemed by the intelligent: 1. American Chronicles, containing all the Events of that Nation from the year 1068 to the year 1597 of the vulgar era. 2. The History of the Conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards. 3. *Original* Accounts of the Kingdoms of Acolhuacan, of Mexico, and of other provinces. 4. Historical Commentaries, from the year 1064 to 1521.

Fernando d'Alvarado Tezozomoc, an Indian of Mexico, wrote in Spanish, a Mexican Chronicle, about the year 1598.

The Hon. Clement Markham, in a note to his translation of Cieza de Leon, gives the following account of

GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA, THE FATHER OF GARCILASSO INCA
DE LA VEGA.

Garcilasso de la Vega was born of noble parentage, in the city of Badajos, in Estremadura. His great-grandfather was Gomez Saurez de Figueroa, the first count of Feria, by Elvira Lasso de la

Vega. This lady was a sister of the famous Marquis of Santillana, the charming poet, and founder of the great family of Mendoza. She was maternal granddaughter of that Garcilasso who, in 1372, received the surname of "de la Vega," in memory of a famous duel fought with a Moorish giant, before the walls of Granada. The lady's paternal grandfather was Don Diego Mendoza, the knight who, in the battle of Aljubarrota, with the Portuguese, in 1385, saved the life of King John First, by giving him his horse when his own was killed under him.

The subject of this note was a second cousin twice removed of Garcilasso de la Vega, the poet,* whose poems, with those of his friend Boscan, were published in 1544.

So much for Garcilasso's descent, which is sufficiently noble and distinguished. He was a young man of twenty-five years of age, tall, handsome, polished, generous, and well-practised in the use of arms. when in 1531, he set out for the New World, as a captain of infantry, in company with Alonzo [Pedro?] de Alvarado, who was returning to assume his government of Gautemala. That famous chief, on hearing of the riches of Peru, set out with a large fleet from Nicaragua, and landed in the bay of Caragues, in March, 1534. Garcilasso de la Vega accompanied him, and shared in all the ter-

* His ancestors from remote antiquity were persons of opulence and high consideration. They originally sprung from the mountains of Asturias. Don Pedro Lasso was, in 1329, admiral of Castile; his son, Garcilasso, arrived at yet greater honors. He was made high judge, as well as chancellor of the kingdom. The chancellor left two sons, Garcilasso and Gonzalo Ruyz, who, in the grand battle of Salado, in 1340, were the first that, in spite of the Moors, crossed the river.¹ The former was made lord chief-justice of Spain, as appears by the deeds of the year 1372; and this knight it was who, for his valor in slaying a gigantic Moor that had defied the Christians by parading in the *rega* or plain of Granada, with these words, "Ave Maria" fixed to his horse's tail, took the surname of De la Vega; and for his device, Ave Maria in a field d'or, as is seen in the scutcheon of Garcilasso de la Vega, a son of one of the brothers, who followed the party of King Henry against the king Don Pedro, and was slain in the battle of Najara.—"*Life of Garcilasso*," the poet, by J. H. Wiffin.

¹ Abil Hassan, king of Morocco, of the dynasty of the *Merinis*, invited by the inhabitants of Granada, came and landed in Spain, followed by innumerable troops, which he united to those of Joseph I. The kings of Castile and Portugal, united, fought this great army on the borders of the Salado, not far from the town of Tariff. This battle of the Salado, as celebrated in the history of Spain, as the victory of Toloza, cost the lives of thousands of Moors. The battle of Toloza was fought in the year 1212, and was the most important and brilliant victory ever achieved by the Christians over the Moors of Spain. Sixty thousand crusaders, from Italy and France, repaired to the assistance of the Castilian king.—"*Florian's Précis Historique sur les Maures*."

rible hardships and suffering of the subsequent march to Riobamba.

¶ After the convention with Almegro, and the dispersion of Alvarado's forces, Garcilasso was sent to complete the conquest of the country round the port of Buenaventura. He and his small band of followers forced their way for many days through dense uninhabited forests, enduring almost incredible hardships, and finding nothing to repay their labors. He displayed much constancy and endurance, and persevered during a whole year, but, having lost eighty of his men from hunger and fever, he was at last obliged to retreat. He was nearly drowned in crossing the river Quiximies, and, after many other strange adventures and narrow escapes, he reached the Spanish settlement of Puerto Viejo, and went thence to Lima, where Pizarro was closely besieged by the insurgent Indians. He then marched to the relief of Cuzco, and afterward accompanied Gonzalo Pizarro in his expedition to the Collao and Charcas. On the arrival of Vaca de Castro in Peru, Garcilasso de la Vega joined him, and was wounded in the battle of Chupas. ¶ When Gonzalo Pizarro rose in rebellion against the viceroy Blasco Nunez de Vela, Garcilasso and several other loyal knights fled from Cuzco to Arequipa, and thence up by the deserts to Lima, in order to share the fortunes of the viceroy. But when they arrived at Lima, that ill-fated and wrong-headed knight was gone, and the whole country was in favor of Gonzalo Pizarro. The fugitives, therefore, concealed themselves as best they could. Garcilasso was lodged in the house of a friend, and afterwards hid himself in the convent of San Francisco. Through the intercessions of friends, Gonzalo Pizarro granted him a pardon, but detained him as a prisoner until he escaped to the army of Gasca, on the morning of the battle of Xaquaquana, galloping across the space between the two camps at early dawn, on his good horse Salinillas. ¶ He afterwards resided at his house in Cuzco until the rebellion of Giron broke out in 1554, when he once more showed his loyalty by escaping in the night, and joining the royal camp. After the fall of Giron, Garcilasso de la Vega was appointed corregidor and governor of Cuzco, where he appears to have devoted himself to the duties of his office, and, amongst other good deeds, restored the aqueduct which brought a supply of water from the lake of Chinchiru, for a distance of two leagues, to irrigate the valley of Cuzco. His house was a centre of hospitality and kindness, where the conquerors fought their battles over again in the evenings, while Garcilasso's wife, the inca princess, and her friends dispensed their numerous charities. Both he and his wife were engaged in acts of benevolence, and in collecting subscriptions for charitable purposes

during the time that he held office. It is said that in one night they raised thirty-four thousand five hundred ducats for a hospital for Indians. When Garcilasso was relieved of his charge, the Juez de Residencia, who came to review his administration, honorably acquitted him of the charges which were brought against him, and he retired into private life. He died at Cuzco, in the year 1559, after a long illness.

Garcilasso de la Vega was married to a ñusta or inca princess, who was baptized under the name of Isabella in 1539. She was the daughter of Hualpa Tupac, a younger brother of the great inca Huayna Capac. By this lady he had a son, the well-known historian, who was born at Cuzco in 1540. After his father's death, the young Garcilasso Inca de la Vega, who had received his early education at a school in Cuzco, went to Spain. This was in 1560, when he was just twenty years of age. He fought against the rebel Moriscos, under the banner of Don John of Austria, and afterwards settling at Cordova, devoted himself to literary pursuits. He wrote a history of the conquest of Florida, and the two parts of his *Comentarios Reales* were published in 1609 and 1616. An excellent second edition appeared at Madrid in 1722. His memory was well stored with the recollections of his youth, when he had learned the history of the incas from his mother's relations, and of the conquest from his father's old companions in arms. He also quotes largely from Cieza de Leon, Gomara, Zarate, Fernandez, and Acosta, as well as from the manuscript of the missionary Blas Valera, a most important work, which was destroyed when Lord Essex sacked the city of Cadiz. NO MAN, THEREFORE, COULD BE BETTER QUALIFIED TO WRITE A HISTORY OF THE EARLY CIVILIZATION OF THE INCAS AND OF THE CONQUEST OF PERU BY THE SPANIARDS. He has been invaluable to me in explaining and illustrating the text of Cieza de Leon; and in gratitude I have therefore devoted a long note to an account of his father. The Inca Garcilasso died in 1616, at the advanced age of seventy-six, and was buried at Cordova. ✓

GARCILASSO INCA DE LA VEGA, THE HISTORIAN.

Garcilasso de la Vega, the Peruvian historian, was the son of the preceding and ^{the} Nusta, ^{the} niece of Huayna Capac, and granddaughter of the inca Tupac-Yupanqui. He was born at Cuzco in 1540. From the circumstance of his descent from the family of the incas, he adopted the title of inca, naming himself Garcilasso Inca de la Vega.

Peru, during the fifteen years succeeding the birth of Garcilasso, was the theatre of wars, conspiracies, persecutions, and revolts. In the midst of such scenes Garcilasso had but few opportunities of education, and he says: "I lay the fault of my deficiency upon the civil wars which existed in the Indies during my youth. Literature was then no longer cultivated, and we applied ourselves to arms. We learned horsemanship, and I abandoned myself to this exercise with some of my companions, who have acquired much distinction there, and have become excellent horsemen." In 1560 Garcilasso went to Spain, and embraced a military career, distinguishing himself in various encounters, and reaching the rank of captain under the command of Don John of Austria. But the vengeful court of Spain did not forget that Garcilasso, the father, had embraced the revolutionary side, and followed in all his dangerous enterprises Gonzalez Pizarro; and hence distrust rested upon the son, who, in consequence, despairing of ever attaining to eminence in his career, or of fixing upon any other occupation which seemed suited to his birth, threw up his commission and retired to Cordova, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits.

The results of his literary labors were the first part of his Royal Commentary, completed in 1570 or 1575, and printed at Lisbon in 1609; the second part of the same, finished in 1616, and printed at Lisbon in 1619; the General History of Peru, printed in Cordova in 1606; and the Florida of the Inca, or History of the Adelantado Fernando de Soto, finished in 1591, and printed in Lisbon in quarto, in 1605.

The sources of Garcilasso's knowledge in regard to the first part of the Royal Commentaries are principally the information of his mother and one of his uncles, and his own observations relative to the religion and customs of his countrymen. He had witnessed in his youth the ancient usages and ceremonies of the Peruvians, and mastered many of their ancient traditions. While in Spain, engaged on the Royal Commentaries, he corresponded with his old companions and school-fellows of the inca family in Peru, to collect materials for his history.

In the work on Peruvian Antiquities by Rivero and Tschudi is the following sentence: "Finally young Garcilasso did not under-

stand the difficult art of deciphering the quipus, an important deficiency which neither an abundance of traditions nor ingenious conjectures could supply." But Prescott, in the excellent critical notice of Garcilasso, which he gives in the first volume of the "Conquest of Peru," page 293, says that Garcilasso "understood the science of their quipus." As it was not until after his arrival in Spain and disappointment in his military career that Garcilasso devoted himself to literature, his acquaintance with the quipus could have been of little service to him there. But as the science of the quipus, which constituted the national archives of the Peruvians, was especially and exclusively confined to the members of the inca family, Garcilasso, in his correspondence with them, could easily have acquired what information was proper for his purpose; and this intimacy and connection with the inca family must have been in this respect of the greatest advantage to him.

"The Florida of the Inca; or, History of the Adelantado Hernando de Soto," was translated in 1670 into the French language by Pierre Richelet, who had been professor of Belles Lettres in the college of Vitri. But either through a distaste for his profession, or otherwise, he came to Paris and became a lawyer, associated with the literati, and lived as a man of letters. He was a man of genius, distinguished for the correctness and purity of his language; the author of an excellent dictionary of the French language, and of several other literary works. He died in the beginning of the year 1699, when nearly seventy years of age. After a lapse of nearly forty years, and when the first edition of his translation of Florida had almost been forgotten, a second was published in the year 1711; an English version of which is the following volume.

Besides Garcilasso's there are two other accounts of De Soto's expedition to Florida. One by Louis Fernandez de Biedma, who accompanied the expedition, was presented to the king, and council of the Indies in 1544. The other was by one of De Soto's officers, a gentleman of Elvas in Portugal, and was printed at Evora in 1557. The latter was translated from the Portuguese into the English language by Richard Hackluyt, and printed at London 1609. It was also translated into the French language, in the last third of

the seventeenth century, by M. de Citri de la Guette,* one of the best French writers, author of an excellent history of the Triumvirate, and of a translation of the "Conquest of Mexico." Thus it is evident that the earliest of these accounts appeared forty-seven, and the other thirty-four years before Garcilasso finished his "Florida." As Garcilasso went to Spain in 1560, there were thirty-one years from the time of his arrival to the completion of his Florida in 1591, to which, and his other works, he devoted himself after retiring from the army. The survivors of De Soto's expedition to Florida, some of whom had been in Peru, disbanded in the City of Mexico in 1543. Some went to Peru, where Garcilasso became acquainted with them, remained fifteen years after their arrival, and heard related by them the stories of the expedition. When he went to Spain, in 1560, he found there followers of De Soto; and even as late as 1591, when he finished his "Florida," there were still living some of the soldiers of De Soto. But Garcilasso began his literary labors nearly thirty years before that date, when in all probability many of the veterans of the expedition still survived. In his "Florida" he gives the statements made by the soldiers of the expedition, and refers to authors, other than those already mentioned, who had treated of the same subject; while at the same time he had the advantage of profiting by all previous accounts of the expedition. Thus circumstances and opportunity favored Garcilasso in an eminent degree; and he did not fail to take advantage of them to produce a work which reads more like romance than reality, embellished in the glowing colors in which he depicts the trials, triumphs, and tragedy of his hero.

Garcilasso, having derived much of his knowledge of the North American Indians from the accounts of Mexico, and the reports of Spanish adventurers, who, having been in Peru and seen the wealth and populousness of that kingdom, endeavored, by the exaggeration of their own exploits in Florida, to acquire a reputation rivalling that of the conquerors of Mexico and Peru, and, moreover, having been influenced by certain similarities in the manners and customs

* It appears to have been published after the first edition of Richelet's translation of the Conquest of Florida, and before the second.

of the Peruvians and Floridians, was easily led to believe accounts, which, fictitious concerning the latter, were not at all improbable in regard to the former. Hence, the vast armies of Indians, and the wealth and magnificence of their temples. Nevertheless these were but exaggerations; facts were their foundations. There were armies, and large ones; there were temples, but rude ones; there were forts and magazines; and there were objects of art.

There sometimes appears to be in the Conquest of Florida a vein of satire, expressive of Garcilasso's own sentiments, in the addresses which he makes his Indian caciques deliver. They convey stern truths which it would not have been prudent for him to have otherwise expressed. Yet he imparts them in so ingenious a manner, that while he censures and condemns the injustice and cruelty of the Spaniards, he offends not their sensibilities nor incurs their displeasure.

De Solis, in his "History of the Conquest of Mexico," alluding to the works of Garcilasso, says: As for his "History of Peru," it is found separate in two volumes which the inca Garcilasso has composed, and this author is so exact in choosing his memoirs, and so flowery in his style, for the time in which he wrote, that I would condemn the temerity of him who should undertake to excel it, and would give great eulogy to any one who could imitate it in finishing this history. Such is the testimony which an eminent Spanish author bears to the merit of one of the works of Garcilasso: he has not been less exact and flowery in his "History of Florida."

What Prescott, in his critical notice of Garcilasso, says of the "Commentarios Reales," is, in a manner, applicable to the "Florida of the Inca;" his words are: "Garcilasso, in short, was the representative of the conquered race, and we might expect to find the lights and shadows of the picture disposed, under his pencil, so as to produce an effect very different from that which they had hitherto exhibited under the hands of the conquerors."

"Such, to a certain extent, is the fact; and this circumstance affords a means of comparison, which would alone render his works of great value in arriving at just historic conclusions. But Garcilasso wrote late in life, after the story had been often told by Castilian writers. The stores of information which he has collected

have made his work a large repository whence later laborers in the same field have drawn copious materials. He writes from the fullness of his heart, and illuminates every topic that he touches with a variety and richness of illustration that leave little to be desired by the most importunate curiosity."

"Our debt is large to the antiquarian who, with conscientious precision, lays broad and deep the foundations of historic truth; and no less to the philosophic annalist who exhibits man in the dress of public life—man in masquerade. But our gratitude must surely not be withheld from those who, like Garcilasso de la Vega and many a romancer of the middle ages, have held up the mirror—distorted though it may somewhat be—to the interior of life, reflecting every object, the great and the mean, the beautiful and the deformed, with their natural prominence and their vivacity of coloring, to the eye of the spectator. As a work of art, such a production may be thought to be below criticism. But, although it defies the rules of art in its composition, it does not necessarily violate the principles of taste; for it conforms, in its spirit, to the spirit of the age in which it was written. And the critic who coldly condemns it on the severe principles of art, will find a charm in its very simplicity that will make him recur again and again to its pages, while more correct and classical compositions are laid aside and forgotten.

"Garcilasso died a few months after finishing, in 1616, the 'Second Part of the Royal Commentaries,' thus closing his labors with his life at the age of seventy-six. His remains were interred in the cathedral church of Cordova, in a chapel which bears the name of Garcilasso, and an inscription was placed on his monument, intimating the high respect in which the historian was held, both for his moral worth and his literary attainments."

The Preface to the French version of "The Conquest of Florida" ("Printed at Lille in 1711") gives some curious facts in regard to Garcilasso's works:—

"For forty years they had nearly forgotten this rare book of Garcilasso de la Vega. Perhaps it had had, in its time, the same fate as the other works of this historian, translated into French by the famous translator or metaphrast Jean Baudouin. But if there

was some reason not to do entire justice to a celebrated author whom Baudouin had rendered nearly unrecognizable in disguising him in our language, we cannot say the same thing in regard to the 'History of the Conquest of Florida.' The translator is not less celebrated among us than the author is in Spain and America."

We have four important works of this author: "The History of the Kings of Peru," that of "The Civil Wars of the Spaniards in the Indies," "The General History of Peru," and "The Account of the Conquest of Florida," all four written in the Castilian language with much more of ingenuousness and accuracy than of art and elegance. He shows a great knowledge of the condition of America.

His history of the incas, which he calls Royal Commentary, is written judiciously and accurately. The second work includes the civil wars which the Spanish conquerors of Peru made against each other, and we observe that Providence has made use of the Spaniards to avenge upon the Spaniards themselves the great cruelties which they had committed in the conquest of this country, the inhabitants of which submitted without trouble to their domination. The mutual jealousy and avidity which they had at the sight of so much wealth which they discovered were the causes why they mutually destroyed each other; and they did not lay down their arms until all those who had committed these unheard-of cruelties had perished by the sword, the fire, or the hands of the executioner.

These two works were translated into our language by Jean Baudouin, of the French Academy, and published at Paris, the first in 1633, and the second in 1658, after the death of Baudouin. This translation, though good in the main, had quite an extraordinary fate. The booksellers, who saw that at first it had not any sale, regarded it as a very poor book, and they did with it what they had done with the works of Pelletier, and what they should do with a hundred other books with which the world is flooded every day. When the copies had been sacrificed to the grocers, they became rare. Their rarity was the reason why they were sought after and esteemed. They had risen to such an excessive price, especially the "Royal Commentary," that twelve crowns were scarcely sufficient to purchase the two volumes in quarto. But the booksellers of Holland, more industrious and more observant than those of other nations, had them reprinted in 1705 and 1706, in four volumes duodecimo. They rendered even a double service to the public in this reprint. For although Baudouin was learned, although he had an easy, natural French style, nevertheless his fortune did not permit him to give to his writing all the time and attention which it required. They, therefore, were obliged to remedy in the new edition

the defects of the translator. Baudouin had followed his author step by step, and he had translated tedious and sometimes useless repetitions much less tolerable in our language than in any other. They have retrenched in the new edition all those that might do injury to the text. And as nearly eighty years over a French translation had altered the language of it, and also changed among us our ideas, characters, and customs, they have remedied it, and there is scarcely a sentence that has not been repaired and renovated.

We have not had this trouble in the new edition which we here give, of the "Conquest of Florida," which is the fourth work of Garcilasso. The translation is by a master hand; but before speaking of the translator we shall say a word of the work itself. We cannot describe with more accuracy than is here done all that has happened in the expedition to Florida. If this work does honor to Garcilasso, it is not less glorious to the Spaniards and Indians. We see, in the first, an extraordinary endurance, which could not be inspired but by an excessive love of glory or of riches. The Indians exhibit a courage and judgment much above the idea that is generally formed of a barbarous people. This history does not appear written upon mere hearsay, as a modern author* has pretended. It was necessary that Garcilasso, in order to enter, as he has done, into such an excellent account, should have had statements accurate and well authenticated. His manner of narrating is insinuating. If there is anything to object to him, it is in having too much of detail and some minutiae. But even trifles, to him who knows how to place them properly, all serve to make known the man. He accompanies his narrative with judicious reflections, and these reflections flow naturally from his subject. Garcilasso finished this work in 1591, more than thirty years after he had arrived in Spain.

We know what sort of a man Richelet was for the purity of our language. And if we would make one conceive something correct and chaste, it is sufficient to say that this version is from him. He is too well known to the world by his excellent dictionary for us to undertake to say much of him here.

* De Citri de la Guette, in the preface to his translation of the "Conquest of Florida," by a Portuguese gentleman.

HISTORY
OF
THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA;

OR,
A NARRATIVE OF WHAT OCCURRED IN THE EXPLORATION
OF THIS COUNTRY BY HERNANDO DE SOTO.

BY
THE INCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH VERSION OF
PIERRE RICHELET,
FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH.

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HISTORY OF FLORIDA.

PART FIRST.

BOOK FIRST.

DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR; BOUNDARIES OF FLORIDA; BY WHOM IT WAS DISCOVERED; CUSTOMS OF ITS INHABITANTS; PREPARATIONS OF HERNANDO DE SOTO TO CONQUER IT.

CHAPTER I.

DESIGN OF THE AUTHOR.

I DESIGN to write of the discovery of Florida and the memorable deeds that have been done there. But as Hernando de Soto performed great actions there, and as this relation particularly concerns him, I shall commence his history from the beginning. Soto was one of the twelve conquerors of Peru, and participated in the capture of Atahualpa,* who was the last king of Peru. This prince was the natural son of the inca Huayna Capac, and had usurped the kingdom from the legitimate heir, who was called Huascar. But the cruelties of this usurper caused the people to revolt against him, which facilitated to the Spaniards the conquest of Peru, and procured them great riches. The fifth alone, for the emperor, amounted to nearly two million three hundred thousand ducats, and Hernando de Soto had more than a hundred thousand.† This captain received, besides that, many presents from the Indians, and from Atahualpa himself, who gave him magnificent ones, because he was the first Spaniard to whom he had spoken. When Soto had thus enriched himself, he returned to Spain with several others, who had all made fortunes at Caxa Malca. But in-

* Atabalipa in the French text.

† De Soto brought from Peru to Spain one hundred and eighty thousand ducats.

stead of thinking of the acquisition of some great estate in his own country, the remembrance of the glorious deeds which he had achieved, inspired him with a vast design. Therefore he went to Valladolid to solicit Charles the Fifth to permit him to undertake the conquest of Florida, and engaged to do it at his own expense, and to do everything for the glory of the empire. What most prompted him to this illustrious enterprise was seeing that he had conquered nothing in his own right; that Hernando Cortes had conquered Mexico; and Pizarro and Almegro, Peru. For, not inferior to them, neither in valor nor in any other quality, he could not endure that fortune should be more propitious to them than to himself. He therefore renounced all his claims upon Peru, and turned all his thoughts upon the conquest of Florida, where he died. It is thus, that great commanders have sacrificed themselves for the interest of their sovereigns. Nevertheless, there are among us, persons who maliciously say, that Spain owes to the rashness of some young fools, the greater part of the countries of the new world. But they do not reflect, that they themselves are the children of Spain, and that this generous mother has not raised those to whom she has given birth, but to conquer America and to carry the terror of their arms into the rest of the earth.

CHAPTER II.

THE BOUNDS OF FLORIDA.

FLORIDA is so-called because it was discovered on Palm Sunday, the 27th of March of the year 1513. But because it is a great country, of which all the parts are neither conquered nor known, it is difficult to describe them accurately. It is not known, in fact, whether Florida is bounded on the north by the sea or by the land. What is certain is, that it has the Gulf of Mexico and the Island of Cuba to the south; to the east, the ocean which faces Africa; and to the west, what is now called New Mexico. In this direction is the province of the Seven Towns, which was so called by Vasquez Coronado, who went, in 1539, to discover those regions. But as they could not settle them, Antonio de Mendoca, who had sent him there, lost with regret all that he had expended in this enterprise.

CHAPTER III.

THOSE WHO HAVE ATTEMPTED THE CONQUEST OF FLORIDA.

JUAN P'ONCE DE LEON was the first who discovered Florida. He was a gentleman, born in the kingdom of Leon, and had been governor of the island of Porto Rico. As the Spaniards then thought only of making new discoveries, he equipped two caravels, and endeavored by every means to discover the island of Bimini, on account of the report that there was there a fountain which restored youth to old men. But after having searched in vain for this island, a tempest cast him upon the coast which is opposite the north part of Cuba; and he named this continent Florida, and without considering whether it was an island or the mainland, he proceeded to Spain to ask permission to conquer it, and obtained it. Wherefore, in the year 1513, he equipped three vessels, and landed in the country which he had discovered.* The Indians, on his arrival, forcibly repulsed him, and slew nearly all his people, except seven wounded, of which number he was, who fled to Cuba, where they all died of their wounds. Such was the end of Ponce and his expedition. But after him, it seemed, that all attempts upon Florida continued to be fatal to those who made them. Some years after this misfortune, the pilot Mirvelo, who commanded a caravel, going to traffic with the savages, a storm drove him upon the coast of Florida, where he was so favorably received, that he returned very well pleased to the island of Saint Domingo. But he did not profit by this opportunity, like a wise pilot, for he had not the precaution to take the latitude of the places, and this neglect cost him dearly as will be seen.

At the same time seven of the richest men of Saint Domingo formed a company, and sent two vessels to the islands of Florida, in order to bring from them Indians to work in the mines which they possessed in common. These vessels landed at the cape which was named Saint Helena; because they arrived there on the anniversary of that saint. They passed thence to a river which they called the Jourdain from the name of him who discovered it. The Spaniards landed at this place, and the inhabitants of the country, who had not yet seen ships, were led to consider them as supernatural things. They were also astonished at the fashion of the attire of the strangers, and at seeing men with beards. But that did not prevent them

* This was in 1521, and, as Garcilasso gives 1513 as the date of the discovery of Florida, the above date in the text is evidently a misprint.

from receiving them kindly ; for they gave them marten skins, some silver, and some seed pearls. The Spaniards made them presents in return, and induced them, by their caresses, to visit the vessels. The Indians, who trusted to these appearances of friendship, to the number of one hundred and thirty, entered the ships. Our people immediately weighed anchor, and went, with all sail, to Saint Domingo. But only one of the two vessels arrived at port, and also they did not profit by their prize. These poor savages, in despair at having been deceived, abandoned themselves to grief, and starved themselves to death. This news having spread in Saint Domingo, Vasquez Lucas d'Aillon went to Spain to ask permission to conquer Chicorie, one of the provinces of Florida, and the administration of the country which he should subdue. The emperor* granted to him what he desired, and in addition to this favor, conferred upon him the order of San Iago. Aillon, on his return to Saint Domingo, equipped three vessels in 1524, and took Mirvelo to conduct him to the land where this pilot had been ; because it was believed to be the most fertile of all that had been discovered to that time. But because Mirvelo no longer remembered the place where he had first landed, he tried in vain to reach it, and he was so sensibly affected by it that he lost both his reason and his life. Aillon did not cease to go on, and even after the admiral ship was lost in the Jourdain, he continued his voyage with his two remaining vessels, and anchored near to Chicorie, on a very pleasant coast, where, at first, he was very well received. So that, as he imagined it would be very easy for him to conquer the country, he sent two hundred men to reconnoitre it. The Indians, who concealed their evil designs, conducted them into the interior of the country ; and after having manifested much friendship for them, they recalled the treachery of the other Spaniards to them, and fell upon them and cut them in pieces. Then they came with fury upon Aillon and his comrades, who had remained upon the vessels ; they slew and wounded many of them, and forced the rest to return quickly to Saint Domingo. The most important of those who escaped were Aillon and a gentleman of Badajos, by whom I have heard narrated the defeat which I have just related.(11)

This misfortune did not deter Pamphile de Narbaez. He went to Florida in 1529,* and took with him the young Mirvelo, the nephew of him of whom I have spoken. But, though he had some knowledge of the country, having been instructed by his uncle, he was not, however, more fortunate than he. Narbaez himself, in this voyage, perished with his people, excepting Alvar Nugnez, Cabeza

* The Emperor Charles V.

† "Others say in 1528."

de Vaca, and four of his companions, who returned to Spain, where they obtained some public offices. But that did not succeed; for they died very miserably, and Alvar returned, a prisoner, to Valladolid, where he ended his days. After those of whom I have just spoken, Hernando de Soto undertook to invade Florida. He arrived there in 1539, but finally he lost his fortune and his life there. His death being known in Spain, many asked the government of Florida, and permission to continue the discovery of it. But Charles the Fifth would listen to no one upon the subject. However, in 1549, he sent there Cancel Balbastro, a Dominican monk, as the superior of those of his order, who should go to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of Florida. This father, arrived in these countries, began to catechise the natives; but instead of listening to him, the Indians, who remembered the injuries they had received from the Spaniards, slew him, and two of his companions. The others, completely frightened, regained the vessels, and returned in haste to Spain, and said, as an excuse for their quick return, that the barbarians had hardened hearts, and took no pleasure in hearing the word of God. Thirteen years afterwards the government of Florida was promised to one of the sons of Aillon if he would conquer it. But as he solicited his departure, and they put off from one day to another the execution of his enterprise, he died of grief. Pedro Menendez and several others went afterwards to Florida. Nevertheless, as I have not sufficient knowledge of what they did there, I shall not speak of it.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION AND CUSTOMS OF THE PEOPLE OF FLORIDA.

THE people of Florida are idolaters, and have the sun and moon for divinities, which they adore without offering them either prayers or sacrifices. However, they have temples, but they make use of them only to inter those who die, and to shut up there their treasures. They erect also at the entrance of these temples, in the form of a trophy, the spoils of their enemies.

These Indians espouse ordinarily but one wife, who is obliged to remain faithful to her husband, under penalty of being punished with a shameful chastisement, or sometimes with a cruel death. But, by a privilege of the country, the great have permission to have as many wives as they please. However, they have but one legitimate wife. The others are but as concubines, so that the

children that spring from these last do not share equally the estate of the father with the children of his wife.

This custom is also observed in Peru, for, except the incas and the caciques, who, in the quality of princes and lords, have as many wives as they desire, or as they can support, it is not permitted to the others to have more than one. These persons of rank say that they are obliged to fight, and that it is necessary that they should have many wives, in order to have many children who may share their labors; that the greater part of the nobles dying in battles, it is necessary that they should have a great number of them; and that, as the multitude have no share in public affairs and are not exposed to perils, there are always enough people to labor and bear the expenses of the government.

To return to the inhabitants of Florida. They have no cattle and support no flocks. They eat instead of bread, corn; and instead of meat, fish and vegetables. However, as they are accustomed to hunt, they often have game, for they kill with their arrows harts, roebucks, and deer, which they have in abundance, and larger than those of Spain. They also catch many kinds of birds, which they eat, and of which the plumage of different colors serves them to deck their heads, and to distinguish during peace the nobles from the people, and during war the soldiers from those who do not bear arms. They drink only water; they eat their meat well cooked, their fruit nearly ripe, their fish well roasted, and ridicule the Spaniards, who use them otherwise. So I cannot give faith to those who report that these people eat human flesh. At least, I dare say that it has not happened in the provinces which Soto discovered; and that, on the contrary, they have an extreme horror of this inhumanity; for, some Spaniards residing in a quarter where they died of hunger, and their companions eating them as they expired, there was but the last who escaped it, at which the Indians were so offended that they wished to go and slay the Spaniards who were in another place.

The people of Florida go almost naked; they wear only a kind of chamois or buckskin drawers. These drawers are of diverse colors, and serve to cover what decency requires them to conceal. Their cloak is a kind of cover which hangs from the neck to the middle of the leg; it is ordinarily of fine marten skins, and smells of a very agreeable musk odor. They sometimes have them also of cat's, deer, stag's, bear's, lion's, and even of cow's skins, which they prepare so well that they can use it as cloth. As for their hair, they wear it long, and tied on their heads. Their cap is a colored network, which they attach to their forehead in such a manner that the

ends hang as far as below the ears. Their women are also clothed with the skins of deer or roebucks, and have all the body covered in a decent and modest manner.(12)

The Indians make use of all sorts of arms except the crossbow and the musket. They believe that the bow and arrow give them a particular grace, and for that reason they always carry them to the chase and to the war. But as they have a very convenient height, their bows are very long and large in proportion. They are of oak ordinarily, or of some other wood of this sort; it is for this reason that they are difficult to bend, and there is no Spaniard who can draw the cord to his face, whereas the Indians draw it even behind the ear, and make astonishing shots. The cord of their bow is of the skin of the stag, and this is how they make it: from the skin of the stag they cut from the tail to the head a thong two fingers in breadth. Then they take the hair from this thong, soak it, twist it, and attach one end of it to the branch of a tree, and the other to a weight of one hundred or one hundred and twenty pounds, and leave this skin until it becomes in the form of a large catgut. Finally, in order not to wound the left arm with the cord when it is discharged, they make use of a half armlet of large feathers, which covers it from the wrist to the elbow, and which is secured with a leather strap, with which they make several turns around the arm, and thus they discharge the cord with a force altogether remarkable.

These, in brief, are the customs of the inhabitants of Florida. But as I have spoken also concisely of those who discovered it, and as the enterprise of Soto upon this country is more illustrious than that of the others, I shall now relate at more length the things which he did in these countries. I shall describe the provinces which he discovered there, and tell the deeds of his soldiers to the time when they left Florida and retired to Mexico.

CHAPTER V.

PREPARATIONS FOR FLORIDA.

Soto obtained permission to conquer Florida and to erect a marquise, thirty leagues long by fifteen wide, in the country which he should conquer. The emperor, who granted him this favor, gave him also the government of St. Iago de Cuba, in order to take in this island what should be necessary for his design, and appointed him to be governor-general of Florida when he should conquer it.

This news spread through Spain, it was believed that Soto was going to annex to the crown new kingdoms. As he was one of

those who had conquered Peru, and as he employed in this last enterprise all his fortune, they believed that it would greatly exceed the first, and that they would enrich themselves in following his fortunes. This was the reason why persons of every degree were attracted to this enterprise; and in the hope of acquiring from it great wealth, they abandoned what was most dear to them, and all presented themselves to accompany Soto. There joined him, at the same time, seven gentlemen who had returned from the conquest of Peru, and who had in view only the acquisition of riches. As they were not contented with what they had, and the desire to accumulate increased in them, they believed that they would better satisfy their avarice in Florida than in Peru.

Soto, therefore, in virtue of his power, began to give his orders for his vessels, and for everything which he needed. He chose persons upon whom he could relieve himself of some of his cares; he raised troops and made captains and other officers. In the mean time, they executed with so much despatch what he had commanded, that, in less than fifteen or sixteen months, everything was ready and conducted to San Lucar de Barrameda, so that the soldiers repaired there with great quantities of cordage, mattocks, panniers, and other things necessary for their enterprise, and in that manner they embarked.(13)

CHAPTER VI.

THE EMBARKATION FOR FLORIDA.

THERE assembled for Florida, at San Lucar, more than nine hundred Spaniards, all in the prime of life, because strength was required to support the fatigues of war, and to overcome the obstacles that are met with in enterprises upon the countries of the new world. However, as vigor alone did not suffice, the general ordered money to be distributed to the troops, having regard to the equipage and birth of those to whom it was given. Several officers who were not equipped, received this favor; others, who considered the great expense which Soto was obliged to make, refused it, in the belief that it would be more generous to employ their means for his service, than to be a burden to him.

When the weather was favorable for navigation, the troops embarked upon ten vessels, of which seven were large, and three small. The general, with all his family, embarked upon the *St. Christopher*, well provided with soldiers and materials. Nunez Touar, lieutenant-general, with Carlos Henriquez, embarked upon

the Madelaine. Louis de Moscoso, colonel of cavalry, commanded the ship *Conception*, which was of more than five hundred tons. Andrez Vasconcelos was captain of the galleon *Bonne Fortune*, and had a company of Portuguese gentlemen, some of whom had served in Spain. Diego Garcia commanded the ship *Saint Jean*, and Arias Tinoco that of *Sainte Barbe*. Alonzo Romo de Cardenioso was upon the galleon *St. Antoine*, and had with him Diego Arias Tinoco, ensign colonel of the army. Pedro Calderon commanded a very fine caravel, and had in his company Misser Espindola, captain of sixty halberdiers of the general's guard. There were, besides these, two brigantines, which were used for tenders, because they were lighter than the ships. There also embarked upon these vessels, priests, and some monks,* all men of exemplary probity. To this army was joined, also, the fleet destined for Mexico, which consisted of twenty ships. Soto was commander of it as far as the island of Cuba (where it was necessary for this fleet to separate, in order to go to Vera Cruz), and then he was to leave the command of it to Goncalo de Salazar, the first Christian born in the town of Granada, after the Moors had abandoned it (in 1492). Therefore, in consideration of this quality, the Catholic sovereigns who conquered that place, granted great privileges to this gentleman, and overwhelmed him with their favors. These two fleets left San Lucar the sixth day of April, of the year fifteen hundred and thirty-eight, with everything necessary, but especially there was nothing wanting to the troops that were going to Florida.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ARMY FROM SAN LUCAR TO CUBA.

THE day that the fleet set sail, Soto, a little before night, ordered Silvestre, in whom he confided, to visit the sentinels, with orders to the captain of artillery to have the cannon ready, in order that should any ship fail of its duty to fire thereupon. This was immediately executed; and about midnight a great confusion happened. The sailors of Salazar's ship, wishing to show the speed of their vessel, or to go at the head of the fleet with that of the general, or rather having allowed themselves to be overcome by sleep, and the pilot who then steered the vessel not having a sufficient knowledge of the rules which are observed in an armada, the vessel went off a cannon-shot from the fleet, and gained the advance

* "Francisco de Pozo, Dionisio de Paris, Louis de Soto, Juan de Gallegos, Francisco de Rocha, Juan de Torres."

of Soto's ship, which was at the head. But as Silvestre, to whom the general had given his orders, was on the alert, and as he saw the ship of Salazar, he awoke the captain of artillery, and asked him if that vessel belonged to the fleet, and upon his reply that it had not the appearance of it, because the sailors who should thus advance would deserve death, caused the ship to be fired upon. The first shot broke the sails; another carried away the gunnel, and they heard those who were in the ship ask for quarter, crying out that they belonged to the fleet. In the mean time the other ships took to arms at the report of the cannon, and got ready to fire upon this vessel, which, drifting with the wind because its sails were torn, fell afoul of the admiral,* which was giving chase to it. This misfortune was more vexatious than the other; some, in the fear and the disorder in which they were, thought more of excusing their fault than of managing their vessel; others, on the contrary, under the belief that the action of the people of Salazar was a mark of contempt, breathed only vengeance, and did not mind any method, nor how they sailed. Finally, however, when they perceived that the two vessels were going to injure each other, they made use of poles and pikes, and broke more than three hundred of them to arrest the violence of the shock and save themselves from danger. But they could not prevent the ships from entangling their rigging and running the risk of being sunk. Not a vessel succored them in this confusion. The pilot, affrighted, despaired of extricating himself from the danger; the night prevented them from knowing what was necessary to be done; the air resounded with cries, and as the noise hindered them from hearing, neither the soldiers could obey, nor the captain command. This was the condition to which the two vessels were reduced, when God inspired them to cut the rigging of Salazar's vessel, which had caused all the accident; for immediately they found themselves out of danger, and Soto's ship, favored by the wind, separated from the other. However, this general, enraged either at having seen himself in peril, or believing that his misfortune was the effect of contempt that Salazar showed him, reproached him, and lacked but little to have had his head cut off. But Salazar apologized with respect, and supported with so much address his reasons, that Soto received his excuses, and generously forgot everything. Salazar did not act exactly in the same way; for in Mexico, when he sometimes spoke of this adventure, he manifested bitterness against Soto, and ardently wished to find an occasion to challenge him, in order to

* The ship of the commander of a fleet or squadron was called "the admiral."

avenge himself of the outrage which this general had done him. But to return to the fleet. After the sailors of Salazar had repaired the rigging, the fleet came to anchor at Gomera,* where it recruited. In the mean time the general found so many charms in the natural daughter of the lord of this island, that he demanded her of him, promising to marry her richly in the country which he was going to conquer. This lord, who believed the words of Soto, confided to him his daughter, who was then but sixteen years of age. But he put her, in the first place, in the hands of Isabella de Bovadilla, the wife of the general, and besought her to have, in the future, for this young person, the sentiments of a mother. Afterwards Soto left Gomera, and, favored by the wind, he perceived, at the end of May, the island of Cuba. Then Salazar obtained permission to separate from the fleet, and he conducted the army of Mexico to Vera Cruz. The general, rejoiced to have safely finished his voyage, thought only of repairing to the port. As he was ready to enter it, the troops saw a horseman coming at full speed, who cried out with all his strength to the admiral ship, "*starboard*." This horseman had been sent from the town of San Iago, to cause the ship of the general to perish among the shoals and rocks which are encountered in the places which he designated. And in fact, the sailors, who were not well acquainted with the entrance of the port, brought the bow in that direction. But as soon as the horseman discovered that it was a friendly vessel, he changed, to cry to them "*larboard*;" and, dismounting, he ran and made signs to them to pass to the other side, or that they would go to destruction. The admiral, who comprehended the thoughts of this man, took immediately to the left. However, notwithstanding what diligence he made, he ran against a rock; so that the sailors, who believed that the vessel had sprung a leak, had recourse to the pumps; but, instead of water, they drew wine, vinegar, oil, and honey, because many casks that were full of them had been staved. This accident increased to such a degree their fear, that losing nearly all hope of escaping from danger, they lowered the boat, into which entered the wife of the general, and the ladies of her suite, and several young men who were the first to escape. Soto was very much self-possessed on this occasion; for, notwithstanding the entreaties of his people, he remained firm at his post; he encouraged some, by his example, to work, and controlled the others. He finally gave orders for everything, and made them descend into the hold of the

* "Gomera, port and capital of the island of Gomera, one of the Canaries in the Atlantic Ocean."

ship, where they found nothing was broken but the casks. The army felt much joy at this, and there were only those who had escaped with the ladies, who had some mortification, having manifested so little firmness in danger.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMBAT OF TWO SHIPS.

TEN days before the general arrived at the port of Cuba, Diego Perez arrived there with a ship fully equipped. Perez was of Seville, and went to trafficking among the islands of the new world. It is not so well known what was his rank; it is known only that in all his actions he acted with so much honor that, from his conduct only, it might be judged that he had a noble soul. He had been in this port but three days when there arrived there a French corsair, who had a very good ship and was a very brave man. But as the Spaniards also had much valor, they had no sooner recognized that they were national enemies than they attacked each other and fought until night separated them, after which they sent their compliments to each other, with presents of wine and fruits, and promised each other that during the night there should be a truce, and even that cannon should not be fired on either side. They said there was neither courage nor honor to fight with cannon; that it was more glorious to owe their victory only to their courage and their sword; and that, besides, they would be enriched with the spoils of the vanquished and with an excellent ship. They kept their word; and yet, for fear of some surprise, they did not neglect to post sentinels during the night. The next day, at break of day, they renewed the conflict with so much obstinacy that it was only fatigue and hunger that separated them. But when they had recovered their strength, they fought again until evening. Afterward they visited each other, made presents, and offered to each other remedies for the wounded.

During that night Perez wrote to the inhabitants of San Iago that it was necessary to purge their sea of a corsair as formidable as he whom he was trying to sink; that, in consideration of the efforts that he was making to oblige them, he requested them to promise him that, if he should fail, they would render to him or to his heirs the value of his ship; that if they would assure him of this favor, he would die, or triumph over his enemy; that he demanded of them this favor because he was worth nothing but his ship; and that, if he possessed other riches, he would hazard with all his heart

what he had upon the sea, for their service. The town of San Iago received very ungraciously the proposition of Perez; for, very far from according him anything, they replied that he might do what he pleased; that they would not guarantee him anything. This captain, piqued at their ingratitude, placed his hopes in his own courage, and resolved to fight alike for his honor and his fortune. With this view, as soon as the third day appeared, Perez prepared for the combat, and attacked his enemy with as much vigor as before. The Frenchman, on his part, received the Spaniard with confidence, resolved to conquer or die. It was, in reality, rather honor than profit which animated these captains, for except their ships, which were worth something, the rest which they possessed was inconsiderable. However, they attacked each other, fighting like lions, and did not separate except to take breath. They afterward renewed the combat, irritated at not having been able to gain any advantage over each other. Night finally separated them; each retired with his wounded and his dead, and they sent to each other in the accustomed manner. A conduct so extraordinary astonished the town; to see two persons who were seeking fortune contend with so much courage, with the intention to take each other's life, without having been obliged to it by duty, nor by the hope of being recompensed by their kings, since neither of these brave men fought by the order of his prince.

The fourth day, when Perez and the corsair had saluted each other with a few volleys of cannon, they continued the combat, and did not quit it but to give orders for their wounded. They fought afterwards with so much ardor that night alone separated them. Then they sent to pay their compliments to each other, and entertained each other with divers presents. But as Perez had remarked feebleness in his enemy, he requested him that the combat might be continued the first opportunity until one or the other gained the victory; and, to pledge him to it, he challenged him according to the rules of war, adding that, after the courage he had shown to him whom he had fought, he hoped that he would willingly accept the challenge. The French captain replied that he accepted it with all his heart, and that at the day appointed he would conquer or die. He even besought Perez to take all the night to renew his strength for the next day, and not to deceive him with a false challenge, because he wished to show in his own person the valor of the French nation. Nevertheless, when he knew that the time was favorable to escape he secretly weighed anchor and set sail. The Spanish sentinels heard some noise, but in the belief that their enemy was preparing for the battle they did not give the alarm, and when day appeared they were surprised to see that he had escaped.

Perez, afflicted at this flight, because he believed the victory was assured to him, took at San Iago what he needed and pursued the corsair. But he was already afar, and, after all, he did well not to try any longer the fortunes of battle, since the success of it was uncertain for him.

Certainly the proceeding of these captains was worthy of remark. They attacked each other as real enemies, and, nevertheless, it seemed that after the combat they loved each other as brothers. They had for each other only respect and kindness, and they gave noble proofs that their civility did not yield to their courage, and that, whether in peace or in war, they were equally generous.

CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF DE SOTO AT CUBA.

WHEN the inhabitants of San Iago, still wholly frightened at the combat, saw the vessels of the general appear, they feared lest it should be the corsair, who was returning with others to sack their town; which induced them, as has been said, to cause Hernando de Soto to wreck himself if it were possible. But when they recognized him they changed their design, and he safely landed. The people ran to meet him, and promised to obey him, and testified their affection by frequent cries of joy. They afterwards asked his pardon for their mistake, caused by the battle of which they had been the spectators. However, as they did not speak to him of their conduct to Perez, and as the general was secretly informed of it, he blamed them for their ingratitude. He represented to them that the captain had risked himself for their service; that the victory having balanced four days between him and his enemy, it had been easy for them, with a boat of thirty men, to have rendered him master of this corsair; that the fear which had hindered them from declaring themselves was badly founded; because, if the Frenchman had been victorious, he would not have had regard for all the indifference they had manifested for a man who had fought for their interests; and that, finally, they could not too soon, nor with too much ardor, succor those of his party, nor too readily get rid of his enemies.

The inhabitants, touched with these words, promised that for the future their conduct should be wiser and more generous, and that they should continue to please him. But that which increased their joy was the arrival of their bishop, Ferdinand de Moca, who came near being drowned in the port. As he attempted to pass from the vessel

into the boat, he fell into the sea, because the boat was too far from the ship. However, the greatest danger that happened was, that in coming to the surface he struck his head against the boat; but the sailors leaped into the sea and saved him. The loss of this prelate would have been very grievous. He was considered, in the order of Saint Dominique, to which he belonged, as a man of extraordinary merit; so that the people of Cuba esteemed themselves fortunate, to have for bishop, a great personage, and for governor a renowned captain. There were, for several days, through all the town, nothing but sports, balls, feasts, and masquerades. There were even runnings at the ring, where were seen a number of horses of every color and size; the most beautiful in the world. We may add that finally, in order to render the rejoicing more celebrated, there were distributed divers prizes to those who most distinguished themselves. They gave to some rings; to others, silk stuffs; and on the contrary they railed at those who had neither the skill nor the courage to render themselves worthy of esteem. These honorable rewards induced several cavaliers of the army, who were adroit, to mingle with them, which augmented the beauty of the festival, and gave to all the town a special pleasure.

CHAPTER X.

THE DESPAIR OF SOME OF THE INHABITANTS OF CUBA.

THE soldiers, living in peace with the people of the town of San Iago, and trying to render kind offices to one another, made their rejoicing last nearly three months. In the mean time the governor visited all the posts of the island. He established there judges, to whom he gave the rank of lieutenant, and purchased horses for his enterprise. The principal officers did the same thing; so that this obliged him to distribute money among them, and induced the inhabitants of the island to make him a present of some horses; for they raised them with great care, and sold them in Peru and Mexico. There were, in fact, some private persons of Cuba who had twenty and others so many as fifty and sixty; because the island was then rich, fertile, and full of Indians. But the greater part hung themselves soon after the arrival of De Soto. This is the cause of their desperation. As the people of Cuba are naturally lazy, and as the land of the country yields much, they did not take great pains to cultivate it. They raised only a little corn, which they gathered each year for the necessaries of life. So that these poor Indians

limited themselves to what nature demanded for its subsistence; and as gold was not necessary for life, they did not esteem it, and could not endure that the Spaniards should compel them to draw it from the places where it was found. Therefore, in order to be no longer obliged to do a thing to which they had so great an aversion, they nearly all hung themselves; and there were found in the morning in a single village, fifty families which had made way with themselves in this manner. The Spaniards, frightened at the horror of this spectacle, tried to divert the rest of the barbarians from a resolution so cruel; but it was useless, for the greater part of the island, and nearly all their neighbors, ended their lives by the same kind of death. Hence it comes that now they pay very dearly for the negroes whom they take to the mines.

CHAPTER XI.

VASCO PORCALLO DE FIGUEROA JOINS THE ARMY.

To return to Soto; after he had sent troops by sea, under the conduct of one of his captains, in order to rebuild the town of Havana, which the French corsairs had sacked, he provided what was necessary for the conquest of Florida, and was seconded in this enterprise by Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, of whom I have just spoken. Porcallo was a gentleman who had, from his birth, wealth and courage. He had a long time borne arms, and suffered great hardships, both in Europe and America. So that being old and disgusted with war, he retired to Trinidad, a town of the island of Cuba. But upon the information that Soto had arrived at San Iago with an army, he paid him a visit. He stayed there several days, and when he saw the brave troops and magnificent preparations for Florida, he was tempted, in spite of his age, to again take up arms. He then offered himself and all his wealth to the general, who received him with joy, and praised his resolution. So that, to acknowledge with honor, the offer which this captain had made him of his wealth and his person, he made him his lieutenant-general in place of Nunez Touar, who, without his consent, had married the daughter of the lord of Gomera. Thus the troops were augmented with all the retinue of Porcallo; and that helped exceedingly, for he had a great number of Spaniards, negroes, Indians, many domestics, and more than eighty horses, thirty for his individual service, and fifty which he gave to the cavaliers of the army. He also caused to be made provisions of bread, salt meat, and other things; and

encouraged, by his example, many Spaniards who lived in the island to follow the general, who, after having put his affairs in order, departed in haste for Havana.

CHAPTER XII.

SOTO ARRIVES AT HAVANA.

ABOUT the end of August of the year 1538 the general left San Iago, accompanied by fifty horsemen, to go to Havana; and commanded the rest of the cavalry, which was three hundred men, to follow him, and divide themselves into small companies of fifty men each, and set out at intervals of eight days from one another, in order that being in small numbers they might the better find what they should need. But he resolved that the infantry and his household should go along the coast to Havana, where, as soon as he had arrived and seen the desolation of the town, he made donations to the inhabitants to repair their houses and their churches which the pirates had destroyed. He afterward ordered Juan d'Aniasco, who was very skilful in navigation, to arm two brigantines and to go and discover the coast of Florida, and observe its rivers and inhabitants. Aniasco obeyed, and after having sailed, during two months, along many parts of the coast, he returned with an exact account of the things which he had seen, and brought with him two men of the country. Soto, satisfied with his diligence, sent him back with orders to see where an army could land. Aniasco again set out to visit the coast and notice the places where they could land. But in this second voyage, from which he returned with two other Indian men, it happened that he and his companions, having wandered from each other in a desert island, were two months before they could join each other; during which time they fed upon only the birds which they killed with large shells. Afterward they incurred such great perils at sea, that when they landed at Havana, they went from the vessel to the church upon their knees; where, after having thanked God for delivering them from danger, the army received them with so much the more joy as they believed that they all had been shipwrecked.

In the mean time, the general, who applied himself wholly to his enterprise, had information that Mendoca, viceroy of Mexico, levied troops for the conquest of Florida. But as he feared their meeting might cause differences, he resolved to communicate to him the commissions which he had from the emperor. He, therefore, des-

patched to Mendoca to beseech him not to make any levy which might interrupt him in the conquest which he meditated. And the viceroy replied that Soto could with every assurance continue his voyage; that he would send his troops to places different from those where he wished to take his fleet:* that Florida was a vast country; that each would find there wherewith to satisfy his ambition; that very far from having an idea of injuring Soto he wished that fortune would give him an opportunity to serve him; and that he would not spare, for that end, either his wealth or the power which his character of viceroy gave him. The general, contented with this reply, thanked Mendoca for his good-will.

By this time the cavaliers, who had orders to leave San Iago for Havana, arrived there and had travelled a little more than two hundred leagues, which is the distance from one of these towns to the other. Soto then, seeing that his cavalry and infantry were united, and that the season for putting to sea was drawing near, left for commander in his absence Isabella de Bovadilla, his wife, and gave her, for counsellor, Juan de Rochas. He also established in the town of San Iago, Francisco Guzman: for these two gentlemen commanded in the country before he arrived; and upon the report which was made to him, of their good conduct, he confirmed them in their charge. He purchased, at the same time, a fine ship that had landed at Havana, and had served as the admiral ship, when Cuniga made the discovery of the Rio de la Plata. This vessel was called Santa Anna, and was so large that it carried eighty horses to Florida.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ADVENTURE OF FERDINAND PONCE AT HAVANA.

WHILE the general awaited a favorable wind to set sail, Ferdinand Ponce, who was at sea, strove four or five days to avoid putting in at the port of Havana; but the storm forced him there. He did not wish to enter the port, because, when Soto left Peru for Spain, they agreed to share their good and their bad fortunes. The resolution of Soto, when he left Peru, was to return there to enjoy the recompense which his services in the conquest of that kingdom had merited. As afterwards he changed that resolution, Ponce obtained from Pizarro, by order of the emperor, a country where he accumulated much gold, silver, and precious stones. He also caused to be paid him some debts which Soto had left to him to

* This has reference to the expedition to Cibola.

collect; and, after having enriched himself, he left for Spain. But, upon information which he received at Nombre de Dios, that Soto was preparing for the conquest of Florida, he endeavored to pass by; for fear of being compelled to divide with him; and that under pretext of his expedition, Soto might seize upon his riches, or at least a part of them.

As soon as Ponce was in port, the general sent to pay his compliments to him, and to offer him what he could. He went afterward to induce him to come and refresh himself on shore; and after being entertained with much politeness, Ponce told him that he was so unwell from the effects of the storm, that he had not strength to leave his vessel; and that as soon as he should be a little strengthened, he would go and thank him for the kind offer which he had made him. Soto, through politeness, did not urge him; but as he suspected something, he resolved to try him. In the mean time Ponce, who consulted only his avarice, and who also did not trust in the faith of the general, imprudently thought only how he might conceal from him the knowledge of the riches which he brought from Peru. He therefore ordered that about midnight they should take from his vessel the gold, pearls, and precious stones, which were valued at more than forty thousand crowns, and carry them to the house of one of his friends, or inter them near the shore, in order to recover them when he should find it convenient, without Soto knowing it. However, they did not succeed; for those who watched the people of Ponce, perceiving a vessel approach, quickly concealed themselves without noise. But when they saw that the treasure was landed, and those who had charge of it were advancing, they pounced upon them, put them to flight, captured the booty and carried it to the general, who ordered them to say nothing until it was seen in what manner Ponce, whom he suspected, would conduct himself.

The next day Ponce, who concealed the sadness which he felt for the loss of his treasure, visited the dwelling of the general, where they had a long conversation concerning things past and present; but when the conversation fell upon the misfortune which happened on the night preceding, Soto complained to Ponce of his want of confidence in him; and to show the justice of his complaints, he caused to be brought the precious stones, and delivered them to him, assuring him at the same time that if there was any one missing, he would have it restored to him, in order that he might know that, concerning the effects of the partnership, his conduct was very different from his own. Besides, that the expense which he had made to obtain the permission to conquer Florida, was with the view of sharing with him all the wealth that might result to him from it;

that he had made his declaration of it in the presence of men of honor; and that, nevertheless, it depended upon him whether he would embark for Florida; and that if he wished it, he would even renounce the claims which were allowed him; and that he would be obliged to him if he would inform him of the things which he should find proper to do for their common interest; that, in one word, he would find in him all the fidelity that should be expected from a generous person.

Ponce, full of confusion at the course he had taken, and still more surprised at the manner in which he had just been spoken to, begged the general to pardon his fault, and to continue his friendship. He also entreated him to consent that each of them should pursue his voyage, and to renew their partnership, putting, for that purpose, into the hands of Isabella de Bovadilla ten thousand crowns of gold and silver, of which the general could make use for the benefit of the company. This way of acting seemed so fair, that what he requested was granted. Afterward, when the time appeared favorable for navigation, Soto had the munitions and two hundred and fifty horses embarked in the vessels, which, without counting the sailors, carried a thousand men, all well made and well equipped. So that there had not been seen, up to that time, an armament for the Indies so large and so fine. He put to sea the 12th day of May, 1539. But whilst they sail at the will of the winds, I shall relate what Ponce did in port. This captain, under pretext of recruiting himself, and awaiting a favorable time to return to Spain, remained at Havana after the departure of the general; and eight days after, he presented a petition to Rochas, who was judge of the place, in which he alleged that, without owing Soto anything, and only through fear lest he should seize upon all that he had brought from Peru, he had given to his wife ten thousand crowns in gold and silver, and demanded that they should restore this sum to him, or, he declared, that he would complain of it to the emperor. This lady replied that the petition declared that there were accounts to be settled between Ponce and her husband, according to the contract of the partnership into which they had entered. That Ponce owed more than fifty thousand ducats, and that she prayed that they would arrest him until they had examined the accounts, which she offered to produce as soon as possible. Ponce, who, in fact, was debtor to a large amount to the firm, surprised at this reply, set sail, so that they could not arrest him. And as he had thus embarrassed himself very improperly, he acted prudently in not urging the affair. See how avarice blinds men, and brings them nothing but trouble and confusion.

BOOK SECOND.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE DISCOVERY OF THE FIRST EIGHT PROVINCES.

CHAPTER I.

THE ARRIVAL OF HERNANDO DE SOTO IN FLORIDA.

Soto, having been nineteen days at sea, because he had not had favorable weather, did not discover Florida until the end of May, when he came to anchor in a very good bay, which is called Espiritu Santo.* But as it was very late, they did not land; and the next day they sent the boats ashore. They returned with wild grapes which were still quite green, for the Indians, who esteem them but little, take no care to cultivate them, but nevertheless do not neglect to eat them when they are ripe. The general received the fruit with pleasure, because they were like the grapes of Spain, and because they had not found any either in Mexico or in Peru, so that, judging from this, of the excellence of the soil of Florida, he commanded three hundred men to go and take possession of it in the name of the emperor. They immediately landed, and after having marched all the day, they rested at night, because of the fatigue which they had undergone. But in the morning the Indians charged them with vigor, put them to flight, and drove them as far as the sea. Porcallo, in order to support them, sallied out at the head of some troops, and, at first, he would have cut the enemy into pieces but for the disorder of his soldiers, of whom some were wounded, because of their inexperience. Nevertheless he rallied them; and when he had encouraged them he charged upon the barbarians, whom he eagerly pursued. And after having chased them, he returned to the camp, where his horse immediately died from an arrow shot through his body. At the same time the general landed; and after recuperating nine days he left orders for the security of the vessels, and marched about two leagues into the country, as far as the capital of Harriga,† which bears the name of the country and

* Tampa Bay; also called Bahia Honda (Deep Bay), and Bahia de Ponce (Ponce de Leon).

† "Or Hirrihigüa."

its lord ; because in Florida, the provinces, the capital, and the cacique, ordinarily bear the same name. When, therefore, the general had thus advanced, the cacique, who was in the capital of the province, irritated against the Spaniards because they had some time previous cut off his nose and caused the dogs to devour his mother, and moreover, alarmed at the arrival of so many people, abandoned the place and retired into the woods, whence they could not make him leave, however favorable the treatment they might lead him to expect ; for, wholly enraged against those whom they had sent to oblige him to contract an alliance with the Christians, he said, that, very far from having communication with them, his honor would not permit him even to listen to them ; that they were cowardly and perfidious, and that the greatest pleasure they could do him was to bring him their heads, and that he could never sufficiently acknowledge so great a favor. Such great power have outrages to excite hatred in the hearts of those whom they have injured.

But in order to better understand to what degree the cacique carried his resentment, I shall relate the cruelties which he inflicted upon four Spaniards.

It was some time after Narbaez had left the province of Harriga, when one of his vessels which remained behind, and which came to search for him, appeared in the bay. The cacique, who was informed of it, resolved to capture those who were in the vessel, and sent word to them that their captain, on leaving, had given him orders as to what they should do, if by chance they anchored in the port. He also showed them some leaves of white paper, with letters which he had received from Narbaez whilst he was on good terms with him. But that was useless, for they always kept on their guard, and refused to land until Harriga sent to them, as hostages, four of his principal subjects. This artifice succeeded, and as many Spaniards entered the boat where were the Indians who had brought the hostages. The cacique, who perceived them, sorry to see so few of them, wished to demand a greater number, but he changed his mind for fear lest those who were coming should discover his design and escape from him. When they had embarked and the hostages knew that their enemies were in the power of their chief, they leaped into the water, according to the orders they had received, and escaped. In the mean time the Spaniards, seeing that they had unfortunately sacrificed their companions, weighed anchor, for fear of some other misfortunes, and fled with all sail.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEATH OF THREE SPANIARDS, AND THE TORTURES WHICH JUAN ORTIS SUFFERED.

HARRIGA guarded with care his prisoners, in order to increase by their death the pleasures of a feast which he was to celebrate, in a few days, according to the custom of the country. The time of the ceremony arrived, he commanded that the Spaniards, entirely naked, should be produced, and that they should be compelled to run by turns from one extremity of the public place to the other; that at times arrows should be shot at them, in order that their death might be the slower, their pain the more exquisite, and the rejoicing more noted and of a longer duration. They immediately obeyed, and the cacique, who assisted at the spectacle, saw with pleasure three of the Spaniards run from one side to the other, searching in vain to escape death. As for the fourth, who was named Juan Ortis, as he was but about eighteen years of age and a handsome man, the wife and daughters of the cacique interested themselves in his favor. They said that his age was worthy of pity; that he had not taken part in the perfidy of the people of his nation; and, therefore, not having committed any crime worthy of death, it was only necessary to keep him as a slave. The cacique consented to it; but this favor only served to make Ortis die a thousand deaths. They forced him to carry, continually, wood and water. He ate and slept very little, and was tormented with so many blows that, had he not been restrained by the fear of God, he would have committed suicide. In addition to this, the barbarians increased his afflictions at the public rejoicings, and compelled him to run entirely naked in the great square, where they were with their bows ready to pierce him in case he should attempt to rest. He began to run at sunrise, and did not stop till night; and even during the dining of the cacique they would not suffer him to interrupt his course, so that at the end of day he was in a pitiable condition, extended upon the ground more dead than alive. The wife and daughters of Harriga, touched with compassion, then threw some clothes upon him, and assisted him so opportunely that they prevented him from dying. But their pity was cruel to him, for it served only to augment the barbarity of the cacique, who, enraged that Ortis could endure so many divers hardships, ordered, on a day of entertainment, that they should kindle a fire in the middle of

the public square; that they should put a griddle upon the fire; and that they should put his slave upon it, in order to burn him alive. This order was promptly executed, and Ortis remained extended upon this griddle until the ladies, attracted by his cries, ran to his assistance. They besought the cacique not to push his vengeance further; they censured his cruelty, and took off the wretched Ortis half burned, for the fire had already raised upon his body great blisters, of which some having broken covered him with blood. This drew the compassion of the greater part of the spectators. Afterward these merciful daughters had him carried to their house, where they treated him with herbs of which the Indians made use in their complaints, having neither surgeons nor physicians. Finally, at the end of some days, Ortis was cured of his wounds, there remaining only the scars. The barbarian, rejoiced to see him in a condition to suffer again, in order to make his vengeance last longer, invented a new kind of punishment in order to fully satisfy himself, and to free himself from the importunities of his daughters. He, therefore, ordered him to guard, day and night, the dead bodies of the inhabitants of the village. These bodies were in the midst of a forest, in coffins of wood covered with boards which were not fastened, but retained only by the weight of some stones or of some pieces of wood which were placed upon them.* But as the lions, which are in great numbers in the country, came sometimes to drag the bodies from these coffins and carry them off, the cacique commanded Ortis, upon penalty of being burnt alive, to take care that they did not carry them off; and he gave him four darts to defend himself against all kinds of wild beasts. This poor Spaniard received with joy this order, in hopes of leading a life a little more happy than before. He then went away into the forest, where he acquitted himself strictly of his commission, and especially at night, as he had then the most to fear. However, it happened that once, when he was oppressed by fatigue and had permitted himself to be overcome by sleep, a lion uncovered a coffin and drew from it an infant, which he carried off. The slave awoke at the falling of the planks, ran, approached the coffin, and, no longer finding the body there, believed that finally it was all over with him. Moved by fear and grief, he went to seek the lion, to die fighting him or to make him leave his prey. He knew that at the break of day the subjects of Harriga would come to visit the coffins, and that, if they did not meet with the infant there, he would be cruelly burnt. So that fear making him run here and there, he found himself in a great road in

* See note 12.

the midst of the forest, and heard a noise as of a dog gnawing a bone. He listened, and in the belief that it was the lion, he crawled through the bushes, and by the light of the moon he saw him devouring his prey. He therefore took courage and launched one of his darts at him; and because he did not hear him fly, he believed that he had slain him, and remained until daylight to be certain of it, praying God, with tears, not to abandon him in his misfortune.*

CHAPTER III.

ORTIS ESCAPES.

As soon as light began to appear, Ortis found the lion slain; and all transported with joy, he collected what remained of the infant, inclosed it in the coffin, took the lion by the paw, and, without drawing out the dart which pierced him, dragged him to Harriga. As it is an extraordinary thing to kill a lion in that country, where, however, they are not so fierce as in Africa, Ortis was honored by all the town, and the cacique was entreated by his daughters to make use of so courageous a slave, and to suppress his resentment on account of so brave a deed. The barbarian on this occasion had a little of complacency, and during some days he treated Ortis with more humanity. But because the injuries which he had received always left some remains of hate, as often as he recalled the indignities the Spaniards had done him, he thought only of avenging himself on this nation in the person of Ortis, and his anger, which seemed as it were extinguished, rekindled suddenly with more violence. So that, yielding to the desire for vengeance which possessed him, he declared to his wife and daughters that, since the sight of his slave recalled to mind the affronts which he had received, he would, at the first festival, have him shot to death with arrows; and that, upon pain of incurring his indignation, they should no more importune him in his favor; that it was true that he had shown a little courage, but that it was not a sufficient consideration to prevail over his resentments. His wife and his daughters, who knew him, accommodated themselves to his humor, and expressed

* Biedma does not mention this affair. The Elva narrative tells much the same story as Garcilasso, but says it was a temple he was ordered to guard, and that instead of a lion, it was a wolf that Ortis killed as he was dragging the corpse away, and that the Indians the next morning found the wolf pierced with the dart of Ortis.

to him that it was acting right to make way with a man for whom he had so great an aversion and whose presence served only to renew his troubles. Nevertheless, his eldest daughter, resolved to save Ortis, informed him of all that had happened. But as at this news he appeared half dead, she told him not to despair; that she would extricate him from the danger, if he had sufficient resolution to escape; that the night following, at such an hour and at such a place, he would find an Indian in whom she confided; that this man would conduct him as far as a certain bridge, two leagues from the town; that, when he should arrive at this place, the Indian would return before it was day, so that the cacique might not know anything of it, and not be able to avenge himself for his flight upon any one. She added that, at six leagues beyond the bridge, he would meet with a village, the lord of which, called Mucoço, esteemed her, and even wished to marry her; that he should say to him that she had sent him to place himself under his protection, being assured that, in consideration of her, he would be protected by Mucoço; that, besides, he should implore the succor of the God whom he adored, and that, for her part, she could do nothing more. Scarcely had she finished when Ortis cast himself at her feet and rendered humble thanks to her for the kindness which she had for him. He prepared to escape the following night; and, as soon as the people of Harriga were sound asleep, he went off to seek his guide, whom he found at the rendezvous, and left secretly with him. But as soon as they were at the bridge, Ortis requested him to put him in the right road and to return home. Afterwards he thanked him, made him a thousand protestations of friendship, and went off in haste to Mucoço.

CHAPTER IV.

GENEROSITY OF THE CACIQUE MUCOCO.

ORTIS arrived before day near the village of Mucoço. Nevertheless, for fear of accident, he dare not enter until the sun rose. Two Indians, who had discovered him, then left and put themselves in a posture to shoot at him. He also prepared to defend himself; for the honor of being the favorite of a beautiful and generous lady, giving him boldness, obliged him to say that he was sent on the part of a lady of rank to Mucoço. At the same time the Indians joined him, and they returned in company to inform their lord that a slave of Harriga brought him news. Mucoço, who left his house, advanced to learn what they wished with him. As soon as Ortis

saw him he approached him with respect, and said to him, that Harriga had resolved to put him to a cruel death at the first festival; that his daughters dared no more to speak in his favor; that the eldest had induced him to escape, and had given him a guide; that she had commanded him to present himself to him on her behalf; finally, that she prayed him by the love he had for her, to take him under his protection; and that she would be greatly obliged to him for it. After Mucogo had kindly listened to Ortis, he pitied him, and embraced him, and told him that he should fear nothing; that upon his lands he should lead a life very different from that which he had led; that in consideration of the beauty who had sent him he would protect him openly; and that so long as he lived no one should attempt to do him wrong. Mucogo kept his word with Ortis, and treated him much better than he had ever dared to expect. He desired that, night and day he should remain in his chamber. But he finished by overwhelming him with his favors when he learned that with one blow of a dart he had slain a lion. In the mean time Harriga learned that his slave was with Mucogo, and he sent a cacique, their common friend, to demand him. But Mucogo replied that Ortis, having sought an asylum in his house, he should never permit him to be torn from it; and that the loss of a man whom Harriga would have put to death ought not to be important to him. Upon this reply Harriga visited Mucogo, but very uselessly, for after some words of civility, Mucogo expressed to him that it was very unreasonable in him to wish to compel him to do a thing contrary to his honor; and that he would be the most cowardly of men if he abandoned a person who was under his protection. This reply embroiled the cacique with Mucogo, who would rather renounce his love than violate his faith, so that Ortis remained with this lord, who continued to him his benevolence. He lived with him up to the time when Soto entered Florida, and was, in all, ten years among the Indians; one year and a half with the cacique who tortured him, and the rest with him from whom he received every act of kindness. Mucogo, in fact, conducted himself well toward Ortis, and his conduct covers with shame certain Christian princes, who basely betray those to whom they are under obligations to keep their word. But it is to be hoped that in the future the generosity of the cacique may influence them. His action sprung truly from a great soul. The more we consider the person for whom he did so many things, those whom he resisted, and the passion which he had for the daughter of Harriga, the more he merits praise for having generously sacrificed his mistress and his friends to his honor. It is thus that God is pleased to produce in

barbarous regions extraordinary persons in order to confound the Christians who live in countries where reign the sciences and religion.

CHAPTER V.

THE GENERAL SENDS TO DEMAND ORTIS.

Soto, being in the town of Harriga, heard of the adventures of Ortis, of which he had learned something at Havana from one of the Indians whom Aniasco had kidnapped when he went to discover the coast of Florida, for they were subjects of the cacique Harriga. But as he who related the story of Ortis pronounced Orotis for Ortis, the Spaniards, notwithstanding their interpreters, believed that this barbarian asserted that his country abounded in gold, and they rejoiced to hear this word "Orotis," because their views did not extend beyond searching for gold in Florida. Finally upon the assurance the general had that Ortis was with Mucoço, he believed that he ought to send to demand him, as well to liberate him, as to make use of him as an interpreter. He therefore ordered Belthazar de Gallego, sergeant major of the army, to go to Mucoço and say to him that the Spaniards appreciated the favors which he had done Ortis; that, trusting to the kindness which he had for them, he besought him to return to them this slave, because he was very necessary to them; that in consideration of this new favor which he expected, there was nothing which he would not undertake for him; that if he would take the trouble to visit them, he would find that he had not obliged ungrateful persons; finally, that, after the marks of generosity he had given, their greatest joy would be to meet him, and have him for a friend.

Gallego left immediately with sixty lancers, and at the same time Mucoço learned that the Spanish troops had arrived at Harriga, in order to conquer the country. As he dreaded this army he spoke of it to Ortis, and told him that on his account he had embroiled himself with powerful caciques; that now a good opportunity presented itself for him to show his gratitude for this favor; that really he had obliged him without the expectation of a return, but that it seemed that fortune desired that the good offices which he had rendered the Spaniards in his person should be recognized; that, therefore, it was his intention to send him with fifty of the most distinguished of his subjects to the general in order to offer him his alliance, and to solicit him to receive the country under his protec-

tion. Ortis, overjoyed at this news, replied to Mucogo that he was much rejoiced to be able to evince to him his gratitude; that he would relate to the Spaniards his generosity, and that those of his nation, who pride themselves upon being very sensible for the favors which are done to their people, would esteem him now and forever, and that assuredly he would receive the fruits of the kindness which he had shown him.

No sooner had he spoken than he saw fifty Indians, who had been commanded to hold themselves ready to accompany him. They took the route which goes from Mucogo to Harriga, and left, the day that Gallego started from the camp, to go to the cacique. But it happened that after three leagues of travel in the high road, the guide of the Spaniards took it into his head that he ought not to conduct them faithfully. He, therefore, began to regard them as enemies, who had come to take possession of the Indies, and to rob the inhabitants of their wealth and their liberty. Moved by these considerations he left his road and took the first that he met, and misled the Spaniards a great part of the day. He led them round about toward the sea, with the design of embarrassing them among some marshes, in order to destroy them there. And as they had not any knowledge of the country, they did not discover the motive of the barbarian until one of them perceived through the oaks of the forest where they were the masts of their ships. They informed Gallego of the wickedness of the guide, and he placed himself in a posture to pierce him with a thrust of his lance. The Indian, quite astonished, made known that he would re-conduct the Spaniards into the road. He kept his word, but they were obliged to retrace their steps.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MEETING OF ORTIS AND GALLEGO.

ORTIS, going from Mucogo to Harriga, entered into the road which Gallego had taken, and discovered by the tracks of the Spaniards, that their guide had misled them through malice. Therefore, to prevent the alarm which they would give to the town, if they should arrive there before having spoken to him, he resolved to follow them with his company. And after having marched some time he discovered Gallego and his companions in a great plain, bordered on one side by a thick forest. The opinion of the Indians was to immediately gain the woods, because they ran the risk of being badly treated by the Christians if they were not recognized by them as

friends before they reached them. Ortis, without heeding this advice, imagined it was enough to be a Spaniard, and that those of his nation would not mistake him. However, as he was dressed as an Indian, with a cap covered with plumes, short drawers, a bow and arrow in his hand, the affair did not turn out as he had calculated; for as soon as the Spaniards saw him accompanied by his men, they increased their steps, quitted their ranks, and, without obeying Gallego, who recalled them, charged upon the barbarians whom Ortis led, and drove them with thrusts of their lances into the woods. However, as the Indians did not stand their ground, there was but one of them wounded by the thrust of a lance in his groin. This barbarian, who acted so boldly, had remained behind with Ortis, whom Nieto pursued vigorously with the thrusts of his lance, which Ortis parried at first with his bow. But as Nieto, who was ardent and robust, renewed the attack, Ortis, fearing to succumb, began to cry Xibilla for Sevilla. He made at the same time with his bow the sign of the cross, in order that they should know that he was a Christian, because he could not say it in Spanish. He had, to such a degree, lost the custom of speaking his language, since he was among the Indians, that he had so forgotten it that he could not even pronounce Sevilla, the proper name of the place where he was born. The same thing has happened to me, for not having found in Spain any one with whom I could converse in my native tongue, which is that of Peru, I have lost to such a degree the habit of speaking it, that, to make myself understood, I cannot speak six or seven words in succession. I had, notwithstanding, formerly known how to express myself in Indian, with so much grace, that, except the incas who spoke the best, no others could express themselves more elegantly than I.

To return to Ortis: when Nieto heard him pronounce "Xibilla," he asked him who he was, and as soon as he replied, Ortis, he took him by the arm, lifted him upon the croup of his horse, and joyfully led him to Gallego, who quickly caused to be reassembled his people, who had given chase to the Indians. Ortis himself entered into the woods, called his companions, crying with all his strength, that they could return with all safety. But some frightened fled as far as the town of Mucoço, where they gave information of all that had happened, and others who were not so much frightened, and had not wandered so far, came, one after another, out of the woods at the call of Ortis. They all cursed his bad conduct, so that, but for the presence of our people, they would have abused him. But to satisfy themselves in some manner, they flew into a passion at their injuries, which Ortis explained as well as he could to the Spaniards,

who also blamed him, and gave orders that they should take care of the wounded Indian. In the mean time he dispatched a man to the cacique Mucogo to extricate him from the trouble into which the fugitives had placed him, and then they all took the route to the camp.

CHAPTER VII.

MUCOCO VISITS THE GENERAL.

THE night was already far advanced when Gallego arrived at the camp. The general, surprised at so quick a return, imagined some great misfortune, but he was immediately reassured at the sight of Ortis, whom he kindly received, and to whom he gave a skirt of black velvet, of which Ortis could not make use, because he was accustomed to go naked. He wore only a shirt, linen drawers, a cap, and shoes; and remained in this condition more than twenty days, until, by degrees, he recovered the habit of clothing himself. Soto also gave a favorable reception to the Indians; and afterward he dispatched a person to the cacique to thank him for having sent Ortis to him. He ordered him to say to him that he felt obliged for the offer which he had made him, of his desire to place himself under the protection of the Spaniards; and that he accepted it with joy, in the name of his master, Charles the Fifth, the first of Christian princes.

In the mean time the Spaniards came to see Ortis, embraced him, congratulated him upon his arrival, and passed the night in rejoicing. Afterward the general called him, to learn the peculiarities of Florida, and the life he had led under the caciques. Ortis told him that Harriga had cruelly tortured him. He showed him the marks of it, and it was seen that worms had come from the wounds which the fire had made. But that Mucogo had treated him civilly. That, nevertheless, he had not dared to go out of the way, for fear of being killed by the subjects of Harriga; so that he had scarcely any knowledge of the country, and that he knew only that the further they advanced into the country, the more fertile it was.

Whilst Ortis was entertaining the general, notice was given that Mucogo, attended by many Indians, was approaching the camp. In fact, he was seen almost as soon as he was announced, and they conducted him to the general, whom he saluted with respect, as well as all the officers of the army, according to the rank which each one held, as Ortis made known to him. He returned afterward to pay his court to the general, who received him with much friendship, on account of the kindness which he had had for Ortis.

But Mucogo showed that they were not under obligations to him for what he had done, because, in his quality of cacique, it was his duty; that they were to consider it only in that light; and also that he had sent Ortis only to prevent the troops from laying waste his lands; that thus his services were of little importance. That, however, he rejoiced that his conduct was favorably construed by the general, for whom he had a very special esteem. That he besought him, by that zeal and magnanimity which is so natural to the Spaniards, to take him under his protection. That henceforth he would recognize Charles the Fifth and Hernando de Soto as his legitimate lords; that, being their vassal, he was recompensed beyond his merit, and that for the future he would serve them with all his power. Porcallo and the other captains, surprised at the good sense of the cacique, paid him much honor, and even made presents to him and all his suite.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MOTHER OF MUCOCO COMES TO THE CAMP.

Two days after the arrival of Mucogo, his mother, who was absent when he left his home, and who would never have consented that he should deliver himself into the power of the Spaniards, visited Soto. She had sadness depicted on her countenance, and appeared so much agitated by the uneasiness which she had for her son, that, approaching the general, she besought him to restore to her Mucogo, for fear lest he should be treated as Harriga. That if he was resolved to go to this extremity, she was ready to die for her son. The general received her civilly, and replied to her, that, very far from doing anything unpleasant to Mucogo, he merited every act of kindness; that he even wished that they should pay his mother great respect, on account of so generous a son; that for this reason she should fear nothing and expect everything from the generosity of the Spaniards. These words reassured a little the kind mother, and induced her to remain in the camp. But she had so much distrust, that, eating at the table of the general, she was afraid lest they should poison her; so that she would not taste anything until Ortis had, first of all, tasted it, and assured her that there was no danger; which led one of the gentlemen of the suite to say that he was astonished that she had offered her life for her son, since she dreaded so much to lose it. This lady, to whom they explained that, replied that it was true that she dearly loved her life, but that she loved still more her son; and that there

was nothing which she would not give to preserve him; that in consideration of this, she besought the general to restore to her the object of all her affections; that she desired earnestly to take him with her; that in one word she could not overcome her distrust of the promises of the Christians.

The general replied to her, that she was at liberty to go; but as for her son, he would find some pleasure in remaining among the Spaniards, of whom the greater part were of his age; that when he should wish to return, no one should oppose it; that finally, he declared that her son would have rather whereof to be pleased than to complain.

The mother of the cacique left the camp upon this promise; but first of all she begged Ortis to remember that her son had obliged him, and to do the same for him in the danger in which she was leaving him. The general and all his suite laughed at this distrust; which Mucoço turned with so much wit that he contributed to the diversion of the Spaniards; and to show that he confided in them, he remained eight more days to converse with Soto and his officers. Sometimes he inquired about the emperor, sometimes about the ladies, and sometimes about the customs, and the grandees of Spain. After this he took a suitable pretext for returning, and politely left the Spaniards. But he returned to see them many times afterward, and made divers presents to them all.

Mucoço was, at that time, between twenty-six and twenty-seven years of age; he had a handsome countenance, a fine form, and an inexpressible air of grandeur in all his actions, which gained the love and esteem of those who approached him.

CHAPTER IX.

PREPARATIONS TO ADVANCE INTO THE COUNTRY.

DURING these affairs, the general ordered everything: for after they had landed their provisions and munitions at Harriga, the town nearest to the bay of Espiritu Santo, he sent the largest of his vessels to Havana, and authorized his wife to dispose of them. He kept the others to make use of them in time of need, and gave the command of them to Pedro Calderon, a vigilant and experienced captain. He then tried to win over the cacique, Harriga, in hopes that he would have no trouble to propitiate the other chiefs of the country, who had not received any offence from the Spaniards; that, moreover, it would acquire credit for him among the Indians,

and increase his reputation among those of his own nation. Wherefore, when he had made some prisoners, he sent them to Harriga with presents. He sent him word that he ardently wished his good-will, and that he would give him satisfaction for the outrages that had been done him. But the cacique only replied that the injuries he had received would not permit him to listen to any proposition on the part of the Spaniards. However, the conduct of Soto did not fail to produce very good effects; for as the servants of the army went every day for forage, escorted by thirty or forty soldiers, it happened, that not being upon their guard, the Indians charged upon them with loud cries, and put them in disorder, captured a Spaniard, named Graiales, and retired. In the mean time, our people rallied and dispatched to the general, who immediately sent the cavalry after the enemy; whom they surprised, at the distance of two leagues, in a place surrounded with reeds. Then, while these barbarians thought only of rejoicing with their wives and children, our soldiers entered with fury into this place, frightened them, put them to flight, and took women and children prisoners. Graiales, who in the confusion, heard the voices of those of his nation, ran and placed himself under their protection. He was not immediately recognized by them, because he was already dressed as an Indian, but very soon after they recognized him, and returned very joyfully to the camp with their prisoners. That pleased Soto exceedingly, who wished to know the details of their encounter. Therefore, Graiales told him that the Indians had had no design of injuring the Spaniards, and had drawn their arrows only to frighten them; that as they had taken them in disorder it had been easy for them to have slain a part of them; but that they were contented to make one prisoner; that, very far from having offered him any injury, they had treated him civilly; and that, reassuring him by degrees, they courteously pressed him to eat. The general immediately sent for his prisoners; and, after having thanked them for the manner in which they had acted, he sent them back. He also declared to them that they had nothing to fear from the Spaniards; and he prayed them that it might be the same on their part in regard to his people; and that they might live in a good understanding with each other; that he had not entered their country to draw upon himself their hate, but their friendship. The general accompanied these words with some presents, and they returned home well satisfied.

Some time after that, these same Indians captured two Spaniards; to whom they left so much liberty that they were enabled to escape. These people were, without doubt, thus softened, only because of

the courtesies of Soto to their cacique; and, therefore, there is nothing which makes a greater impression upon men than the favors which are politely done them.

CHAPTER X.

CONTINUATION OF THE DISCOVERY.

AFTER Soto had been about three weeks in making his preparations to advance, he commanded Gallego to go with sixty lancers and as many fusileers, into the province of Urribaracuxi. Gallego left immediately and went to Mucogo, where he was received with joy by the cacique, who lodged the Spaniards one night, and fed them sumptuously. But the next day when they were ready to march they asked a guide of him, and Mucogo said to them that they were too civil a people to take advantage of his friendship in order to oblige him to do a thing against his honor. That, Urribaracuxi being his cousin, he would be blamed by everybody were he to give them anyone to lead them over his lands; that, even if this cacique were not his relation, he ought not to serve them in this respect, because he would pass for a traitor to his country; that he would rather die than commit a crime so unbecoming a person of his condition. Ortis, who conducted the Spaniards, replied to him by the order of Gallego, that they did not wish to abuse his friendship; that they requested of him only an Indian in whom Urribaracuxi had faith, in order to send to inform him that he should not dread their coming; that, even if he would have neither peace nor alliance, they were ordered not to ravage his province, on account of the generous Mucogo, of whom they were the friends and relations, and that for the love of him they had not committed any devastation in the country of the cacique Harriga, their avowed enemy. Mucogo replied that he was very much obliged to the Spaniards, and that, understanding their design, he would give them a guide such as they wished. They then left Mucogo, greatly satisfied with the cacique, and in four days arrived at the country of Urribaracuxi, distant about seventeen leagues from the town of Mucogo. As Urribaracuxi and his subjects had fled away into the woods, the Spaniards dispatched to him their guide, who offered to him their alliance, but after having politely listened to him, he sent him back without having concluded anything.

During the journey, which is twenty-five leagues from Harriga to Urribaracuxi, they met with many grape-vines, pine, mulberry,

and other trees like to those in Spain. They also passed through certain countries where there were marshes, hills and woods, and very pleasant plains, of which Gallego made an account, which he sent to the general, and informed him that the army could subsist two or three days about Urriharacuxi. While they go to Soto it is well to tell what is passing at the camp.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MISFORTUNE OF PORCALLO.

UPON the news that Harriga was in the woods near the camp, Porcallo resolved, notwithstanding the entreaties of the general, to go and take this cacique. He therefore left, with cavalry and infantry, in the hope of bringing him back a prisoner, or obliging him to sue for peace. Harriga, informed of this enterprise, sent many times to Porcallo to tell him not to go any farther, because the marshes and other difficulties of the route, which it would be necessary for him to overcome in order to reach him, would protect him; that he gave him this counsel, not through fear, but in acknowledgment of the pleasure they had given him in not ravaging his lands and maltreating his subjects. Porcallo laughed at this advice, and believed that the cacique was afraid of him, and that he could not escape him. Wherefore, he doubled his speed, encouraged his soldiers, and arrived at a marshy place, where, upon the objections which each one made to entering it, he spurred on, and by advancing obliged many of his men to follow him. But he did not go very far before his horse fell, so that he found himself encumbered beneath him, with his arms, and because they could not go to him on account of the marsh being too deep, it was only by extraordinary good luck that he did not perish. Thus, when he saw that he was conquered without a combat, and even without the hope of taking the cacique, he returned to the quarters in a violent passion, making reflections upon the pleasures which he enjoyed at Trinidad, and upon the hardships which the Spaniards were going to suffer who were yet but at the commencement of their conquest. Besides, as he considered that he had acquired enough glory, and that at the age at which he had arrived he ought not to expose himself so rashly, he believed that it would be no discredit for him to quit the army, and leave the honor of the enterprise to young men, who had need of acquiring a reputation in arms. His misfortune really occupied him so much that he talked of it to himself, and sometimes with those

who accompanied him. He even pronounced aloud, syllable by syllable, the names of Harriga and Urribaracuxi. He also, sometimes, transposed the letters. He said Huri, Harri, Siga, Siri, Barracoxa, Huri, and added that he would give the land to the devil, where the first words they heard were frightful, that nothing good ought to be expected from those who bore them; that each one might work for his own individual interest, but that in respect to himself fortune did not concern him. Porcallo, agitated in this manner, arrived at the camp, where, after having demanded his return to Trinidad, they gave him a vessel, but before embarking he distributed his equipage to some soldiers whom he liked. He left to the troops the provisions and munitions which he had, and desired that Saurez de Figueroa, his natural son, whom he equipped very well, should accompany Soto in his expedition. Figueroa obeyed with joy the orders of his father, and let no occasion of distinguishing his courage escape, but he had the misfortune to have his horse killed and himself wounded by the Indians, and afterwards he marched on foot and would not receive anything from the general or any of his captains. This manner of acting displeased Soto, who urged him, many times, to take from him wherewith to equip himself. But Figueroa bore it very indignantly, and they could never prevail upon him.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REPORT OF GALLEGO.

PORCALLO, in quitting the army, gave marks of imprudence, as he had given them of ambition, when, to follow the general, he abandoned his home and his repose. It is thus that in affairs of importance the resolutions that are not prudently taken, disgrace those who execute them. If Porcallo had maturely considered before committing himself, he would not have lost a part of his wealth and his reputation. But often persons of wealth imagine that they excel others not less in the qualities of the intellect than in the advantages of fortune; and convinced of this error, they take counsel of no one.

Porcallo had hardly left when the report of Gallego arrived. It rejoiced the camp, because it gave hopes of the conquest of Florida. It noticed, among other things, that three leagues beyond Urribaracuxi there was a very dangerous marsh. But that only served to encourage the Spaniards, who said that God had given to men

courage and industry as their share to overcome the obstacles which they should encounter in their designs. Therefore, upon this news, the general published that they should hold themselves ready to leave in three days, and sent thirty cavaliers, under the command of Silvestre, to inform Gallego that he was about to follow him. However, he left a garrison of forty lancers and eighty fusileers in the town of Harriga, where, after having established Calderon to guard the vessels and munitions, he commanded him to keep peace with his neighbors, cultivate the friendship of Mucoço, and not to leave the place without his order. The general then left Harriga with the rest of his troops, and took the route to Mucoço; and on the morning of the third day of his march he discovered the town. The cacique, informed of his coming, went out to meet him, received him with joy, and offered him his house. But for fear of incommoding him, the general assured him that he was obliged to pass on; and after having recommended to him the garrison at Harriga, he thanked him for all the favors he had done the Spaniards. Mucoço, kissing his hands with respect, said to him with tears in his eyes, that he could not express which was the most affecting to him, the satisfaction of having known him, or the pain of seeing him depart without being able to follow him. He also begged him to remember him, and to give his compliments to the principal officers of the army. On leaving there, the general continued his march as far as Urribaracuxi, without having met with anything worthy of notice; and he marched always to the northeast. Nevertheless, I am obliged to say that his route is not so precisely known, but that some day it may be found that I have failed to trace it right. It is not because I have not tried to learn the distances of the country, but I have not been able to get as exact a knowledge of them as I would wish; for the Spaniards did not think so much of learning the situation of places, as of hunting for gold and silver in Florida.

CHAPTER XIII.

PASSAGE OF THE MARSH.

THE general arrived at Urribaracuxi, where Gallego awaited him, learned that the cacique was in the woods, and immediately sent for him to solicit him to make peace with the Spaniards. But as the barbarian would listen to nothing, Soto sent to examine a great wide marsh which was upon his route. He knew that the bottom

at the borders of it was not good, and that it had such a quantity of water in the middle that it could not be passed on foot. However, they searched so well, that at the end of eight days they found a passage; where, the general having repaired with the army, he easily extricated himself from it; but, because the defile was long, he spent a day in passing it, and camped at half a league beyond it, in a great plain. The day following he sent scouts to discover the road, and they reported that he could not advance, because of the waters which inundated the country. Upon this news, after having taken a hundred cavaliers and as many foot soldiers, and left the rest of the troops under the command of Moscoso, his colonel of cavalry, he repassed the marsh, and sent to search another passage. In the mean time the Indians, who were in a forest, charged upon Soto and his men, fired upon them, and immediately regained the woods. The Spaniards repulsed them, and also slew or captured some of them. Those who saw themselves captured, wishing to get out of the power of their enemies, offered themselves to guide them, and led them into the ambuscade of the barbarians, who pierced them with their arrows. This malice being discovered, they caused four of the most culpable of them to be torn to pieces by the dogs; so that the others, being frightened, began in earnest to do their duty, and put the people of the general in a road, where, after having marched about four leagues, they found themselves over the great marsh, in a passage, of which the entry and exit were dry. But during one league they had the water up to their armpits; and the middle of the passage, a hundred feet long, was not fordable. The enemy, in this place, had made a wretched bridge of two large trees felled in the water, supported by some stakes fixed in the ground, and some cross-pieces of wood, after the fashion of a hand-rail.

As soon as the general saw this bridge, he commanded Pedro Moron and Diego D'Oliva Metis, who were great swimmers, to go and cut the branches of the trees that encumbered the bridge, and to do all that they should find necessary for the convenience of the passage. They executed their orders, but with great difficulty. The Indians, who were concealed among the reeds, came out in small boats, and fired upon them. So that Moron and his companion leaped from the bridge and dived into the water, where they were slightly wounded, and saved themselves. Nevertheless the Indians, astonished at the resolution of these two men, dared no more to show themselves, and the Spaniards repaired the bridge. At the distance of two musket-shots higher up, they found a place for the cavalry to pass. The general gave notice of it to Moscoso, his colonel of



cavalry, with orders to cause the rest of the army to march, and to quickly send him provisions. Silvestre, who was dispatched for that purpose, had charge to bring the provisions with an escort of thirty lancers, and to return toward evening, the next day. For Soto promised to wait for him, and told him that, although the route was long and difficult, he hoped for everything from him. Silvestre then mounted an excellent horse, which they held ready for him, and met Lopez Cacho, whom he ordered, on the part of the general, to accompany him. Cacho excused himself, because he was so fatigued, and begged him to choose some one else; but as Silvestre pressed him more and more he yielded, mounted his horse, and left with him at sunset.

CHAPTER XIV.

SILVESTRE CARRIES THE ORDERS OF THE GENERAL TO MOSCOSO.

SILVESTRE and Cacho, who were each not more than twenty years of age, exposed themselves, resolutely, to all that might happen to them. They made, at first, without difficulty four or five leagues, because the road was good, and they did not meet with any Indians. Afterward, on account of the marsh, they found themselves engaged in very wretched roads, from which they despaired of extricating themselves. As they had not any certain knowledge of the country they were obliged to march at hazard, and to endeavor to remember the places by which they had passed the first time with their general, and in that their horses rendered them very good service. For guided only by their instinct, they took the route which they had kept in coming, and lowered their heads to scent the track. Cacho and his companion, who understood nothing of that, drew the reins, but their horses immediately sought the road after their fashion. They snorted so loud when they lost it, that it was to be feared that the noise which they made might discover the cavaliers. The horse of Silvestre was the most certain to conduct them right, and he had very excellent marks; he was a brown bay; the near foot white, with a like mark in his forehead. The horse of Cacho was a *burnt* sorrel, with the extremities black; but he was not so valuable as that of Silvestre, who, after having understood the actions of his horse, let him go at his will. Such was the condition in which Silvestre and Cacho were; and this condition can, without doubt, be better imagined than described.

These cavaliers travelled thus all night without keeping any cer-

tain route, overcome by labor and sleep, and tortured with hunger; because they had not eaten anything during two days, except a little corn. Their horses were also broken down with fatigue; because they had travelled for three days without any relaxation, and they had not been unbridled, except to feed for a few moments. For the image of death, which these two cavaliers saw before their eyes, obliged them to push on with diligence, and overcome every difficulty. There were on both sides of the road troops of Indians, whom they perceived by the light of the fires which these barbarians had kindled, and around which they were dancing and making everything echo with their cries. It was not known whether they were then celebrating some festival, or whether it was a simple diversion; but their cries lasted all the night, and prevented them from hearing the steps of the horses, or minding their dogs which barked louder than usual. For if they had discovered Silvester and Cacho they would have endeavored to capture them.

After these cavaliers had travelled ten leagues, with much fear and trouble, Cacho begged Silvestre either to kill him or let him sleep, and declared to him that he could not go any farther, nor hold himself any longer upon his horse. Silvestre replied, bluntly, that he might then sleep, since, in the midst of the dangers which threatened, he could not resist sleep for one hour; that the passage of the marsh was not far; that they could not avoid death if they did not pass it before daylight. Cacho, without hearing what he said to him, fell to the ground as if he had been dead. Silvester immediately took the bridle of the horse and the lance of his companion, and at this moment there spread a great darkness, accompanied by a very heavy rain, which, however, did not awaken Cacho, so powerful is the force of sleep. The rain ceased, the weather brightened, daylight appeared, and Silvestre was in despair at not having discovered the light sooner. But whilst his companion reposed he had probably himself fallen asleep upon his horse. For I remember to have known a cavalier who travelled about four leagues asleep, and who did not awake, although they spoke to him, and who was even in danger of being killed by his horse. As soon, then, as Silvestre saw daylight, he called Cacho, pushed him with the butt of his lance, and finally awoke him, and told him that for being too sleepy it was almost impossible not to fall into the hands of the barbarians. Cacho remounted his horse, and spurred, with Silvestre, at a fast gallop; but daylight disclosed them, and immediately they heard, on both sides of the marsh, nothing but shouts and horns, drums, and other instruments. The Indians came out from among the reeds in canoes, gained the passage, and awaited there the two

Spaniards; who, very far from losing courage, reassured themselves by the remembrance of the peril to which they had just been exposed on land, and rushed boldly into the water through which they were to pass. They were then enveloped with arrows, but as they went rapidly, and were well armed, they escaped without receiving a wound; which was great good luck, considering the multitude of arrows which were discharged at them. In the mean time, the noise which the savages made was heard by the troops, which were not very far from the swamp; and because they suspected something, thirty cavaliers were sent off, who repaired to the passage. Touar, advantageously mounted, spurred at their head. He was bold and ambitious; for, although he knew that he was in ill-favor with Soto, and that his actions would not be esteemed, he did not cease to serve as a brave man. However, that did not restore him to the favor of the general; it seemed, on the contrary, that he was chagrined to see so much virtue in a man for whom he had so great an aversion. It had been better that Touar had abandoned the service, than to have persisted in wishing to regain the friendship of Soto. It is rarely that the great pardon when they believe that they have been injured.

CHAPTER XV.

THE RETURN OF SILVESTRE.

As the Indians were pursuing the two Spaniards out of the water they perceived the succors, and for fear of being injured they retreated; so that Silvestre came to the camp, where he was received by Moscoso, who, having learned the orders of the general, had the supplies quickly brought, and commanded thirty cavaliers to escort them. In the mean time, Silvestre stopped about three-quarters of an hour to eat a little corn and cheese, for there was nothing else; and when everything was ready he resumed his route, accompanied by his escort, and led with him two mules loaded with cheese and biscuit. Cacho, who had not orders to return, remained with Moscoso, who commanded his men to hold themselves ready to leave: whilst Silvestre and his escort crossed the swamp without the enemy pretending to attack them; and arrived, at two o'clock at night, at the place where the general was to have waited for them. But as they did not find him there, they were much troubled, and they camped in that condition. One part of the night, ten cavaliers scouted, and a like number watched, and fed the horses all saddled,

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while the others were taking a little repose; in order that each one might work and sleep by turns, and that they might not be surprised by the enemy. So soon as it was day, they discovered the route of the general through the swamp, which they crossed before the Indians had taken possession of the pass. If, at any time, they had seized them, the Spaniards would have had trouble to take them; because they would have been obliged to fight in the water up to their armpits, without being able to retreat or to attack with advantage: whereas the enemy, who had boats which they propelled very swiftly, could, at their pleasure, shoot near or at a distance. Nevertheless, they did not take advantage of the opportunity, and they did not know the cause of it, unless it was that they observed lucky days for battle. Finally, after six leagues of travel, the escort found Soto in a valley full of corn so high that they gathered it on horseback. But, as they were very hungry, they ate it raw, and thanked God for their good luck. The general received Silvester with joy; and when he learned the hardships he had suffered, he praised him highly, and promised to reward his services. He then told him that he had not remained at the rendezvous, because his people could not endure their hunger, and that he believed that the savages had killed him. When he finished speaking, he was informed that Moscoso had passed the swamp without the enemy having opposed him; and that, having arrived in three days, at another passage, which was on the other side, they had taken three days more to extricate themselves from it; because it was long, and there was a great deal of water. He was also informed that Moscoso and his troops were in want of provisions; and he sent them corn, which greatly rejoiced them; after which they repaired to the province of Acuera, where the general was.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PROVINCE OF ACUERA.

THE country of Acuera is to the north, in regard to that of Urribaracuxi, from which it is distant about twenty leagues. But as the cacique of Acuera had fled from it, upon the arrival of the troops in his province, they dispatched to him some Indian prisoners. They had orders to induce him to make an alliance with the Spaniards, who were valiant, and who could ruin his lands and his subjects: that, however, up to the present time, they had not gone to that extremity; because their desire was to reduce by mildness, only, the inhabitants of the country to obedience to the king of Spain,

their master. That, for this purpose, they desired to speak to him, and to inform him of the orders which they had to treat with the caciques. Acuera replied, "that the Spaniards having already entered the country, he regarded them as vagabonds, who lived by brigandage, and slew those who had done them no injury. That, with a nation so detestable, he would have neither peace nor intercourse. That however brave they might be, they would find men who would be as much so as themselves. That, from this very instant, he would declare war against them, without, however, designing to come to an engagement with them, but that he would lay so many ambuscades for them that he would entirely defeat them. That he had even commanded them to bring him, every week, two Christian heads: a sure means of exterminating them; so much the more easily, as they had no wives. That as for the obedience which they wished him to render their prince, they should know that it was the extreme of baseness for a free people to place themselves under a foreign domination. That he and all his subjects would sooner lose their lives than their liberty, and that they should expect no other answer from a sovereign. That, therefore, they might depart in haste from his country. That they were wretches who sacrificed themselves for the sake of others. That, thus, he esteemed them unworthy of his friendship; and that he would neither see their orders nor suffer them any longer upon his lands." The general, surprised at this haughtiness, endeavored to win over the cacique, but in vain. The army sojourned twenty days in his province, which they found very good, and they took there provisions to go on. During this time, the Indians harassed the Spaniards so much, that a soldier could not stray a hundred steps from the camp without being killed. They immediately cut off the head, unless they charged suddenly upon them, and carried it to their cacique. They were, in fact, very active. They disinterred, by night, the dead Christians, they quartered them, and hung them from the tops of trees; and executed the orders of their chief with so much courage that they carried to him the heads of eighteen soldiers, without mentioning those whom they put to death, and those whom they wounded with their arrows. As for them, after having attacked, they fled very often; so that our people slew only about fifty.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ENTRY OF THE SPANIARDS INTO THE PROVINCE OF OCALY.

THE army left Acuera without having done anything except kill a few Indians. They took the route to the province of Ocaly, distant twenty leagues from the other, and marched to the northeast. They traversed between the two countries a wilderness about twelve leagues long, filled with walnut trees, pines, and trees unknown in Spain, but arranged in such equal distance that they seemed planted for pleasure, so that they made a very delightful forest.*

They did not find in Ocaly many marshes and bad defiles, as in the other countries. As this country was higher and further from the coast, the sea could not reach it, and the other provinces being nearer it and lower, the sea entered them in certain places, sometimes thirty, sometimes forty, fifty, sixty, and sometimes one hundred leagues. There were found there great marshes, which rendered the earth trembling to such a degree that it was almost impossible to pass over. The Spaniards, in fact, found in these wretched roads that as soon as they set foot upon the land, it trembled twenty or thirty steps around; sometimes it seemed as though a horse could gallop there; one would never have believed that it was but hardened mud, and that there was water and mire beneath. Nevertheless, when the top happened to break, the men, with their horses, were swallowed up and drowned without resource; so that they had much to endure when it was necessary to pass those places.

To return to the country of Ocaly. The Spaniards found there more provisions than in the other provinces. The land was better, and the country more cultivated. They remarked also that the farther these countries were from the sea the more populous they were, and the more abundant in all kinds of fruits.

The troops had made seven leagues as they traversed the wilderness between the two countries. On the route they met with some houses here and there, and entered the capital, which was called Ocaly, where the cacique held his court. But he and his vassals had retired into the woods with the best of what they had. The town of Ocaly consisted of six hundred houses, where the Spaniards lodged because they found there large quantities of vegetables, nuts, dried grapes, and other fruits. The general, at the

* These were probably live oaks.

same time, sent some Indians to solicit the friendship of the cacique. But he excused himself because he could not leave so soon, and six days after he came to the army, where, although he was well received and had made an alliance, they did not cease to judge that he had bad designs, which they concealed for fear of frightening him. What I am going to say will show that they did not suspect him without reason.

There was near Ocaly a deep river, the steep banks of which were about the height of two pikes. Nevertheless, it was necessary to pass this river, and because there was no bridge they agreed that the Indians should make one of timber. The cacique and the general, accompanied by many Spaniards, selected a day to see the place where they should erect this bridge. As they were planning it some five hundred barbarians, concealed in the bushes on the opposite side of the river, advanced and commenced calling out to the Spaniards, "cowards," "robbers," "you want a bridge, but we will not build it for you;" and thereupon they discharged at them their arrows, which obliged the general to say that since they had sworn an alliance this action ought to be punished. The cacique, to excuse himself, replied that as soon as his subjects saw that he was inclined in favor of the Spaniards, he had lost all authority; that it was not in his power to punish them, and that they could not, without injustice, impute their fault to him.

At the cries which the barbarians made, a greyhound named Brutus, which a page of the general led in leash escaping, leaped into the water. The Spaniards commenced calling him, but that encouraged him to swim straight to the Indians, who pierced his head and shoulders with more than fifty arrows. He, however, passed to the other bank, and fell dead on leaving the water. The Christians were sensibly touched at it, because he had rendered them much service, as I am going to relate.

One day four Indians, through curiosity, came to the camp to see the troops, their arms, and principally their horses, which they dreaded above all things. The general, who knew their design, and that they were the principal men of their province, received them with civility. He made them some presents and commanded them to be regaled in a room to themselves. When they had eaten heartily and saw that they were not observed by any one, they fled with such speed that the Spaniards, despairing of overtaking them, did not follow them. In the mean time Brutus came. He pursued close upon the heels of the Indians, who fled in file, and after having reached them, he passed three of them without attacking them, and leaped upon the foremost, whom he brought to the ground. In the mean

time he let him approach who followed ; he floored him, and did the same to the others when they were near him, thus holding them all in the same place, he leaped upon the first who made an appearance to rise, and arrested him by barking. He finally embarrassed them to such a degree that he detained them until the Spaniards ran to and seized them, and brought them back to the camp.* They immediately separated them, and questioned them on the motives of a flight so unreasonable. They replied that they had fled only in the belief that it would be a glorious thing for them, among those of their own nation, to have thus escaped from the hands of the Christians, and that Brutus had deprived them of a very great honor. It is also said of this greyhound, that one day as the Indians and Spaniards were together upon the banks of a river, an Indian struck, with his bow, a Spaniard. That then the Indian leaped into the water with the other savages, and that Brutus, who saw this, pursued him, attacked him, and strangled him in the middle of the river. It is thus that in the conquest of the new world the greyhounds have done things worthy of admiration. Becerillo served so well in the island of Porto Rico that on his account the Spaniards gave to his master the half of all their earnings. Nugnes de Balboa also was willing to pay five hundred gold crowns to him to whom Leoncello belonged, on account of the good services which that dog had done in the discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PROVINCE OF VITACHUCO.

Soto, who saw that the cacique remained uselessly at the camp, told him that if he remained there long he feared that his vassals would altogether revolt, or that, believing that he was detained as a prisoner, they might become more and more irritated ; that he begged him to return home, and that when he should come to visit him again he would always pay him much respect. Ocaly replied that he wished to go to his subjects, only to induce them to submit to the general, and that if he could compel them to it he would not fail to return to show his affection for the whole army. Thereupon he went away and did not keep any of his promises. Afterwards, by means of a Genoese engineer named Francois, the Spaniards

* The Elva Narrative relates this of a counterfeit cacique who attempted to escape ; the dog passed all the other Indians to take him, caught and held him.

made a bridge of beams with puncheons across, secured by cords. As there was no lack of wood they succeeded so well in their design that the men and horses passed with great facility. But before crossing the river the general commanded some of his men to place themselves in ambush to capture some Indians. They took thirty of them, who by dint of promises and threats, conducted them into a province, distant sixteen leagues from Ocaly. The country through which they travelled was unsettled, but agreeable, level, full of trees and streams, and appeared very fertile.

The army made eight leagues in two days, and on the third, after having marched until noon, Soto advanced with a hundred cavaliers and as many foot-soldiers, and continued his route the remainder of the day and all the night; he arrived about morning at Ochile, which was one of the towns of the province of Vitachuco. This country contained nearly two hundred leagues, and was divided between three brothers. Vitachuco, who was the eldest, bore the name of the province and the capital, and of the ten parts which composed this extent of country he possessed five of them. The second, whose name is not known, had three of them. And the last whom they called Ochile, from the name of the town of which he was the chief, had two of them. The cause of this division is not known, for in the provinces which they had discovered, the eldest was the only heir. It may be that these parts had been united by some marriage, and afterwards divided among the children, or that relations who had died without heirs had left them to the father of these three brothers, upon condition that he should divide them in this manner among his sons, in order to preserve the memory of their benefactors, so natural to man is the desire to immortalize himself, and so powerful even over the minds of nations the most savage.

The town of Ochile consisted of fifty houses, fortified to resist their neighbors, for the greater part of the countries of Florida are all enemies of each other. The general entered Ochile by surprise, sounding the bugles and beating the drums to astonish the Indians. In fact, many of them, wholly frightened at a noise so unexpected, left their dwellings in the hopes of saving themselves, and fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who after having made some prisoners, attacked the dwelling of the cacique. It was a very fine house, which had properly but one hall, one hundred and twenty paces long, by forty wide, with four doors, one at each corner, and many chambers round about, which were entered through the hall.(14)

The cacique, who had enemies to deal with, was in this house with his warriors; to whom were quickly joined the greater part of his

vassals, when they saw the Spaniards masters of their town. Immediately they all took their arms and put themselves in a state to defend themselves, but in vain. The Spaniards had already gained the entrances, and endeavored to oblige them to surrender, sometimes by threatening to burn them, and sometimes by promising them kind treatment. Nevertheless, the cacique remained firm, until they brought to him several of his subjects, who had been made prisoners. They assured him that there were so many Spaniards that he ought no longer to think of resisting them. That so far they had not maltreated any one, and that he would be acting prudently in trusting himself to their promises. The cacique suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and was kindly received by Soto; who retained him and set at liberty all the other Indians. But when he saw, on the other side of the town, a valley filled with many houses, well inhabited and at some distance from one another, he believed that there would be no security for him to pass the night at Ochile; because, if these savages of the country should come and join themselves to their neighbors, they could easily take from him the cacique. He therefore returned, with haste, to join his troops, which were three leagues from there, and uneasy at not seeing him. But their sorrow was changed to joy when they saw him returning bringing with him Ochile, accompanied by his domestics and many Indian warriors, who voluntarily followed his fortunes.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE BROTHER OF OCHILE COMES TO THE CAMP AND SENDS TO VITACHUCO.

THE day after that on which Soto had joined his troops they entered in battle array the country of Ochile, the drums and trumpets at their head; which made the whole neighborhood echo with their noise. The army lodged, the general begged Ochile to send to his brothers to induce them to peace. The cacique then made known to his brothers that the Christians had entered upon their lands; that they had for their object only the friendship of the people; that if they should receive them they would make no devastation, and would content themselves with taking only provisions for their subsistence; if not, they would ruin, burn, and slaughter all; that therefore he begged them to ally themselves with them.

The second brother replied that he thanked Ochile for his advice;

that he desired to see and know the Spaniards; that, however, he would not go to their camp until about three days, because he wished to put himself in a condition to be seen; but that he could always assure them of his obedience, and accept, on his part, the friendship which they offered him. In fact, three days after, this cacique came to the army, accompanied by the finest and most distinguished of his subjects. He politely saluted Soto, and entertained the officers with so much wit that they would have said that he had been a long time among them. The Spaniards, on their part, received him with great manifestations of friendship; they neglected nothing that might gain the friendship of the caciques who sought their alliance; they supported, strongly, their interests, and would not suffer that there should be committed the least disorder upon their lands.

Vitachuco, who was the third brother, made no reply; and retained those whom they had sent to him. His two brothers, at the suggestion of Soto, dispatched to him other persons, who entreated him to receive the peace which the Spaniards offered him. That he should not imagine that he could contend with them. That they drew their origin from heaven, and were the veritable sons of the Sun and Moon. That, in one word, they rode certain beasts, so swift that they could not escape them. That they besought him to open his eyes upon the misfortunes which threatened him, and prevent the desolation of his country and the ruin of his subjects. Vitachuco answered so proudly that never bombast approached the haughtiness of his words. But as they were not able to remember them, I will relate only the response which he made to his brothers. He ordered their envoys to tell them that their conduct was that of young men, who had neither judgment nor experience. That they gave to their enemies fictitious birth and virtues. That the Spaniards were neither the children of the sun nor so valiant as they imagined. That his brothers were cowards to put themselves into their power. That since they preferred servitude to liberty they spoke as slaves, and praised the men for whom they should have only contempt. That they did not consider that those, of whose merit they boasted, would not act less cruelly than the others of the same nation, whom they had seen in the country. That they were all traitors, murderers, robbers; in short the children of the devil. That they carried off women, plundered their property, seized upon the habitable country, and basely maintained themselves by the labor of others. That if they had as much virtue as they said, they would not have abandoned their country; but they would have cultivated it, and would not have drawn upon themselves, by their brigandage, the hatred of all men. That they might

say to them, on his part, that they should not enter his lands; that, }
otherwise they should never leave them; that they should all perish }
there, and that he would have them cruelly burnt.

After this reply, Vitachuco sent many of his subjects to the camp of the Spaniards. There came sometimes two and sometimes four of them, who sounded the trumpet and made new manaces, more terrible than the first. For this barbarian thought to astonish our people by the different sorts of punishments with which he threatened them. He sometimes informed them, that when they should enter into his province, he would command the earth to open and engulf them; the mountains between which they should march to close and crush them; the winds to tear up the forests through which they should pass and overturn them upon them; the birds to take poison in their beaks, and drop it upon his enemies, in order to consume them. At other times he would have the waters, the grass, the herbs, the trees, and even the air, poisoned in such a manner, that neither the men nor the horses would ever be able to protect themselves from death; and that thus the Spaniards would serve as an example to those who should hereafter think of entering his lands without his consent. These reveries, which sufficiently show the character of Vitachuco, made the Christians laugh at him. However, they did not neglect to stop eight days in the country of the two brothers; who regaled them with emulation, and showed them the disposition which they had to serve them. But as those whom they had sent to their eldest brother could not persuade him, they resolved to go there themselves. They communicated this design to the general, who approved it, and who gave to them many presents for Vitachuco. This barbarian, moved by the presence of his brothers, who told him that the troops were advancing toward his country, and that they would be able to ravage it entirely, believed that he ought to conceal his hate; that some day he would find occasion to manifest it openly; and that, the Spaniards relying upon the alliance he would swear to them, he would exterminate them all, without incurring any danger to his person. For this reason, he said to his brothers, that up to that hour he had not been able to imagine that the Spaniards had so much valor, and so much merit; that finally, since he was convinced of it, he would receive their alliance with joy; but, beforehand, he wished to know how long they would remain upon his lands, and how much provisions would be necessary for them when they should leave it. The two brothers dispatched promptly to the camp to make known this reply. So soon as the general knew it, he begged them to assure their

oldest brother that the troops would not remain in his country, and that he might furnish as much provisions as he chose; for the Spaniards desired only the honor of his friendship, with which they expected to have everything in abundance.

CHAPTER XX.

THE ARRIVAL OF VITACHUCO.

VITACHUCO was contented with the reply of the general; so that, in order to conceal more adroitly his design, he asserted that he felt increasing in him a desire to see the Spaniards. He then commanded the principal persons of his province to hold themselves ready to go to the camp, to collect provisions and the things necessary, and to bring them to the capital, in order to give there the Christians an honorable reception. Afterwards he left, accompanied by his brother and five hundred men well armed, and in very good order. But after marching two leagues, he met Soto, who had advanced to receive him, and he rendered him his civilities with great marks of amity. He also begged him to pardon what passion had made him say against the Spaniards; that he had been misinformed of their conduct; that for the future, he would render them the honor which was their due; that, in one word, to repair the offence which he had committed, he would recognize the general as his lord, and that his subjects were ready to implicitly obey him. At these words, Soto embraced him, and replied that he would forget all that had passed; that he would remember only the favor which he had done him of loving him; and that, in recognition of this favor, he wished to render him every service. The colonel of cavalry, and the captain, came afterward to salute him, and to rejoice at his arrival; and after some compliments on both sides, the troops entered, in good order, into the capital, which was called Vitachuco. It had some two hundred large houses, very strong, and some others, smaller, which composed the fauxbourgs. The army lodged in the strongest houses. The caciques, and the general with his guard and his retinue, took for themselves the dwelling of the cacique, where, when they had remained three days together and lived high, the two brothers demanded permission to return home. Soto granted it, and made them some presents, so that they left well satisfied. Vitachuco was still four days entertaining the Spaniards, in order to keep them less upon their guard, and that he might the better succeed in what he meditated

against them. This design so prepossessed him that he was dazzled with it; so that, instead of taking counsel of his faithful friends, he avoided them, and communicated his idea only to those who flattered him. Such is the behavior of persons who trust too much to themselves; and who also seldom fail to draw upon themselves the trouble which their imprudence merits.

Finally, Vitachuco, who could no longer resist his passion to destroy the troops, assembled, five days after the departure of his brothers, four Indians who served as interpreters to the general. He revealed to them that he had determined to massacre the Spaniards. That it was very easy for him to succeed in it. That they relied upon his friendship, and did not suspect anything. That he had assembled more than ten thousand of his subjects, all bold and enterprising men. That he had ordered them to conceal their arms in the neighboring forests; to enter the town loaded with wood and provisions, and to leave it under pretext of rendering service to their enemies, so that, not doubting anything, they might not be upon their guard. He added that, in a great plain, he would put all his subjects in battle array; that he would entreat the general to come and see them; that afterwards he would order twelve of the strongest and bravest of the Indians to accompany this commander, under pretext of doing him honor, and to kill him in the midst of the battalion, when they should see a favorable opportunity for it; that, in the mean time, the others should fall upon the Spaniards, who, surprised at an action so bold, would not have time either to recover themselves, or to put themselves in a state of defence. Thereupon, as if his design had already succeeded, he continued, he would make those who fell into his hands suffer all the punishments with which he had threatened them, and that he would make use of fire, poison, and tortures. Finally, that there should not be any kind of death of which he would not think in order to torture them. After Vitachuco had spoken in this manner, he commanded the interpreters to tell him their opinion, and forbid them to discover his secret. And he promised them that, when he should have satisfied his vengeance, he would give them important offices, and very rich wives if they should wish to dwell upon his lands. That if not, he would have them escorted as far as their own country, and would load them with favors; that they should consider that the Spaniards held them as slaves; that they would drag them into regions so far that they would lose all hopes of ever seeing their country; that they would injure, not only them, but all the country; that their only aim was to deprive them of their liberty, their wealth, wives, and children, and to load them every day with some new

burden; that it was, therefore, necessary to bravely oppose their tyranny. That finally, since his designs regarded only the glory and the interests of the people, he besought them by all that they held most dear to aid him with their counsel.

The interpreters replied that his enterprise was lofty and worthy of a great soul; that his measures appeared well taken; that certainly he would not be deceived in his hopes; that the country would owe to him its preservation, and the people their honor, their fortunes, and their lives; that, with this view, they would swear to him not to divulge his secret, and to implicitly execute his orders; that, in one word, as they could contribute but their vows, for the success of an action so glorious, they would pray the Sun and Moon to favor it.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE RESULTS OF THE ENTERPRISE OF VITACHUCO.

VITACHUCO and the interpreters separated with much joy. The latter hoped to be very soon free, elevated to honors, and married to very rich wives; and Vitachuco imagined that he had gloriously accomplished the object of his designs; that his neighbors would adore him, and that all the people of the country would recognize him as their liberator. He even thought that he heard then the praises which they ought to give him for an action so illustrious, and saw the women, with their children, dancing and singing before him, according to the custom of the country, songs which proclaimed his valor, and the fortunate success of his enterprise. Puffed up with these vain imaginations he sent for his captains, not to take their advice concerning what should be done, but to make them execute his orders. He told them that he was going to be crowned with an immortal fame; that he even enjoyed it already, in advance; but that it depended upon their courage to cover him with glory; that, therefore, he entreated them to attack the Christians vigorously, and to make such a slaughter of them as he had imagined. His captains replied that they had so much respect for him that he had only to command, and they would obey him like brave men. The cacique, satisfied with their reply, dismissed them with a promise to inform them, in a short time, what they should have to do. In the mean time the interpreters, to whom Vitachuco had disclosed himself, considering that his enterprise could not succeed, because of the courage of the Spaniards, and of the vigilance of Soto, and besides, the fear of the dangers to which it would expose

them, prevailing over the hopes of being recompensed, they believed that their individual interest obliged them to violate their faith. They, therefore, went to Ortis and declared to him the treason, with orders to give notice of it to the general, who immediately assembled his council. It was decided that it was necessary to dissemble, and secretly to warn their people to hold themselves upon their guard with an apparent negligence, in order that the barbarians might not suspect anything. They believed that, to secure Vitachuco, they should even employ the means of which he had resolved to make use in order to take the general. Therefore, they ordered twelve of the most robust soldiers to keep near the general, when, at the request of Vitachuco, he should go to view the Indians in battle array; and that they should always be on the alert to observe closely all the movements of the barbarian.

The day arrived when everything was to be executed, the cacique invited Soto to come and see his subjects in the country where they awaited him in battle array. That his presence would oblige them to act well. That he would see their numbers and their skill, and whether they understood warfare. As Soto dissembled and feigned not to give himself a guard, he replied, he would view, with much pleasure, the Indians under arms; and that, to render the review more beautiful and contribute to their satisfaction, he would send out, in order of battle, the Spanish cavalry and infantry, that both might exercise and skirmish for amusement. Vitachuco did not wish that they should do him so much honor; but his passion so much prepossessed him that he consented to everything. He relied upon the valor of his subjects; and believed that, without difficulty, he would succeed in his enterprise.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DEFEAT OF THE INDIANS.

WHEN, on both sides, the troops were under arms, the Spanish cavalry and infantry left in order of battle, and the general marched on foot with the cacique. There was, near the town, a great plain, which abutted one side upon a forest and the other upon two marshes. The first of these marshes was a kind of pond, of which the bottom was very good, but the water so deep, that, at four paces from the shore, it was overhead; the second was three-quarters of a league wide, and the length greater than the eye could view. The Indians came and camped between this forest and these marshes;

they had these waters on their right and the forest on their left. There were nearly ten thousand, all men of the elite, and very active, with plumes disposed in such a fashion upon their heads that they appeared larger than ordinary. Being camped, they concealed their arms, to make it appear that they had no evil design, and formed a very beautiful battalion in the form of a crescent. There they awaited their chief and the general, who came with the resolution to seize each other; accompanied, each, by twelve persons. The Spanish infantry marched on the side of the forest, and the cavalry in the middle of the plain, to the right of the general, who had no sooner arrived where Vitachuco was to have had him seized, than he anticipated him, and had a musket fired, which was the signal. The twelve Spaniards immediately seized the cacique, the Indians endeavoring to rescue him; but their efforts did not succeed.

The general, who was armed under his dress, had ordered that they should keep ready for him two of his best horses; so that, after seizing the barbarian, he mounted the horse named Azeituno and attacked the battalion of Indians. It was his custom to encourage others by his example, and to go first, headlong, into danger: for he would not have found his victory glorious if he had not gained it at the peril of his life. He also passed for one of the four bravest captains who had gone to the West Indies; but he did not take sufficient care of himself. The Indians, who had then taken arms, received him courageously, and prevented him from breaking their battalion. At the same time that he put the first line in disorder, they fired upon him, and pierced Azeituno with eight arrows. This horse fell dead; for it was at this that they had principally aimed, and even in all the other combats, they took more care to kill the horses than to kill the men; imagining that the death of the one was more important to them than that of the other.

The signal being given our men charged upon the Indians, and the cavalry followed so closely the general that it succored him before he could be wounded. But Viota, who was one of his pages, seeing his master's horse was slain, dismounted and gave him his own. The general immediately rushed upon the barbarians; who, without pikes, could not resist three hundred cavalry, and all took to flight; they who had boasted of exterminating all the Spaniards.

As the battalion was broken, the Indians, about ten o'clock in the morning, fled; some into the woods and others into the pond. Those of the rear-guard scattered over the plain; which was the reason why they slew more than three hundred of them and made many prisoners. Nevertheless, those of the advance-guard, who were the most valiant, were still worse treated: for, flying after

having sustained the first shock and the fury of the cavalry, they could gain neither the wood nor the marsh, which were the best retreats; so that more than nine hundred threw themselves into the pond. In the mean time the Spaniards pursued the others as far as the forest; but to no purpose, and they retraced their steps to the pond to harass, the remainder of the day, the barbarians who had escaped there. They fired upon them, sometimes arrows and sometimes musket shots, merely to compel them to surrender; for since they could not escape our people did not wish to injure them. The Indians, on their side, defended themselves valiantly, and exhausted upon the Spaniards all their arrows. But as they had no footing, there were many of them who swam three or four abreast; pressing one against the other, and who carried upon their backs one of their comrades who fired until he had no more arrows.* They fought in this manner, all the day, without any of them being willing to surrender. The night come, our men invested the pond; the cavaliers placed themselves two and two at intervals, and the foot soldiers six and six at very short distances from each other; for fear lest, by favor of the darkness, they should escape from them. And when they heard them approach the shore, besides promising them every kind of good treatment, they would menace them and fire upon them to make them retire; and fatiguing them by dint of swimming they soon constrained them to surrender.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FORTITUDE OF THE INDIANS AND THEIR EXIT FROM THE POND.

THEY were the greater part of the night harassing the Indians, who, without any hope of succor, showed they would rather die than surrender. However, by the persuasion of Ortis, the most fatigued began to leave the pond, one after another, but so slowly that at break of day there were not yet fifty out. The others, who saw that their companions were treated well, surrendered in greater numbers. They came, however, so reluctantly, that the greater part, being upon the shore, leaped again into the water and did not leave it until the last extremity; so that there were many of them who swam twenty-four hours. And the next day, when the day was already a little advanced, about two hundred surrendered; but so swollen by the water which they had swallowed, and so overcome by hunger,

* Garcilasso's imagination.

fatigue, and drowsiness, that they were half dead. Finally, the others left it, with the exception of seven, whom nothing could move, and who would have died in the water, if before evening the general had not commanded them to be drawn out of it. Twelve great swimmers then leaped into the pond, and taking them by the legs, arms, and hair, brought them to shore. But the poor Indians were pitiable; extended upon the sand more dead than alive, and in a condition in which you may imagine men who had fought thirty hours swimming in the water. Our people, touched with compassion and admiring their courage, brought them to the town, where they assisted them; and they were more aided by the goodness of their constitution than by the virtues of their remedies. Afterwards, when they saw them a little recovered, the general had them called, and feigning to be enraged, demanded of them why, in the deplorable condition in which they saw themselves, they had not followed the example of their companions. Then four, about thirty-five years each, replied through one of them, that they had known the peril which threatened them, but that, in consideration of the commands which Vitachuco had given them as his troops, and of the esteem which he had for their valor, they had been obliged to show that they were not entirely unworthy of his favors, and that he was not mistaken in the choice which he had made of their persons. That besides they desired to leave to their children an example of fidelity and courage, and to instruct by their valor, all the other captains. That they were, therefore, to be pitied for not having done their duty, and that the compassion which they had for them was painful to their honor. That, however, they should not cease to have much gratitude for the kindness they had intended to do them; but that they would increase the favors they had done them if they would take their lives; that not having died for the service of Vitachuco, they dared not appear before him or among his people.

The general, who admired this reply, turned to the other Indians, who were young chiefs from eighteen to nineteen years of age each. He demanded of them what had constrained them to remain with so much obstinacy in the water, they who held no rank in the army. They replied that they had left their homes, neither in the view of destroying his troops nor in the hope of making booty, nor to gain the friendship of any cacique as a recompense for it, but to acquire a reputation in the battle that was to be fought against the Christians. That they had always been taught that the glory that was to be acquired in battle was grand and enduring. That in consideration of this, they had exposed themselves to the danger in

which he had seen them, and from which he had so generously extricated them. That now they would voluntarily sacrifice themselves for his service. They added, that fortune having declared for him, and having robbed them of a victory that would have covered them with glory, they beheld themselves in the sad state in which the vanquished ordinarily are. That, however, they had learned that if they should suffer their misfortunes with firmness, they would be able to render themselves commendable, because the vanquished who had fought only for liberty did not deserve less praise than he who governs himself wisely in victory. That, therefore, he should not be astonished if, instructed by these maxims, they had shown as much courage as the captains. They maintained, on the contrary, that they were more obliged than they to fight valiently, because their birth destined them to higher employments than these officers. That, in this view, they had aimed to show that they aspired to succeed their fathers; since they endeavored to imitate the noble examples which they had given them. That they had even desired to show them that they were worthy to be their children, and to console them for their loss by a glorious death. That finally, if these considerations could excuse them with him, they implored his clemency; if not, they offered to him their lives, and that it was permitted to the conqueror to use his victory according to his will.

This discourse, joined to the courage, the fine appearance, and the misfortunes of these young nobles, drew tears from the greater part of the Spaniards who were present. The general himself felt pity for them, and, embracing them, said to them that he judged of their birth by their actions; that men who had as much firmness as they had shown deserved to command other men; that for this reason he had a special pleasure in having preserved their lives; but that they need not grieve; that the height of his satisfaction was to set them at liberty. In fact, the general, after having detained them only two or three days in order to show to them his affection, sent them away, accompanied by some of their domestics who were prisoners. He gave them divers presents for their fathers, with orders to offer to them his friendship, and to tell them the way in which he had treated them.

These Indians, after many thanks, took the road to their country, well pleased with the general, who the next day summoned Vitachuco and the captive captains. He told them that their conduct was criminal, since, under the appearance of friendship, they had conspired the destruction of the troops; that such treason ought to be punished with death, in order that their example might hinder the other Indians of the province from rising; that, nevertheless,

to show that he preferred peace to vengeance, he pardoned them on condition that for the future they would return the affection which he had for them. He begged them also to forget the past, and to make no more attempts against the Christians, because it would inevitably bring only misfortune upon all their undertakings. He afterwards took the cacique aside and tried by every means to calm him, and was pleased that he should return to eat at his table, from which he had expelled him on account of his perfidy. But these manifestations of affection, so far from obliging this barbarian to return to his duty, served only to preserve the aversion which he had conceived against the Spaniards, so that he let himself be carried away more and more by the violence of his hate, and finally destroyed himself and the greater part of his subjects.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE DEATH OF VITACHUCO.

THE Indians who went out of the pond were made prisoners and distributed for slaves to the Spaniards, and Vitachuco had his dwelling for a prison. The general ordered it so, to punish these barbarians for their treason, and to retain them by fear in their duty. However, he had resolved that on leaving the province he would give them all their liberty. But the cacique, who did not know this design, and who saw his subjects slaves, again meditated means of destroying the Spaniards. He flattered himself that the nine hundred prisoners, who were the bravest of his troops, would execute alone what they had not been able to do together; that, being as numerous as the Spaniards, each one would slay his master; and that, choosing the hour of dinner, his design would so much the more surely succeed, as the Spaniards would suspect nothing. This design, which should have been conducted with much prudence, was precipitated; and he believed that his subjects with their arms only could make away with their enemies. He, therefore, commanded four young Indians, who were left for his individual service, to inform the principal prisoners of his resolution, with orders to have it adroitly communicated to the others, and to hold themselves ready about noon of the third day, in order for each one to slay his man. He also sent them word that at the same hour he would take the life of the commander; and as a signal, he would make, when he should be engaged with him, a shout so loud that the whole town should hear it. Vitachuco gave this order to the Indians the same

day that Soto, forgetting his crimes, caused him to dine at his table. But it is ordinarily thus that traitors and ingrates recognize the favors that are done them.

The subjects of the barbarian, informed of this second enterprise, saw clearly that it would not be more fortunate than the first. However, they replied that they would all obey him or die, for the Indians of the new world have so much love and veneration for their princes that they consider them as divinities. If their sovereign desired it, they would cast themselves as freely into the fire as they would into the water; and, without considering the danger in which they placed themselves, they would regard only their duty and the obedience they had pledged them.

Finally, seven days after the first rout of the Indians, when the general and the cacique had dined, the barbarian bent his whole body, turned himself from one side to the other, closed his fist, extended his arms, drew them back even to reversing them upon his shoulders, and brandished them with such great violence that his bones cracked with it, an ordinary custom of the Indians when they would undertake anything which required vigor. Then he raised himself upon his feet with an inconceivable haughtiness; he closed with the general, pressed his left arm around his neck, and with his right hand gave him so violent a blow with his fist upon his face that he knocked him to the ground, fell upon him, and made so loud a cry that it was heard more than a quarter of a league. The officers who had assembled for dinner, seeing the insolence of the barbarian, pierced him ten or a dozen times with their swords, and he fell dead with rage in his soul and curses in his mouth because he had not succeeded in his undertaking. But for the officers, he had finished the general with another blow, for that which he had already given him was so great that he remained senseless for half an hour. The blood flowed from his eyes, his nose, and his mouth. He even had some teeth broken, and the others so much injured that for twenty days he was unable to eat anything but hash. His lips, his nose, and his face were swollen to such a degree that it was necessary to cover them with plasters, so violently had Vitachuco struck him.* This savage was then about thirty-five years of age. He had a robust body, handsome shape, and a countenance sombre, haughty, and altogether cruel.

* The Elva narrative makes mention of this occurrence, and of the insurrection of Vitachuco and his men; but the place was Napetuca, and the cacique Caliquen.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE DEATH OF VITACHUCO.

THE cry of Vitachuco heard, each Indian attacked the Spaniard he served, and tried to kill him; some with firebrands, others with whatever they met with, for they had not weapons. Nevertheless, they did not fail to make a very great confusion. Some struck the Spaniards in the face; others on the head, sometimes with the iron pots in which they cooked the meat, with which some of our men were burnt, and sometimes with pots and plates. However, they did more mischief with the firebrands than with all the rest; as the most of them had some, they injured many of our people. Some had their arms broken, others had their eyelids burnt, their faces disfigured, and their noses broken. There were even four slain, of whom one, being knocked down with a firebrand, three savages fell upon him so cruelly that they knocked out his brains. It happened also in this confusion, that after an Indian had, with a blow of a stick, struck down a Spaniard, and broken his teeth with a blow of his fist, he fled from some of our men who rushed upon him, ascended to a chamber which faced the court, took a lance which was against the wall, and defended the door with so much courage that no one could enter there. In the mean time, Diego de Soto, a relation of the general, hastened there, and commenced firing from the court with a crossbow. When the Indian saw this new enemy, he placed himself directly in the door, and, determined to sell his life dearly, he threw his lance at the same moment that Soto fired; but it touched, only with the wood, the shoulder of the Spanish cavalier; and having staggered him, it entered half a yard into the earth. The shot of Soto was more fortunate; it struck his enemy in the breast and slew him. In the mean time the report spread that Vitachuco had injured the general, so that the Spaniards, irritated more and more, and principally those who had been wounded, avenged themselves upon the savages whom they encountered. There were, however, cavaliers, who, being ashamed to acknowledge that they had been beaten, believed that it was unbecoming them to take the lives of slaves. Therefore, they had some of them slain by the Indians themselves, who served them in the army, and placed the greater part of them into the hands of the archers of the general's guard; who pierced them, with the halberts, in the middle of the public square of the town. Among others, Saldagna, who would

not himself put this slave to death, tied a cord around his neck, and led him to deliver him to the guards. But when the savage entered the square, and saw what was passing there, such a rage seized him, that, with one hand, he took his master by the neck, and with the other under the thigh, lifted him up, turned him upside down, and let him fall so violently that he stunned him. He immediately mounted him with his two feet upon his belly with so much violence that he would have crushed it if some fifty Spaniards, sword in hand, had not come to his assistance. However, the savage was not confounded, and received them so courageously that he was a long time without being either wounded or taken. He seized the sword of Saldagna, and whirling it around, thus kept his enemies at a distance, so that they were obliged to kill him by shooting him with fuses and pistols.

Such was a part of the disorders which happened the day that Vitachuco struck the general; and, without doubt, they would have been greater if the greater part of the Indians had not been chained. Thus, there were but few Spaniards killed, but many wounded. As to the Indians, because they were brave, and attacked and defended themselves vigorously, there died more than nine hundred of them, who were the flower of the subjects of Vitachuco; whom this barbarian unfortunately hurried headlong to destruction. He was also the cause of the death of four captains, whom they had drawn from the pond, who were involved in the misfortune of the others. It is thus that the foolish and the rash destroy the wise who believe them and obey their orders.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PROVINCE OF OSSACHILE.⁴

AFTER the defeat of the prisoners, the general remained four days in the town of Vitachuco, and had dressed his own wounds and those of the others; and on the fifth he took the route to Ossachile. The troops made four leagues the first day's journey, and camped upon the borders of a great river which separates the province of Ossachile from that of Vitachuco. But as this river was not fordable, it was necessary to build a bridge. The Spaniards, therefore, quickly collected timber, and they already began to work on it, when the Indians appeared on the other side of the river to defend the passage. So that they abandoned it, and made six large rafts of many pieces of wood, upon which crossed a hundred fusileers and

crossbow-men, with fifty cavaliers who carried the saddles of their horses. Then Soto ordered that fifty horses should be made to swim across, and that they should be saddled as soon as they reached the other shore. They then began to march into the plain, and the Indians quitting their position, gave time to erect the bridge, which was made in a day and a half. The troops passed over. Afterwards they found the lands planted with corn and other sorts of vegetables, and began to see houses which were here and there in the country, and which extended four leagues from there to the capital. This place was composed of two hundred houses, and was called Ossachile, from the name of the cacique who lived there. From the town of Vitachuco to this one there are ten leagues of very pleasant plain.

The Indians at first had not dared to resist the Spaniards; but when they saw them on their cultivated lands they turned upon them and, concealing themselves in the corn, fired a great number of arrows at them and tried to defeat them. They also wounded many of them; but the Christians, irritated at seeing themselves attacked, beat them back, made some of them prisoners, pierced the greater part of them with their lances, and fought them for four leagues.

As the Spaniards found the capital of Ossachile abandoned, and that the cacique and all his people had fled, the general dispatched some of his Indian subjects to him, to beg him to make peace with the Christians. But he did not make any reply, and even those who had been sent to him did not return. In the mean time, the troops, which sojourned two days in the country, placed themselves in ambuscade, and captured many barbarians who rendered them very good service, and who being taken manifested for them as much kindness as they had before shown aversion. These are the most important things that happened in the province of Ossachile.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONCERNING THE TOWN AND HOUSE OF THE CACIQUE OF OSSACHILE, AND THE CAPITALS OF THE OTHER PROVINCES

THE town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida,

they rarely meet with this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE AUTHOR ANTICIPATES SOME DIFFICULTIES.

BEFORE proceeding farther it is proper to anticipate those who should say, that in the other histories of the West Indies they have not seen that the Indians have said or done things worthy of memory, as these which I have reported appear to have: that generally they even believe that these people are stupid, and that they have not any policy, either in peace or in war; that, therefore, I have either had a particular design to praise the Indians among whom I have been born, or that I am vainly emulous to show my wit at the expense of truth. I reply, that the belief of certain persons that the Indians are not intelligent, and that they do not know how to govern themselves in affairs of importance, is ill founded, and contrary to what Acosta relates of them; an author very worthy of confidence.† Besides I advance nothing but upon the relation of an

* See Appendix, notes 17 and 18.

† Joseph D'Acosta, a celebrated Spanish Jesuit. This great man, after having resided some years in both Americas, and informed himself, from experienced

ocular and accurate witness, who carefully reviewed his account; who added to it what he had forgotten, and retrenched the things of which he had not seen all the particulars; so that, only copying him, I can assert that there is in this history nothing but truth. Moreover, I have been the enemy of fiction and of all that which they call romance. As to that which they may say—that I enthusiastically praise those of my own country, it is an error; for very far from exaggerating anything, it is impossible for me to put in their proper light the facts which here present themselves in crowds. But I lay the defect of my inferior ability upon the civil wars which existed in the Indies during my youth. Letters were then no longer cultivated, and we applied ourselves only to arms. We learned horsemanship, and I abandoned myself to this exercise with some of my companions who have acquired much distinction there and have become excellent horsemen. But as things have since changed their appearance, letters now flourish in the Indies; and the Jesuits have established so many colleges there that they can easily do without the universities of Spain.

Besides, to continue to show that I write nothing but what has really happened, I will say that, one day, speaking of the replies full of good sense, which the Indians made to the general, I made known to him who had given me this relation, that they would hardly believe it. He replied to me, that it was important to disabuse the public in regard to the people of the West Indies; and that I myself knew that there were in these countries persons of sound judgment and excellent mind, who conducted themselves wisely, in war and in peace, and who reasoned very well on all sorts of affairs. That I might therefore write boldly the things of which he had assured me, and that, though I should speak with the eloquence of the most famous orators, my words would never equal the magnanimity, the courage, nor the glorious deeds of the Indians. That whether they believed or not what I should say, I could never, without doing injustice to the inhabitants of the Indies, conceal through a cowardly complacency, their valor from posterity. My author told me these very things, and I repeat them to make known to honorable men that thus far I have written with much sincerity; and that, in the course of this history, I shall advance nothing but the truth.

persons, of the customs of those nations, wrote in Spanish *The Natural and Moral History of the Indians*, which was printed first in Seville, in 1589, reprinted afterwards in Barcelona, in 1591, and from thence circulated into the various languages of Europe.—CLAVIGERO.

BOOK THIRD.

WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN THE SPANIARDS AND THE INDIANS IN
THE PROVINCE OF APALACHE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE TROOPS AT APALACHE.

UPON the assurance which the Spaniards had, that they were not far from the province of Apalache, of which they had been told so many marvels; that its lands were admirable for their fertility, and its people very valiant, they begged the general to lead them into winter quarters in this country, which he readily granted. They therefore marched towards Apalache, and after having made, in three days, twelve leagues, without finding any habitation, they arrived the fourth, about noon, near a marsh half a league wide, and its length greater than the eye could reach. It was, besides that, bordered on both sides with a forest, where the brambles and bushes, joining together with the trunks of great trees, rendered the entry to it difficult. In fact, they could not go to the marsh but by a road so narrow that two men abreast had difficulty to pass it. Before arriving there the troops encamped in a plain; but as it was early the general commanded two hundred foot soldiers and thirty cavaliers to go and reconnoitre the passage. He also ordered twelve excellent swimmers to try the depth of the marsh, and to notice well the places, so that they might, with safety, venture there the next day. All the soldiers obeyed immediately, but no sooner were they in the forest than the Indians disputed with them the passage, and as the place was narrow, there were only the two first of each party who could fight. Therefore, the two best armed Spaniards, drawing their swords, passed to the head of the others; and being supported by two fusileers and two crossbow-men, vigorously charged the barbarians, drove them along the forest, and forced them to leap into the water. There the Indians stood firm and fought courageously; so that on both sides there were many wounded and slain, which prevented them from reconnoitring the marsh. They informed the general of it, who came with the best of his troops. The enemy also were re-enforced, and the combat grew

obstinate; the Indians and the Spaniards up to their waists in water, and among the brambles, the bushes, the trees, and rocks, which they encountered everywhere. Nevertheless, our men, determined to reconnoitre the passage or die, took courage more and more, and surmounting every obstacle, they drove the barbarians as far as the other side of the water, and found that it was easy to ford it, except in the middle, where, for about forty paces, they crossed on timbers. They also saw, on the other side of the water, a very dense forest, which they could not pass but through a defile, and it had as much of marsh as of forest, which were here and there a league and a half across. When the general had reconnoitred the route, he returned to his troops to encourage them to conquer the difficulties which presented themselves. He took the counsel of his captains, on the manner in which he should act, and ordered a hundred cavaliers to dismount and all take their shields, and march in front; and two hundred men, as many crossbow-men as fusileers, to support them, and each one have an axe, in order to clear a place of the wood which was on the other side of the marsh, for the Spaniards were obliged to defile through a place where they could easily close the passage on them. He believed that it was impossible for them to traverse the two forests that day; wherefore, he made them camp in the second, so as not to be exposed during the night to the ambuscades of the barbarians.

CHAPTER II.

THE PASSAGE OF THE MARSH.

As soon as the general had given his orders, each soldier took some parched corn for a day, and then marched about two hundred of the bravest of the army. As they had a design to surprise the barbarians, they slipped away, without noise, two hours before day by a path which conducted them as far as the bridge; which they passed without resistance; the Indians not having had the precaution to seize it, in the belief that the Spaniards would not expose themselves by night in the woods. But when the day dawned, and the Indians saw their enemies passed, they advanced with loud shouts, and, in despair at not having sooner seized the passage, they charged with fury upon them, in order to defend a quarter of a league of marsh which remained to cross. The Christians, on their side, received them with courage, and they both fought in the water.

Our people pressed them so vigorously that they drove them out and shut them in the defile which was on the other side.

The Spaniards, who saw that the Indians annoyed them, resolved that a hundred and fifty soldiers should make an esplanade for to camp; and there being no other route than this defile, that the other fifty should defend it and hinder the Indians from coming to attack the workmen; they executed immediately this resolution. In the mean time, the Indians who could not fire upon the soldiers endeavored to frighten them by their yells; but the Spaniards did not cease to do their duty. Some defended the passage of the defile, some cut down the woods, and others burnt what had been cut, in order to clear the place. The night having surprised them at this work, they remained each one at his post, and could not sleep because of the continual yells of the barbarians. When it was day the rest of the troops began to march without the enemy opposing them. But the difficulty of the road and the briers which they encountered there incommoded them so much, that, being obliged to defile, they could reach only the place where they had cut down the woods. It was there that the Indians tormented them all the night with their cries and, above all, gave alarm to those who defended the passage, to whom they had taken care to forward provisions from hand to hand. As soon as day dawned they all marched with diligence by the defile of the forest, and drove before them the Indians, who, after having discharged their arrows, retreated little by little, and yielded only as much ground as could be gained by the sword.

The Spaniards traversed in this manner this second forest; after which they entered another, not so dense, where the enemy, having room to extend themselves, incommoded them very much; for they took them on all sides. Some attacked, others prepared for combat and did not engage until their companions had retired, so as not to wound one another with the multitude of arrows which they showered.

But, although the trees of this last forest, where the Indians and Spaniards fought, were not so close as those of the first, the horses, for all that, could not run but in certain places; and this made the enemy bolder. That, also, which increased their courage, was the almost incredible rapidity with which they discharged their arrows. One Indian had shot six or seven times before a Spaniard had fired and reloaded. The Indians, in fact, are so adroit in handling the bow, that no sooner have they fired than they are ready to recommence.

The places of the forest where the horses could run were small eminences; but the barbarians had obstructed them with long pieces

of wood, and had made, at places where it was impossible to get at them, entrances and outlets in order to fall upon the Spaniards without the possibility of being injured by them. The Indians had some days before thought of all these things. They knew that the forest of the marsh was dense, and that there they could not much incommode the Spaniards. However, they considered that in the woods where they were they would gain some advantage over the Christians, and with this view they had recourse to ruses, to wound or slay them all. Our men, on their side, endeavored to shun the ambuscades which they made for them; and seeing that their horses were useless to them, they thought only of defending themselves. The Indians, who discovered that, exerted themselves more and more to put them to rout. They were, moreover, encouraged by the remembrance of what had taken place ten or twelve years before. They had defeated, in the same place, Narbaez, and they threatened to treat the troops of Soto in the same way. Our men were tormented in this manner during two leagues, and afterwards arrived in an open country, where, after having given thanks to God for having delivered them from danger, they fought on horseback with much courage and success. For, in two other leagues of march through an open country as far as the cultivated lands, they did not encounter an Indian that was not either taken or slain. Especially they did not give any quarter to those who made a show of resisting them; so that, on that day, there died many of the enemy; and the Spaniards avenged gloriously the defeat of the people of Narbaez.*

CHAPTER III.

THE MARCH OF THE SPANIARDS TO THE CAPITAL.

AFTER all these things, the general, with his troops, camped on a plain near a village, where commenced the habitations and cultivated lands of Apalache. But the barbarians, who thought only of tormenting the Christians, did nothing but shoot and shout all the night, so that both were continually upon their guard. The day arrived, the Spaniards marched through lands planted with corn, which were two leagues in extent, where they met with many houses, distant from one another, without any form of a village. The Indians who were in these houses furiously rushed out upon the Christians and tried to kill them; but our men, irritated at the

* See page 97.

boldness of the barbarians, drove them across the fields, and pierced them with violent thrusts of their lances. They went to this extremity with them, in order to subdue them; but very uselessly; the more the Spaniards showed their valor, the more the courage of the Indians increased.

Finally, after two leagues of travel through cultivated lands, our men arrived at a very deep stream, bordered on both sides with a very thick forest. The enemy, who were fortified in this place, awaited there to defeat the troops. But it happened otherwise than they expected. The Spaniards, having reconnoitred the post of the enemy, the best armed cavaliers dismounted, gained the passage sword in hand, and cut with axes the palisades which covered the barbarians and hindered the horses from advancing.

The Indians then violently charged our men, of whom many were wounded and some killed. The passage was difficult, and the Indians, who hoped to conquer, made a last effort because of the advantage of the place. Nevertheless, they were unfortunate; the Spaniards attacked with so much order and courage that they broke through them with the loss of but very few of their men. Then they made two more leagues through cultivated lands; but the Indians, who dreaded the horses, did not attack them. The Spaniards, therefore, lodged in the field, hoping that, finally, during the night, they might take some repose. They were, however, disappointed. The Indians, under favor of the darkness, gave them continual alarm, in order to sustain their reputation, and to pass for braves, in the estimation of their neighbors. In the morning as the troops were marching, they were informed by the prisoners that they were but two leagues from the capital, and that the cacique, with a great number of his subjects, awaited there the Christians, in order to fight them. The general immediately detached two hundred horses and a hundred foot soldiers. He advanced toward the town and commanded that upon the route they should put all to the sword. He arrived at the place and found it abandoned, and the chief run away. But upon information that he was not far, he began to search for him, hunted two leagues around the village, slew and made many Indian prisoners, without being able to capture Capasi. It is thus that the chief of the Apalaches is called, and he was the first, up to this time, who had not borne the name of his province. The general, despairing of taking this barbarian, rejoined the army, which was in the capital. This place had two hundred and fifty houses. Soto took for himself that of Capasi, at the end of the town, and more elevated than the others.

The province of Apalache has, besides a great number of habita-

tions scattered here and there through the country, many villages of fifty and sixty houses each, of which some are a league distant from the others, and some, two or three. The situation of the country is very agreeable. There are there, many ponds. They fish there all the year, and the inhabitants make provision of fish for their support. The country does not cease to be fertile in every other respect. Soto and his men felt, also, a manifest joy at having arrived there; for, without speaking of the provisions which they found there, they acquired much glory in the conflicts which they fought there. I shall relate them, to make known the boldness of the Indians and the valor of the Spaniards.

CHAPTER IV.

THEY RECONNOITRE THE COUNTRY.

AFTER the army had refreshed itself some days, Soto sent troops, under the command of Tinoco, Vasconcelo, and Aniasco, to explore the province of Apalache and the neighboring countries. Two of these captains went by different routes, fifteen or twenty leagues toward the north. They returned, the one at the end of eighteen days, and the other at the end of nine, and said that they had seen many towns, well populated. That the land was fertile, and that there were neither forests nor marshes. Aniasco* reported entirely the contrary; that it was very difficult to travel in the country; that there were but forests and swampy places; and that the more they advanced the more difficult the roads were. Nugnez,† in his commentaries, says nearly the same thing; that the province of Apalache is full of marshes, covered with woods, sterile, and badly populated. That is really true of places in the vicinity of the sea, but not of the places which the general sent to discover. What confirms me in this belief is, that the greater part of the relation of Nugnez, having been given by the Indians, they have maliciously described their country as a country frightful and inaccessible, in order to deprive the Spaniards of the idea of conquering it. I may add, that the people of Narbaez, of whom Nugnez relates the adventures, having been beaten at Apalache, and even the greater part having died there of hunger, they could not entirely discover this province. Therefore, I relate nothing but what is certain of the part of Apalache where Soto was; and that which Nugnez relates of the places of this country which are in the vicinity of the sea, is also very true.

* Aniasco went toward the south.

† Alvaro Nugnez Cabeza de Vaca.

CHAPTER V.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE COAST.

WHEN Aniasco went to discover the sea-coast, which was not thirty leagues from Apalache, he took fifty foot soldiers and forty cavaliers. He also took with him Arias Gomes, a valiant and experienced soldier, who gave good counsels, swam very well, and found means to give success to enterprises which were undertaken by sea or by land. Arias had been a slave in Barbary, and had so well learned the language of the country that, escaping from the power of the infidels, he repaired to the frontier, where the Christians were, without the Moors, whom he met and to whom he spoke, discovering that he was a foreigner. This cavalier and his companions set off about noon, guided by an Indian who had voluntarily offered himself for that purpose, and who manifested much affection for them. They made in two days twelve leagues. They passed two small rivers and safely arrived at the town of Aute, which they found abandoned, and filled with all sorts of provisions. They took enough of them for four days, and continued their march by a fair road. But finally the guide, conceiving that it was wrong in him to guide them faithfully, led them out of the way into a forest where there were many large fallen trees, and where they did not find any road. He also caused them to go by certain places which were without wood, and so full of mire that the horses and the men could hardly extricate themselves from it. That which incommoded them most was the great quantity of large brambles which ran upon the ground, and which gave them much trouble. However, they marched five days in these ways, where they suffered incredible hardships. But when they had exhausted their provisions they returned to Aute to get others, in order to continue their route, and upon the way experienced toils which cannot be described, because, repassing the same places by which they came, the earth there being already trodden, they sank deeper than before. Besides, while they were wandering among the woods, they found themselves at times so near to the sea that they heard the noise of the waves. But immediately their guide led them away and tried to entangle them in places from which, not being able to extricate themselves, they might all die of hunger. As for himself, he did not care to perish so that he involved them in his ruin. However,

in spite of his malice, they returned to Aute, overcome with fatigue and hunger, having lived during four days upon roots only. They there refreshed themselves a little, took provisions for five days, and continued their discovery by routes still more detestable than the first.

One night, as the Spaniards reposed in the woods near a large fire, the Indian who guided them, wearied with being so long a time destroying them, took a firebrand and struck with it a soldier in the face. The others, who saw this insolence, would without doubt have slain him if Aniasco had not represented to them that they could not substitute a guide, and that it was necessary to bear with this one. Afterwards they went to sleep again, and the Indian had still the boldness to maltreat another soldier, but they chastised his rashness by beating him with a stick. Nevertheless, he did not return to his duty, and before day he even beat another. This last insolence drew upon him violent blows, and caused him to be chained; after which they gave him in keeping to one of the most robust of the troop, with orders to watch him closely. The day come, they began to march, displeased with the difficulty of the route and the conduct of their guide. This barbarian, seeing himself not in a condition to lose them nor to escape, fell in desperation upon him who guarded him, and, seizing him behind, threw him to the earth and maltreated him with violent kicks. The Spaniards, finally exasperated at this madness, gave him several thrusts with the sword and lance, of which not one hurt him more than a switch, and they said that he was charmed. Aniasco, surprised at that, raised himself in his stirrups, took his lance in both hands, and gave him with it a blow with all his force. Still, notwithstanding he was very robust, he only slightly wounded him. Then, despairing of being able to take his life, they abandoned him to a grayhound, and it was in this manner that the perfidious wretch deserved to be treated. Scarcely were they fifty steps from him when they heard the dog howl as if they were killing him. They returned and found the guide, who, with his thumbs, held the two sides of the chaps of the grayhound and tore them so that the dog could not defend himself. One of the soldiers immediately gave the barbarian so many thrusts with his sword that he killed him; another with a knife cut off his hands, which, being separated from the body, still held firmly to the chaps of the dog. Afterwards our men continued their route, and commanded, under penalty of death, an Indian whom they had taken when they returned to Aute, to conduct them faithfully. This savage, while the first was living, had never intended to serve them. He pretended to be deaf

when they spoke to him, because the other had threatened him with death if he replied. But when he saw himself delivered from his companion, and as he feared some bad treatment, he made known by signs that he would conduct the Spaniards to the sea at the same place where Narbaez had built his ships; that, however, it was first necessary to retrace their steps to Aute, and from there they would take the route. But as the Spaniards gave him to understand that they were near the sea, since they heard the waves, he made known to them that, by the route which they held, it was impossible to arrive there, because of the woods and the marshes. They then returned to Aute, where they, with much trouble, arrived in five days. That which disturbed them, besides, was the uneasiness which they imagined the general would experience because they remained too long at their discovery. During the march, Arias and Silvestre went before and captured two Indians, of whom, having demanded by signs if they could lead them to the sea, they made known that in that respect they would serve them with fidelity, and they coincided in opinion with the guide. Our people, full of joy and hope to succeed in their discovery, passed tranquilly the night, and when it was day they took their route across large stubble fields by a very agreeable road which enlarged by degrees. However, they met with one bad defile, but they easily extricated themselves from it; so that, at the end of twelve leagues, they found themselves upon the shores of a vast gulf, which they coasted and finally arrived where Narbaez had landed. They saw the places where he made the iron-works for his ships, and found much charcoal around, with the troughs which had served to feed the horses.* Then the Indians showed the place where they had slain ten soldiers of Narbaez, and made known by signs and by words the principal adventures of that captain, for the inhabitants of this coast had retained some words of Spanish. They even tried each day to learn more of them. In the mean time, Aniasco and his companions searched with much care upon the bark and in the hollows of trees to see if they could find some memorial or some writing, for always it is the custom of those who have the first discovered a country to leave instructions, which sometimes have been of great importance. But seeing that they discovered nothing, they followed the coast of the gulf as far as the open sea, which was but three leagues from there. Afterwards, when the tide was down, twelve of the best swimmers entered into boats half stranded. They sounded the entrance of the gulf, and found it navigable for the largest vessels. They left signs of it

* See page 98.

upon the highest trees, in order that those who should come into these quarters might take their precautions. Then Aniasco returned to the camp, where the general was very glad to see him and to learn that he had discovered a good port.

CHAPTER VI.

A PARTY OF THIRTY LANCERS FOR THE PROVINCE OF HIRRIGA.

WHILST they were occupied with discovering the coast, the general, who saw winter approaching, put his soldiers in garrison; and as he knew that Calderon did nothing at the capital of HARRIGA, he sent him orders to come and join him. In the mean time he had provisions gathered, and houses built to lodge his men more comfortably. He also commanded the town of Apalache to be fortified, in order to place himself under shelter from the assaults of the barbarians; and he dispatched persons to Capasi, with presents, to induce him to peace. But this cacique would not listen to any propositions; and fortified himself in a very intricate forest. As Soto lost all thought of gaining him, he ordered Aniasco, who had courage and good luck, to leave with thirty lancers for HIRRIGA. This command was severe, for the route was about one hundred and fifty leagues, and they ran the risk of very great dangers. It was necessary to pass among a people, bold and valiant, and declared enemies; to cross rivers and very difficult swamps. However, notwithstanding all these considerations, the thirty Spaniards courageously undertook the expedition, and performed very brilliant actions. But I pity them for having only an Indian to relate them. Nevertheless, to render them what I can, I shall report the names of those who have come to my knowledge. Juan de Soto, Aniasco, Arias, Cacho, Atienza, Cordero, Silvestre, Espinosa, Fernande, Carillo, Atanasio, Abadia, Cadena, Segredo, Argote, Sanchir, Pechado, and Moron. This last had a scent so fine that he scented better than a hunting dog. For, many times in the island of Cuba, going with his companions to hunt the Indians who had revolted, and who had taken to flight, he traced them in the bushes, in the hollows of trees, and in the caverns where they had concealed themselves. He scented, also, fire for more than a league; for often, without having seen either light or smoke, he said to those who accompanied him, that there was a fire close by, and they found it at half a league or a league from there.

These thirty lancers left Apalache the twentieth day of October

of the year 1539. They were well mounted, and had their helmets on their heads, their corslets over their clothes, and their lances in their hands, and some provisions in their valises. In this state, they went out before day, in order that the Indians might not perceive them and go and seize upon the passes. They travelled with speed; they even galloped very often, and slew, upon the route, some barbarians by whom they feared to be discovered. They continued thus their route, and arrived at the swamp of Apalache, which they safely crossed. As they had made more than thirteen leagues this day, twenty cavaliers reposed, and the others watched for fear of surprise. Afterwards they travelled twelve leagues through the uninhabited country, from the swamp of Apalache to the town of Ossachile.

But in the fear of being seen, and lest they might win the passage from them, they made a halt towards the evening, and about midnight passed Ossachile at a fast gallop. One league beyond they left their road, to take, during the rest of the night, a little repose; and held themselves upon their guard according to their custom. At break of day they started again at a fast gallop, because there were persons in the fields, and they feared to be discovered. They travelled five leagues from the place where they reposed, to the river Ossachile, and exceedingly fatigued their horses. But when they approached this river, Silvestre took the lead; and as he saw that the water was not so high as when the troops crossed it, he rushed into it, and fortunately gained the other side.

Aniasco, and all the others, followed him, and as soon as they had crossed they ate. They afterwards continued their journey at a slow pace, and made four leagues from this river to Vitachuco; where, fearing to be obliged to fight against the Indians, they resolved to spur on with all speed. But when they reached this town, the condition in which they found it, reassured them. It was abandoned, the houses entirely ruined, and the streets strewn with slain barbarians. The Indians destroyed, in this manner, this place, in the belief that it was unfortunate. They also left the dead without burial, because they regarded them as miserable beings, who had not been able to execute their designs, and who ought to be the prey of wild beasts: a chastisement with which they punished those who had failed in war.

The party were hardly out of Vitachuco when they met two Indians who were hunting, and who had the air of people of rank. When these barbarians saw the Christians they retired under a walnut tree; but one of them, not believing himself in safety, fled to a forest on the side of the road. Two cavaliers overtook and cap-

tured him. As for the other Indian, who had courage, fortune favored him. For, holding the arrow in place upon the bow, he opposed the cavaliers, and threatened to fire upon them if they approached. Some, irritated at this boldness, wished to go and pierce him with their lances. But Aniasco told them that it was unbecoming them, to wish to take the life of this rash person; that in the situation in which they were, they ought not to expose themselves to be either wounded or slain. Therefore he turned them aside from the road, which was near the walnut tree, and commanded them to advance at a hard gallop. The barbarian, in the mean time, presented at them his bow as they defiled. Then he began to cry out to them that they were cowards for not having dared to attack him; and he said to them many other insults, accompanied with arrogance and threats. At his cry, the Indians on both sides of the road flocked together, and began to call to each other to cut them off from the passage. However, the thirty Spaniards extricated themselves from these, and arrived in a plain where they took a little repose. They made, this day, which was the third of their journey, seventeen leagues; and the fourth, as many through the province of Vitachuco. But the people of this country, indignant at what had passed, endeavored to avenge upon them the defeat of their men. They dispatched persons to give notice of the route of the Christians, in order that they might seize upon the avenues. The cavaliers, who discovered this, rode at full speed, captured the messengers, and slew seven of them, with their lances. They arrived that day, about evening, in a very beautiful plain, where, not hearing any noise, they reposed for some time. They left there after midnight, and, at sunrise, had made five leagues, and had reached the river Ocaly. They expected to find it not so high as ordinarily, but they found the waters over the banks, and rapid, which whirled in many places, and marked the gulf which it covered. Besides, the enemies assembled upon the borders of the river, and encouraged each other, by their cries, to defend the passage of it.

The Spaniards then, considering the danger which menaced them, and that to escape, it was necessary not to lose time in vain deliberations, appointed twelve among them to gain the other shore, in order to assist them when they should cross. They also ordered fourteen to cut branches with which they made floats on which to place their accoutrements, with those who could not swim; and that the others should resist the barbarians who assembled to hinder their crossing. This order given, the twelve cavaliers resolved to die or accomplish the object of their design. They urged

their horses into the river, and with helmets on their heads, coats of mail over their shirts, and lance in hand, eleven safely gained an opening on the other side; only Cacho could not reach it, because his horse had not strength enough to break the force of the water. He was therefore constrained to let himself go along the river to search some outlet. When he found none, he saw himself forced to implore the succor of his companions, who were cutting wood. Four leaped into the water and saved him. But let us leave these cavaliers, and consider what the general did at Apalache.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAPTURE OF CAPASI.

Soto, wearied at seeing these savages at his heels, believed that if he could take Capasi, he could reduce them without trouble. He therefore carefully inquired concerning his retreat, and learned that he was eight leagues from the army, in a dense forest, where he expected to be in security, as much on account of the situation of the place as of the swamp and of the people whom he had to defend it. Upon this news, the general took as many soldiers as he had need of, and went, in person, to seize the cacique. After much labor, he reached, in three days, the place of the forest which the Indians had fortified. It was a place of which they had cut down the trees, and to which they could not approach except by a very narrow avenue, half a league long. But at every hundred paces they had good palisades with stakes, and each palisade was well defended. Such was the place where Capasi had retired with a great number of his subjects who had resolved to perish rather than see their lord in the power of his enemies. Finally, Soto having arrived at the avenue which led to the intrenchment where the cacique was, he found the people determined to defend the entrance against him; and at the same time he made the attack. But as the way was narrow, it was only the foremost who fought, who, after enduring some discharges of arrows, gained, sword in hand, the first and second palisades. They pulled up the stakes and cut the bonds which tied them. The barbarians fired, and wounded some of them. The Spaniards, encouraged more and more, rushed headlong, as far as the third barricade, which they forced, gaining thus all the others; and advancing step by step, in spite of the resistance of the enemy, as far as the place where Capasi was.

Then the Indians, who saw their cacique in danger, redoubled

their efforts, rushed among the swords and lances, and fought to desperation. Our people, on their side, attacked with vigor, and did not lose sight of Capasi, for fear lest he might escape them. The general, above all others, showed his courage; fought, like a true captain, at the head of his men, and animated them by his example and by his words. Finally, the barbarians failing of defensive arms, gave way; the Spaniards made a last effort, and cut them nearly all in pieces.

The cacique, who saw the carnage which they made of his subjects, and that those who resisted could no longer defend him, commanded them to lay down their arms, and at the same instant they came and embraced the knees of Soto, and besought him with tears to pardon their lord, and to order that they should rather take their lives than to do him any injury. The general, touched by this generosity, yielded on condition that they should remain in subjection.

Capasi came to salute Soto, who received him very civilly, very glad to have him in his power. This cacique was supported by some Indians who aided him to walk, because he was extraordinarily large. He could neither make a step, nor hold himself upon his feet; so that they carried him upon a handbarrow wherever he wished to go, and in his house he went upon all fours. This weight was the cause why he could not retreat very far.

CHAPTER VIII.

CAPASI GOES TO QUELL HIS SUBJECTS, AND ESCAPES.

AFTER the capture of Capasi, the general returned to the quarters, in the hope that the Indians would no more harass the troops; but it happened quite otherwise. Irritated at the confinement of their cacique, and not being any longer occupied with protecting him, they made more disturbance than usual. Soto, enraged at this, complained to Capasi that his subjects were ungrateful for the good treatment that was given him; that in respect to themselves, they were obliged to use another sort; that he had neither seized their goods nor ravaged their lands; and that if they had not attacked him, he would never have permitted any one to have been wounded or slain; that therefore he commanded them not to lay any more ambuscades for the troops; that otherwise he would make open war upon them, and put all to fire and sword; that finally, he should consider that in the state in which fortune had reduced him,

the Indians were treating the Spaniards so cruelly, that they would compel them to some violence towards him, and to carry desolation into his province.

Capasi replied with respect, and apparently with gratitude, that the conduct of his subjects displeased him so much the more, as, since his confinement, he had sent them orders not to do any injury to the Spaniards. But that all the care he had taken for that purpose had been useless. That they doubted the messengers which he had sent to them, and could not believe the good treatment which they had given him; that, on the contrary, they rather imagined that he was loaded with chains and exposed to all sorts of insults; that, therefore, he prayed the general to command some of his soldiers to accompany him as far as six leagues from the camp, to a forest where he would find all the bravest of his vassals; that there he would call them by their names; that they would come at his call; that having related to them the favors which he had received, they would cease all acts of hostility; and that this was the only means of reducing them.

The general, moved by these reasons, had the cacique escorted by a company of cavalry and of infantry as far as the place where he asserted that his subjects were; and he ordered the captains, above all things, to take care of the barbarian. Afterwards they left before day, and after six leagues of travel they arrived, towards noon, at the forest where the Indians had retired. The cacique immediately sent three of his people there. But hardly were they there than they returned with twelve others; whom he commanded to notify his principal subjects to join him, and to present themselves before him the next day, as he had to communicate to them things which concerned their glory and their interest. The Indians immediately entered the forest with this order. In the mean time, the Spaniards placed sentinels everywhere; they reposed during the night, satisfied with the conduct of Capasi, and in the expectation of returning with honor to the camp. But when the day appeared they experienced that the most flattering hope is often disappointed. They no longer found the cacique nor one of the savages who had accompanied him. Surprised at this extraordinary event, they inquired of each other how the thing had happened; and, as they replied that it was impossible that he had fled, because the sentinels asserted that they had watched all the night, they believed that Capasi had implored the succor of some demon, and that he had been carried away by him. What is certain is, that the Spaniards being fatigued fell asleep, and that the savage, who saw a good opportunity to escape, dragged himself, without noise, on all fours; that whilst he fled,

he found in ambush some of his subjects who carried him off. Heaven, without doubt, favored on this occasion the Spaniards; for if, at the time they slept, the Indians had come to attack them, they would have slaughtered them. But, all transported with joy, they thought only of putting their chief in safety. As they concealed him very well, the Spaniards searched in vain for him all the day. Besides the Indians contented themselves with ridiculing the Spaniards and insulting them. So that they returned to the camp, without jeopardy, but in the greatest confusion in the world for having let their prisoner escape. They excused themselves, because in the night in which he had escaped they had heard an extraordinary noise; and that, having been guarded with so much care, the devil must have carried him off.

The general, who saw that the error was irreparable, would blame no one. He feigned to give faith to all that they told him; that the Indians were great sorcerers, and that they did very wonderful things. Nevertheless, however good a face he put upon it, he was sensibly touched at the negligence of his officers.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE MARCH OF THE THIRTY LANCERS.

WHEN the raft was made, the soldiers launched it into the Ocaly with long cords, and two swimmers carried one of them to the other shore to eleven of their companions. In the mean time the Indians assembled with loud cries; but those who had crossed resisted them vigorously, and after having pierced the foremost of them with their lances, the others dared not await them; so that the Spaniards were masters of the field. Because the enemies were not in great number on this side of the river, there were only four cavaliers who opposed them. Two caracoled up, the others down; for the barbarians approached from these two sides.

These cavaliers engaged them so adroitly that the rafts had opportunity to cross several times. The first time they carried the clothes of those who were on the other shore; for, having but their coats of mail over their shirts, there blew a north wind which chilled them. The second time, they crossed the equipage and the valises with those who could not swim. The greater part of the others, impatient to fight, crossed the Ocaly by swimming; and in order as they passed they joined those who were engaged with the Indians. So that there remained on this side of the river only two cavaliers

of the four who sustained the enemy, and who passed in this manner; whilst one made his horse enter the river and accommodated himself on the raft, the other drove back the barbarians. When he had chased them sufficiently far, he returned at full speed, untied the rope which held the raft to the shore, and crossed the Ocaly with his companion. The Indians charged with fury upon them, but in vain; everything conspired in favor of the cavaliers.

About two hours after midday, as all the Spaniards had crossed, they took the road to the town of Ocaly, to comfort Cacho, frozen with the cold and overcome by fatigue; the Indians, who perceived them, proposed to oppose their entry into it. But they resisted only in order to favor the retreat of their people; and when they knew that they had fled into the woods, they retired. The cavaliers immediately entered the town, and stationed themselves in the middle of a great square, for fear of surprise if they lodged in the houses. Afterward, they kindled four great fires at some distance from each other, and in this space they placed Cacho. They covered him with clothes and gave him a shirt, from which he received much comfort, and they remained there the rest of the day. But as Cacho was not yet in a condition to follow, and as it was dangerous to stop there longer, because the barbarians were able to assemble to cut them off from the road, they redoubled their care, in order to promptly restore their companion. They fed their horses, repaired the harness, took some plums, grapes, and other dried fruits, which they found in abundance.

Afterward, when it was night, they posted videttes, and scoured the environs; and about midnight two cavaliers heard a noise as of people who were marching. One of them put spurs to his horse and came to inform the troops of it. In the mean time, the other remained to discover more certainly what it was, and perceiving by the light of the moon, a body of Indians who were advancing toward Ocaly, he hastened, with all speed, to give notice of it. They immediately placed Cacho on horseback, and because he could not well hold himself there, they tied him to the saddle and ordered a cavalier to take care of him. Thereupon they left and travelled with so great speed, that, at break of day, they had already made six large leagues.

They travelled in this manner when they passed through very populous places; they even slew those whom they found, in order that they might not disclose their route; but through places uninhabited, they went at a slow pace, in order to rest their horses, and to gallop in case of necessity. This day, which was the sixth of their journey, they made nearly twenty leagues, both through the

country of Ocaly, as well as through the province of Acuera. The next day Antiensa was taken ill, and a few hours after he died on the route, upon his horse. His companions, who had not stopped to relieve him, not believing his sickness dangerous, were sensibly touched that, on an occasion so sorrowful, death had taken from them this cavalier. As grief, under these circumstances, is of no avail, and as they were obliged to advance rapidly, they made a ditch, where they interred Antiensa, and continued their route. They marched, this day, twenty leagues, and at sunset, arrived at the great swamp. These long journeys are, without doubt, surprising things, and those who have not been present at the conquest of Florida, would hardly have believed them. Nevertheless, there is nothing more certain; the cavaliers made, in seven days, one hundred and six leagues, which there are from Apalache to the Great Swamp.* They found it so swollen that the waters flowed in and out of it, with an impetuosity like to that of an arm of the sea. For my part I am so surprised every time I consider the labor of the horses to pass through such places, that I believe that they would not have been able to endure so much fatigue, if they had not been fed on corn. The use of it is indeed excellent, and gives new forces to the animals which eat of it. It is the reason why the inhabitants of Peru, who make use of llamas for beasts of burden, nourish them only with this kind of grain, which renders them vigorous and able to bear the weight of a man.

The cavaliers then passed the night upon the borders of the swamp, and were so cold that they were compelled to kindle many fires, and that made them fear lest the Indians should perceive them, for only twenty would have prevented them from crossing. They even would have easily killed them, because, with their boats, they would have been able to fire upon them without danger. Besides, our people had neither pistols nor crossbows, and it was impossible for them to aid themselves with their horses. Thus they passed the night in a continual dread, and prepared for the labors of the following day.

* The *légua* or league, of Spain, contains 7680 *varas* or Spanish yards. The *vara* is about 33 inches English. 1920 *varas* make an English mile of 1760 yards.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNEY OF THE THIRTY LANCERS TO
HIRRIGA.

THE night that the cavaliers were upon the borders of the swamp, Juan de Soto, one of their companions, died suddenly. Another, at the same instant, fled, saying that since they died so quickly, the plague was among them. But as he was leaving, they cried out to him that he carried this malady with him; that it would not leave him, in whatever place he might go; that besides, he was far away from his country, that he could not stop there, and would do much better to remain with the others. These words induced him to join those who prayed to God for Juan de Soto; however, in the belief that he had died of the plague, he dared not assist in putting him in the ground.

When the day appeared the cavaliers prepared to cross the swamp, and saw with joy that the water had fallen. Eight among them mended the bridge, which was narrow and wretched, and passed over, carrying the saddles of their horses. As the horses could not pass upon this bridge, all were stripped and led into the water as far as the place where they no longer had footing; but, because it was too cold, the horses would not commence swimming. To compel them, they attached to them halters of long cords which four or five of the most excellent swimmers drew as far as the middle of the water, whilst the others struck them with switches. However, it was useless, for they drew back, and they would rather have let themselves be killed than advance. A few, nevertheless, by force of blows, began to swim; but they quickly retraced their way, dragging with them the swimmers, without Arias and the others who were behind being able to arrest them. Finally, the horse of Aniasco passed with that of Silvester, and as those to whom they belonged were on the other side they saddled and mounted them, to be in a state to oppose the enemy should they come to an encounter. Arias and his companions had already been eight hours in the water suffering from cold and making useless efforts, so that they found themselves exceedingly enfeebled and began to despair of their lives.

Aniasco, irritated at this delay, approached on horseback near the bridge and abused Arias, who could not make the horses advance. Arias, who knew that it was not his fault nor that of his com-

panions, and who thought it very strange that, after the evils he had suffered, they should act thus, replied that it was unbecoming him to speak in that manner; that Aniasco ought to consider that they were unfortunately freezing in the water without being able to do anything with all their efforts; that he himself might dismount and they would see what wonders he would do. Arias pushed still further his resentment, for when once one is in a rage he can hardly restrain himself. Finally, the liberty of the cavalier brought Aniasco to himself, and obliged him to condemn his brusque temper, whose violence had many times destroyed the respect which was due him. This instructs those who have some power in the army, and teaches them that it is necessary to win the soldiers by mildness; that in matters of command example is more powerful than all discourses; and that, if they are forced to reprimand any one, they should do it in terms which are not insulting.

Aniasco and Arias being then reconciled, they continued to urge the horses, and about the middle of the day, when the sun had more force, and had tempered the coldness, they began to cross, but so slowly that it was more than three o'clock in the afternoon before they were all on the other side. The Spaniards then excited pity: fatigued, languishing, deprived in general of everything. Nevertheless, they took courage, in consideration of the dangers they had passed, and of which they had had such great dread; for if the enemy had attacked them in the passage and had obliged them to fight, they would have been lost. But, by good luck, the savages did not appear, because, going nearly entirely naked, they seldom left their houses in winter. Finally, when our people were out of the swamp, they camped quite near in a plain; they made great fires, for they were exceedingly cold; they recovered by degrees their strength, and rejoiced that thence to Hirriga they had no more bad roads.

When night came they reposed, and before day they continued their journey, upon which, having met five Indians, they slew them with their lances, for fear of being exposed by them. They made this day thirteen leagues, and stopped at night in a beautiful plain. But the next day, before the sun had risen, they decamped, and passed, while it was morning, near Urribaracuxi, which, for fear of the inhabitants, they would not enter. They marched fifteen leagues this day, which was the tenth of their journey, and reposed a part of the night at three leagues from Mucoço. About midnight they recommenced their march, and at the end of two leagues they saw fire in a wood on the side of their road. Moron, who had scented

this fire, had given them notice of it before, and even after having again spoken to them of it, they perceived it almost immediately.

The Spaniards, surprised at a thing so extraordinary, went directly to this fire, and found around it several Indians with their wives and children, who were roasting fish. They were the subjects of Mucogo; nevertheless they took them, to know if their lord had kept the peace; for it was resolved that if there were found any complaints against him, they would send his subjects to Havana. They therefore rushed upon them at full speed, and captured nineteen of them. The others went into the thickest of the forest and escaped by favor of the darkness. The prisoners cried out *Ortis*, and endeavored to make the Spaniards remember the good services they had done them in his person, but it was to no purpose. In the mean time the cavaliers, seeing that they could take no more Indians, began to breakfast upon the fish that were there, and which the hunger with which they were pressed made them find excellent, although they had been covered with the dust which the horses had thrown upon them. Afterward, taking a by-road, they went away from Mucogo, and at the end of five leagues Cacho had recovered his strength. The alarm which the enemy had given when they were at Ocaly, had made such an impression upon his mind, that, aided by the vigor of his age, he found himself cured of the sickness which the cold and fatigue had caused him, and he served as vigorously as the others. But his horse could go no further, and they left him in a meadow, after having taken from him the saddle and bridle, which they placed upon a tree, in order that if any Indian wished to use them, he might have everything that was necessary to do so.

Afterwards they continued to travel; but when they approached within a league of Hirriga, where there were forty horse and eighty foot soldiers, fear seized the cavaliers at seeing that they met with no traces of either men or horses. They could not imagine that Calderon, who was at this place, had not made excursions in the neighborhood. They therefore believed that either the garrison had been massacred, or that they had retired upon the ships which they had left with him. In this belief, they were both afraid and sad; considering themselves so far from the army, deprived of provisions, and of vessels to retire by sea. They reflected upon the evils they had suffered on their journey, and despaired of ever returning to Apalache. However, in the midst of such sorrowful uneasiness, they resolved that if they did not find their people at Hirriga, they would camp at a place in the forest, nearest to where they might have grass. That whilst they should rest, they would

kill the horses least useful, and after having cut them in pieces for food upon the route, they would attempt to return. They flattered themselves that if they were killed, they would have, in dying, at least the consolation of having put themselves in a condition for doing their duty; and that if fortune should favor them they would have satisfaction and honor. Thereupon they boldly continued their route, and went to Hirriga.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PARTY AT HIRRIGA.

THE cavaliers, arrived at a little marsh half a league from Hirriga, found some horse tracks, at which they were exceedingly rejoiced. Even their horses, which could hardly sustain themselves, recovered courage; they scented the tracks which they met, and went capering as though they had just come out of the stable; so that the Spaniards travelled with speed, and arrived at sunset within sight of Hirriga. Some cavaliers of the garrison were then going out on horseback to scour the environs of the place, marching two and two, with lance in hand.

Aniasco and his companions, perceiving them, put themselves in the same order, and, as if it had been to race at the public rejoicings, they spurred at a canter to meet one another, which was very agreeable. At the noise which they made, Calderon and the rest of the garrison left the town. They were pleased to see the races of Aniasco and his men, and received them with every mark of a sincere affection. Aniasco and his companions also manifested to them their joy, and on both sides they remained a long time embracing each other. Afterwards the garrison, without inquiring after the health of Soto or the state of the army, only asked if there was much gold found in the province of Apalache; so greatly had the love of this metal prevailed over the minds of the men, and made them easily forget their duty.

The journey of Aniasco and those who accompanied him lasted eleven days. They passed two of them in crossing the Ocaly and the great marsh; so that in nine days they made more than one hundred and fifty leagues, which there are from Apalache to the town of Hirriga. But by the hardships which these cavaliers suffered, we can easily judge of the difficulties of the other Spaniards who have conquered the rest of the New World, so vast in its extent, and so redoubtable for the valor of its inhabitants. However, there

are persons who enjoy the fruits of the labors of those who have acquired for the crown of Spain so many rich kingdoms, and who laugh at the labors which they have had to subjugate them. As they possess the wealth without the trouble, they think that they themselves have won them, and stupidly deceive themselves.

Aniasco, arrived at HIRRIGA, inquired if the Indians of the province of Mucogo and of that where they were had not broken the peace. And at the same time that he learned that they were satisfied with their conduct, he sent back the prisoners with orders to the cacique to come to the quarters, and to bring with him people to carry away the provisions and the other things of which they wished to make him a present. He also charged them to take care of the horse which they had left in their country: and, thereupon, they set out for their country, full of joy at recovering their liberty. Three days after Mucogo arrived with the horse; the bridle and saddle of which some Indians carried, because they had not been able to put them on him. He affectionately embraced Aniasco and those of his suite; he politely inquired after the health of the general, and asked them to relate to him the success of their conquest, the circumstances of their journey, the battles they had been compelled to fight, the adventures they had had, and the hunger and hardships they had suffered. That it would be fortunate if he could compel the caciques of the country to render obedience to the Spaniards; because they could never live under a government milder or more illustrious than that of so warlike a nation.

Aniasco, having contrasted this courteous manner in which Mucogo had received them with that of his companions who at first had inquired only concerning the wealth they had discovered, thanked him, in the name of all, for the affection which he bore the Spaniards, and complimented him upon the subject of the peace which he had preserved. But the cacique replied to these civilities with so much intelligence that he acquired the esteem, friendship, and admiration of everybody. Mucogo possessed also very excellent qualities; for, without speaking of his physical advantages, he had prudence, generosity, and a particular manner which charmed the Spaniards. Therefore he was tenderly beloved by them; and, in my opinion, they should have adroitly induced him to be baptized. According to the natural intelligence which he had, it would not have been very difficult to have converted him to the Faith, and this had been a happy commencement. But the Christians wished not to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of Florida until they had first conquered the whole.

After that, and during four days that Mucogo was with the

Spaniards, he sent away more than five hundred quintals of cassava, which is the bread that is made in Cuba of the root of the manioc, many cloaks, sacks, drawers, pantaloons, hempen shoes and other things, with coats of mail, lances; in one word, all sorts of arms. They gave him, moreover, sails, cordage, anchors, cables, and other things of the vessels. Our people had all these in abundance, and they were very glad to leave some of them to Mucogo and his subjects.

CHAPTER XII.

THEY EXECUTE THE ORDERS OF THE GENERAL.

WHEN Mucogo had caused to be taken away that which they had left him, they looked at the orders of the general. They imported that Aniasco should take the brigantines remaining in the bay of Espiritu Santo, and coast to the west as far as the Gulf of Aute, which he himself had discovered. Aniasco therefore inspected the vessels, put them in order, filled them with all kinds of provisions, and chose the men to accompany him. He was seven days getting ready; and when he had given the orders of the general to Calderon concerning his route, he made his adieux, set sail, and took his route for the gulf of Aute. But let him sail at the mercy of the winds, and let us see in what manner Arias executed what he had to do. He was commanded to take the caravel, and go to Havana to Isabella de Bovadilla, and inform her of the details of the discovery. He was also charged to treat of some affairs; but they do not regard this history, and I shall not speak of them. Arias then, to discharge that which was enjoined him, had the caravel repaired, equipped it, put to sea, and, in a few days, arrived at Havana. He was received with much joy by the wife of Soto and all the inhabitants of the island, who made great rejoicings because of the news which he brought them, and of the health of the general, whom they loaded with benedictions and praises.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF HIRRIGA DURING THE ABSENCE OF SOTO.

DURING the sojourn of Calderon at HIRRIGA, his people made many gardens, where they planted a great many radishes, lettuces, and other herbs. They collected divers seeds for their need, in case

they should settle in the country. Also, the Indians captured some of the Spaniards, which happened by the fault of the Spaniards themselves, in this manner: the barbarians had made, upon the borders of the bay of Espiritu Santo, large places inclosed with rude stones, for to fish for rays and other fishes which went into these places when the tide was high and which, when it retired, remained there almost aground. This fishing was excellent, and the soldiers of Calderon enjoyed it with the Indians. Therefore, Lopes and Galvan one day took a fancy to go a-fishing without the orders of the captain. They got into a boat and took with them Mugnos, page of their commander. As they were fishing, there arrived in small canoes some barbarians, who, approaching them, said, partly in Indian and partly in Spanish, that the fish should be in common. Lopes, who was brutal, replied to them that they should serve for food for the dogs; that he had nothing to divide with them; and immediately he drew his sword and wounded an Indian who was near him. The others, exasperated at this insolence, fell upon the three Spaniards, dispatched Lopes with the oars, left Galvan for dead, and carried off Mugnos, to whom they did nothing, in consideration of his youth. Some soldiers of the garrison who were not far from there, attracted by the noise and suspecting the difficulty which had happened, came in a boat to give assistance to Lopes and Galvan; but they found them senseless and Mugnos in the power of the Indians. They immediately interred Lopes, and as Galvan still breathed, they assisted him so promptly that they restored him. However, he was more than thirty days recovering, and the same time remained stupefied by the wounds in his head; for when he recited this misfortune he said: When the Indians killed us, Lopes and me, we did such things. His companions, who diverted themselves with his dreams, replied to him that only Lopes was killed, and that, as for him, he was not dead. But he persisted with warmth that he was dead and living at the same time, because God had restored him to life.

Some time afterwards the Indians took another soldier, who was called Vintimilla, as he was fishing for crabs at low tide, at the end of a forest between the town of Hirriga and the bay of Espiritu Santo. The barbarians concealed in the woods, seeing him alone, approached and said to him mildly that they should divide the fish. Vintimilla, who thought to frighten them, replied fiercely that he had no division to make. The Indians, indignant that a single man should dare, with so much arrogance, to speak to them who were ten or twelve, carried him off, but, however, did him no injury. Mugnos and Vintimilla were ten years among them, with liberty to go where

they pleased. But finally they escaped in this manner: A Christian ship, pursued by the subjects of Hirriga, was overtaken by a storm, and to escape its fury it retired to the bay of Espiritu Santo. The storm ceased, it put into the high sea, and the Indians began to give it chase. Vintimilla and Mugnos, who accompanied them, were alone in a boat, and, as they designed to escape, fortune presented them a fine opportunity for it. A north wind suddenly arose; the Indians, fearing lest it might increase and drive them too far to sea, exerted themselves to gain the land. In the mean time the two Spaniards gradually desisted from rowing, and feigned that they had not strength to go against the violence of the wind. But when they saw the Indians at a distance, they turned the prow of their vessel toward the ship, rowed with all their might, and called to them to wait for them. The Christians, at their call, lowered the sails and received with joy the two Spaniards, to console themselves for those whom they had lost.

CHAPTER XIV.

DEPARTURE FROM THE TOWN OF HIRRIGA.

AFTER Aniasco and Arias had left, the one for the gulf of Aute, and the other for Havana, Calderon took the route for Apalache, with fifty foot soldiers and seventy lancers, and arrived the second day at Mucoço. The cacique came to meet him, and lodged him in the town, entertained them all well, and accompanied them the next day out of his territory. And, when he was ready to leave them, he told them, with tears in his eyes, that he lost all hopes of ever seeing the general again; that, whilst they were at Hirriga, he had flattered himself that he would return some day to the country, where he would still have had the honor to offer him his services; but that now, as he saw himself condemned to deplore his absence, he begged them to make known to him the affection which he had for him; and with these words, embracing them, he returned home quite dejected. In the mean time the Spaniards continued their route, and came as far as the Great Swamp without encountering anything; except that it happened one night that, being camped in a plain near a wood, there came out of it many Indians, who kept them in continual alarm; for they had no sooner recognized them than they all became enraged, especially one among them, who, showing much boldness, was attacked by Silvestre. The

Indian stood firm at first, but afterwards took to his heels. The Spaniard pressed him; but the barbarian, seeing himself about to be pierced, resisted, and at the moment that the cavalier gave him a thrust with his lance which brought him to the ground and killed him, he shot an arrow which pierced and prostrated the horse of Silvestre, so that the barbarian, the horse, and the rider fell one upon the other. The Spaniards, surprised that a single shot of an arrow fired so close had slain a horse so vigorous, had the curiosity to see, in the morning, the effect of this shot. They found that the arrow had entered the breast, and, after having pierced the heart, had stopped in the intestines; with so much force do the Indians shoot. Also, from their earliest years, they have no other exercise. When the infants begin to walk, they study to imitate their fathers; they handle arrows and ask for bows, which, if they refuse them, they make them themselves of small sticks, and declare war against the mice of the dwellings; but not meeting with anything upon which they can fire, they hunt the flies, and out of the house they hunt the lizards, and when these animals are in their holes they will wait for them five or six hours until they come out of them.

Thus, by a continual exercise, they shoot with surprising skill. But since it has become proper to speak of the extraordinary shots of the Indians, I shall relate an instance of them. Moscoso, in one of the first skirmishes with the Apalaches, received, in his right side, the shot of an arrow, which pierced his buff and his coat of mail without killing him, because the shot went aslant. The Spanish officers, astonished that a coat of mail of the value of a hundred and fifty ducats should be pierced by a single shot, wished to prove theirs, in order to know if they could depend upon them. As they were then in the town of Apalache, those who wore coats of mail took a cane basket, strongly woven, and adjusted around it one of the finest coats of mail. They then unbound one of the Indian prisoners, gave him a bow and arrow, and commanded him to fire, at the distance of one hundred and fifty paces, upon this coat of mail. At the same time, the barbarian, having closed his fist, stretched himself, extended and bent his arm to awaken his strength, shot through the coat of mail and basket with so much force that the shot would still easily have pierced a man. Our people, who saw that a coat of mail could not resist an arrow, adjusted two of them to the basket. They gave an arrow to an Indian whom they ordered to shoot, and he pierced both of them. Nevertheless, the arrow remained fixed, as much on one side as on the other, because it had not been fired with sufficient skill. The barbarian requested that he might be permitted to shoot

another, upon condition that if he should not pierce the two coats of mail with as much force as the first, he would forfeit his life.*

The Spaniards would not grant his request, and afterward they held their coats of mail of no account, which they, in mockery, called Holland cloth. Therefore they made, of thick cloth, doublets four inches thick, which covered the chest and the croup of the horses, and resisted an arrow better than anything else. But as in this relation, I shall again speak of some surprising arrow shots, I return to Calderon.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUATION OF THE MARCH OF CALDERON, AND HIS ARRIVAL AT THE CAMP.

THE Indians, seeing one of their men slain, did not return any more to harass the Spaniards, who arrived the day following, at the great swamp, where they remained all night. They crossed it the next day, without being attacked by the enemy; and travelled, by long stages, through the province of Acuera. To relieve one another, the cavaliers dismounted, preferring, through fear of fatiguing their horses, rather to give them to the foot-soldiers, than to carry these behind them. They finally arrived at Ocaly, which they found abandoned, and when they had taken provisions there, they crossed, on rafts, the river which passes near this town. Afterwards, they entered into Ochile; from there they went into Vitachuco, then to the river Ossachile and to the town of the same name, from which the inhabitants had retired. They took there provisions, and continued their journey through an uninhabited country between Ossachile and the swamp of Apalache, without the barbarians attacking them but a single time; they made more than a hundred and thirty leagues, from the commencement of their route to the place where they were. Having arrived at the wood which borders the swamp, they camped all the night in a neighboring plain, and at break of day, when they had marched through the defile, entering the waters, they advanced as far as the bridge, and mended it. The people on foot passed over without the enemy opposing them, and those on horseback safely crossed by swimming the deepest water. Then Calderon gave orders for crossing the remainder of the swamp. He commanded ten cavaliers to place behind them five crossbow-men

* See Appendix, note 2.

with as many men armed with bucklers, and to seize the pass which was on the other side. They then prepared to cross the water, and quickly gain the other shore. The Indians in ambush sallied out at the same time, attacked them with loud cries, enveloped them with arrows, slew the horse of Alvar, and wounded five others. The rest, frightened at the noise and the shots of the barbarians, kicked, reared, retraced their steps, and threw into the water those whom they carried behind, who were nearly all wounded; for when the horses turned back, the Indians, seeing the foot-soldiers down, picked them out. They even prepared to go and kill them in the water, calling their companions to aid them and to be witnesses of their victory. This attack astonished even the Spaniards. Their horses were disabled, and it was necessary to fight in the marsh. They saw themselves in disorder, and the enemy rushing upon them; all that, made them dread being all cut to pieces. The barbarians, on the contrary, who noticed the trouble of our men, became more audacious, and redoubled their efforts against those who were in the water.

In the mean time, Villabo and other valiant soldiers advanced to the assistance of their companions, and checking the Indians, arrested their fury. In the mean time the other barbarians of the country, informed that the Christians were routed, hastened to take part in the victory.

To the left of the Spaniards who were crossing the marsh, there came a large troop of barbarians, and some paces in front, marched an Indian with tall plumes upon his head, clothed superbly after the fashion of the country. This captain, seeing that the Spaniards were approaching, wished to get possession of a large tree which was equally distant from them and him, and from whence he would have greatly incommoded them. As Sylvestre had discovered his design, he called Galvan, who hastened to him; they gained the tree before the barbarian, who, through rage, shot at them three arrows. The buckler of Sylvester received them and resisted the violence of the blows, because it was wet. Galvan, who had orders to fire only upon that Indian, waited until he was within reach of his crossbow. He took his opportunity in such a manner that he struck him in the middle of the chest, and pierced him, because he was covered only with a small skin. However, he was not prostrated by the blow; he only made a pirouette, and cried out that these Christian traitors had killed him. There was immediately heard a great noise; there were but cries and howls among the barbarians. They ran to their captain, took him in their arms, and passing him from hand to hand, carried him off by the way he had come.

To the right of our men, advanced, all infuriated, a crowd of Indians, against whom Manassas, accompanied by ten others, marched to oppose them. The barbarians briskly charged them and wounded Manassas in the thigh, on account of him not having his buckler; and the four arrow shots which they fired at him in this place were so violent that they precipitated him into the water. Five of his companions had the same misfortune. The Indians, animated by this action, and in the hope of gaining the victory, made new efforts to achieve it. The Spaniards then, reduced by necessity to fight for their lives, defended themselves like lions. In the mean time, the report circulated among the barbarians that their chief was mortally wounded; and they began to give way by degrees and to retreat. Our men immediately reunited in very good order, and not to lose an opportunity which fortune presented them, they pushed the enemy and drove him into the defile which was on the other side of the marsh; and without difficulty, made themselves masters of the place in the forest which the troops had opened in going through. The barbarians who had fortified it, and who had retreated there, abandoned it again on the wounding of their chief. The Spaniards camped in this place, which was very difficult of approach, and very easy to guard. They passed the night there to dress the wounds of the wounded who were in very great numbers, and they were always on the alert on account of the continual yells of the enemy. When it was day, they began to march, driving the Indians before them as far as another forest, about two leagues through. In this wood, which was not so dense as that which they had passed, the barbarians had made, here and there along the road, good palisades, from whence they fired and attacked with so much order, that when one of the ranks engaged the other did not fight, for fear of injuring themselves with their own arms. The Spaniards bravely traversed this forest, and had twenty wounded without ever being able to kill a single Indian. They believed that they even did well to protect themselves from their shots. Afterwards they entered into a vast plain, where the barbarians, fearing the cavalry, dared not to attack nor to await them. At the end of five leagues, as the wounded were generally fatigued, our men camped in a plain, and during the night the enemy fell upon them from all quarters. Then the cavaliers advanced to oppose them, and charged vigorously into the thickest of the barbarians, who retreated, and tried to shoot the horses; however, they wounded only one of them. Nearly all the night they did but cry out to the Spaniards that they had killed the others, that they had quartered them, and hung them to the highest trees; that they would do the same thing

to them before they should arrive where they wished to; that they were not so cowardly as to endure their tyranny, and that if they did not leave the country they would cut them all in pieces.

When it was day our men continued their route, and arrived at a deep stream, and so much the more difficult to cross, as it was fortified on the other side with palisades. Calderon sent to reconnoitre the passage, and prepared to attack. He commanded thirty cavaliers to dismount; to go with sword in one hand and an axe in the other, and cut down the stakes; that those who were the least in a condition to fight should place themselves in the middle with the equipage, and the best armed in the rear, so that from all sides they might be able to sustain the enemy. In this order they entered into the wood, which was in front of the stream. When the barbarians saw them enter into a place where the horses could not be used, they began to make loud cries, and charged them with so much fury that they expected to cut them all in pieces. Our men, determined to pass or die, rushed impetuously at the entrenchments. The contest was obstinate. Nevertheless, in spite of the resistance of the Indians, they gained the palisades, and cut them down with the sturdy strokes of their axes. There were a few wounded, and one horse killed. They afterwards marched through the plain without the enemy attacking them, except when they met with thick bushes upon the route, for the Indians, being in ambush, fell unexpectedly upon them, crying out that they would exterminate them as they had done the others. The Spaniards began to be concerned at these menaces, for, from the town of Apalache, whence they could easily have heard the noise, no succor came, and likewise they did not see any horse tracks. However, they advanced at a slow pace towards the place, where they entered at sunset. Some days after, there died twelve of their wounded, and among others, Manassas, who was a very brave cavalier.

Calderon and his soldiers were received by all the army with so much the more joy, as they believed them dead; for the barbarians came every day to cry to our men that they had slain them on the route, which appeared very likely; for the general having seen himself, with nine hundred men, in great peril in these defiles, it was easy to believe that Calderon, with one hundred and twenty, was there destroyed. But when the general fortunately found himself mistaken, the satisfaction which he had at receiving Calderon and his companions cannot be imagined. He embraced them all many times, and courteously inquired of the particulars of their journey. He ardently praised and spoke of their fatigues, their courage, and commanded that they should take the greatest care of the wounded.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE COAST.

WHEN Calderon arrived in the town of Apalache, Aniasco had already been there six days, having debarked at Aute, without having met with anything worthy of relating. He had safely landed at this port, because, to make it secure for him, they had sent there, twelve days before his arrival, two companies, one of cavalry and the other of infantry. They were relieved every four days, and during their sojourn at the port, they hoisted their colors, in order that they might discover them from a distance.

Aniasco, who saw them, came and landed at Aute; whence, after having sheltered two vessels, he set out for the camp, with those who were ordered to escort him. But when Calderon arrived there, and the Spaniards saw themselves all together, they believed that there was no danger which they could not overcome. They were therefore always in good spirits, and passed the winter pleasantly in their quarters. In the mean time the general, who applied himself wholly to the discovery of the country, sent for Maldonado, a valiant captain who had served well upon all occasions, and commanded him to leave the care of his company to Gusman, and to go to the gulf of Aute; that there he should take two brigantines which they had left there; that next he should follow the coast a hundred leagues to the west; that he should notice particularly the bays, the harbors, and the rivers, and should make an exact account of them; that this discovery would be very important, and that he would give him two months for the voyage.

Maldonado went to the gulf of Aute, and when he had sailed along the coast, he returned within the prescribed time. He reported that he had found, at sixty leagues from the gulf, a port which they called Achussi.* That this port was very fine, sheltered from all the winds, capable of containing many ships, and of so good a depth that it was easy to approach the land and leap upon it without assistance. He brought from there two Indians who were relations, and of whom one was a cacique. But he took them in a manner very unjust. When he had entered the port, the inhabitants received him civilly; they invited him to land, and said that they would give him provisions. Maldonado, who did not

* Pensacola.

confide in them, dared not accept their offer; but the Indians, discovering his distrust, took the first steps to dispel his suspicions. They came on board the vessels by twos and fours to pay him a visit. They brought him provisions, of which he was in need, and by degrees the Spaniards, becoming reassured, sounded the port. Then, after taking all that was necessary, they hoisted the sails and put to sea, taking with them the two Indians, who, trusting to the marks of amity which were given on both sides, were basely betrayed.

CHAPTER XVII.

THEY SEND TO HAVANA AN ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY.

THE Spaniards learned with joy the discovery of the port of Achussi and all the coast. It seemed to them that they would finally be able to settle in Florida. That the principal thing depended upon finding a port. They had found one in which the vessels could land, with everything necessary for an establishment. Therefore Maldonado received orders to go with the two brigantines to Havana, to Bovadilla, and relate to her the details of what had happened, and spread the news of it through the island of Cuba.

He was also commanded to repair, in the month of October following, of the year fifteen hundred and forty-one, to the port of Achussi with the brigantines, the caravel of Arias, and some vessels loaded with muskets, lead, powder, and all sorts of munitions. He was, moreover, ordered to bring back Arias, a man of sage counsel and great discretion in war. The general had given these orders, because he believed that at the time set for Maldonado, he on his part would have discovered the interior of the country, and have taken all his measures for establishing himself there; and that afterwards he would repair to the port of Achussi. But, first of all, it was necessary to seize this port; for, with the view of settling in Florida, it was a thing of which they absolutely could not do without.

Maldonado then left the gulf of Aute and repaired to Havana, where, for the good news which he brought, and his good fortune in all his enterprises, he was well received by the wife of the general and by all the island. After they had communicated the success of the discovery, there was nothing but rejoicing and prayers in the behalf of Soto. The rich themselves, in particular, contributed with all their power, to his designs. They sent, or

brought, what they had of the most valuable, because they expected some profit from it, and that they would show that they shared in the interest of their governor. But while the inhabitants of the island make their preparations, we will return to the people of Apalache.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE INTREPIDITY OF AN INDIAN.

ANIASCO mounted on horseback one day, and, having ridden with six of his companions through the streets of Apalache, they all took a fancy to make a tour of the town on the outside. As they had no intention of going very far away, because the barbarians placed themselves in ambush behind the bushes and the country was not safe, they left without other arms than their swords, except Pegado, who carried a lance. Whilst they were riding at a slow pace, and pleasantly conversing on different subjects, they perceived an Indian and his wife, who were collecting beans, in a field near a wood. They immediately spurred straight towards them, and the woman, wholly beside herself, not being able to escape, the Indian took her, carried her into the forest, thrust her against the first thicket, and forcibly pushed her into it. Then, instead of saving himself with her, he boldly returned to where he had left his bow, and advanced against the cavaliers with as much resolution as if he had but one to contend with. The Spaniards, surprised at this action, and believing that it would be a shame for seven men to slay one, wished only to capture him. They charged so suddenly upon him that he had not time to shoot. They overthrew him and held him to the earth, crying out to him "quarter" and that he should surrender. But the more they pressed him the more he showed courage, for quite struck down as he was, he wounded them all in the legs, and stuck with arrows, the bellies of their horses; finally, he escaped once from under their feet, arose, took his bow with both hands and gave with it, so violent a blow upon the forehead of Pegado, that the blood flowed down his visage, and he was quite stunned by it. This cavalier, enraged at seeing himself thus treated, urged his horse upon the barbarian, gave him some thrusts with his lance, struck him in the breast, and laid him dead at his feet. The Spaniards at the same time examined their horses, and found that they all were slightly wounded. They retraced their route to Apalache, ashamed that a single man had given them so much trouble.

CHAPTER XIX.

THEY OFFER TO CONDUCT THE SPANIARDS TO PLACES WHERE THEY
BELIEVE THERE WERE GOLD AND SILVER.

DURING the wintering of the Spaniards at Apalache, Soto resolved to visit the countries of Florida situated towards the west. Therefore he inquired of the Indians who served in the army and of those whom they captured every day, if they had any knowledge of the western regions of the country. In the mean time, they brought to him a barbarian about seventeen years of age, who had been with Indians who went very far into Florida to barter merchandise. For money not being in use among the people of these countries, they make use of only exchanges. The general, rejoiced at this opportunity, had this young man interrogated concerning the places of Florida which he wished to discover. He replied to him, that he knew only the countries where he had accompanied his masters ; and that in twelve or thirteen days he could conduct the troops there. The general immediately placed him in the hands of a soldier, with orders to take care that he did not escape. But very far from fleeing he accommodated himself to such a degree, to the disposition of the Christians, that he evinced that he had no greater pleasure than to live among them ; and he also adopted all their manners, and one would have believed him a real Spaniard.

A few days after the taking of this Indian, they captured another who knew him, and who confirmed what he had said. He even offered himself to lead our men to the provinces where he had been, which he asserted to be of very great extent. But when they demanded of him, if in those quarters, there were found gold, silver, and precious stones, all of which things they showed him to make him comprehend what they wished to learn of him, he declared that in Cofaciqui there was a metal like the yellow and white which they showed him. That the merchants whom he served, purchased this metal and trafficked with it in other countries. That there was also found in Cofaciqui a very great quantity of pearls ; and thereupon he pointed to one among the jewels which they showed to him. The Spaniards, full of joy at this news, thought only of the means of going to Cofaciqui and rendering themselves masters of the riches of this province.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCERNING SOME SINGLE COMBATS; AND THE FERTILITY OF
APALACHE.

ONE day a party of fifty foot-soldiers and twenty cavaliers left the camp to search for corn at a league from there, where, on their arrival, they collected as much as they had need of. They then placed themselves in ambush to capture some barbarians, and posted a sentinel on an elevated place. He almost immediately gave notice that an Indian appeared, who glanced from one side to the other as if he had an intention to discover something. Upon this notice, Diego de Soto, one of the brave cavaliers of the army, spurred to capture the barbarian, who, at first, attempted to escape. However, happening to consider that the horse would intercept him, he gained a tree, the ordinary refuge of the Indian. He prepared his bow, and awaited with firmness until his enemy was within reach of his arrow. As Soto had seen that he could not advance as far as under the tree, he passed close by and gave a thrust with his lance at the Indian, who had no sooner parried it than he fired and pierced the horse of the Spaniard with so much force, that afterwards he staggered about twenty steps and fell dead.

In the mean time, arrived Velasques, who followed at a canter to succor Soto, and when he saw his companion's horse slain, he urged his own, advanced directly at the barbarian, and thrust at him his lance. The Indian, after having parried it also, fired and slew the horse of Velasques. These two Spaniards immediately charged, with their lances, upon the barbarian, who, in retreating to the wood, turned his head, and said to them with disdainful pride, that if they had to fight on foot, they would see with whom would remain victory. He thus escaped from the cavaliers with his reputation, and left them in despair at being unfortunately dismounted. The party then retraced their route to the camp, sorry at what had happened to their comrades.

A short time after this action, Rodriguez and Yelves, on horse-back, left Apalache to gather fruit in a forest near this town. Having arrived they dismounted and climbed to the tops of the trees, in the belief that the fruit was better there than on the branches below. The Indians in ambuscade perceived them, and crawled quietly to surprise them. Yelves, who saw them, leaped down from the tree where he had placed himself. They fired at him an arrow which

prostrated him as he was running to his horse. The arrow struck him in the shoulder and passed through his breast. As for Rodriguez, they shot him upon the tree as they would a bird, and having brought him down at the third shot, they took off his head, which they carried away as an evidence of what had happened. Yelves was not treated thus; some cavaliers came to his assistance, to whom, after having related in a few words his misfortune, he asked for a confessor, and expired.

The horses of Yelves and Rodriguez, being frightened at the noise of the barbarians, fled towards the camp. The soldiers, who were advancing, and who met them, perceived that there was one of them wounded in one of his hind legs. However, because the wound was not larger than that of a lancet, they neglected to dress it, and the next day they found the horse dead. The Spaniards, surprised that a wound so light should produce such an effect, opened the horse at the place where he was wounded, and following the trace of the arrow, they found that it had pierced the thigh, and had passed to the liver. I report these particulars to show that during the sojourn of the troops at Apalache, the barbarians attacked them courageously, and did not lose any opportunity to injure them. The people of these quarters are brave and proud; always on the alert, and always ready to fight. They also relate this of their courage: As the Spaniards, in the province of Apalache, ate sometimes small dogs, because they found them to their taste, seven cavaliers left the camp to seek them, and were perceived by five Indians, who resolutely awaited them upon the route. These barbarians, seeing them near them, made a mark across the road, and told them that if they passed it they would kill them. The cavaliers, who laughed at these menaces, advanced; and immediately the Indians shot some arrows at them, by which they had two horses killed, and two wounded with one soldier. But there remained only one Indian upon the field; the others took to flight and escaped, because they are very swift. The people of Apalache were not contented to skirmish with those who straggled; but they attacked the army, day and night, without attempting to come to an engagement. They concealed themselves in the woods, and came and fell upon the troops whom they endeavored to destroy.

The province of Apalache abounds in corn, pumpkins, and vegetables. There are also found there divers sorts of plums and nuts, and such a quantity of mast that it is lost at the foot of the trees; because the Indians do not raise herds. In one word, the country is so fertile, that the troops, during five months of winter there, had food in abundance; and even to get it, they had never to go farther

than a league from the quarters. Notwithstanding, beside about three hundred and fifty horses, they numbered nearly fifteen hundred men, without counting the Indians in service. There are also, in that country, many white mulberry trees, very good pastures, excellent water, ponds full of fish, marshes full of herbs, the buds of which are good for cattle, and of themselves sufficient to nourish them.

BOOK FOURTH.

ADVENTURES OF THE SPANIARDS IN DIVERS PROVINCES.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM APALACHE.

AFTER they had dispatched Maldonado to Havana for provisions and other things necessary for the troops, the general left the town of Apalache about the end of March of the year 1540, and took his route toward the north. He marched three days without being attacked by the enemy, and lodged in a village almost inclosed by a marsh which was more than a hundred yards wide, and where they sank over their knees. However, as in this marsh there were pieces of wood from one side to the other, they easily passed it, and from there, without difficulty, they reached the town, situated upon an elevation, whence they discovered many villages here and there in a pleasant valley. The troops sojourned three days in this town, which was still a dependence of Apalache. During this time, five guards of the general left the quarters with Aguilera and Moreno to reconnoitre the villages of the country. The guard carried each a halberd, and the others their swords. Aguilera had also a shield, and Moreno a lance. They passed, in this state, the marsh and the angle of a wood, and entered into a field planted with corn; where, at about two hundred yards from the camp, they were attacked by the Indians. They immediately cried out "to arms," the soldiers who heard them left the town, and not to lose time in searching a passage, they rushed into the marsh and ran in haste to their assistance. However, notwithstanding the speed they made, they found the guards slain, each one with ten or twelve arrows through his body, and the two others badly injured. Moreno had in his breast a wound which went through to his shoulder, and he expired

whilst they were dressing it. Aguilera, who had fought bravely, had his thigh pierced by two arrows, his body black with blows, and his head wounded; for the barbarians, having exhausted their arrows, took his shield, and with it, struck him such violent blows that they laid bare his head, even to his eyebrows. But as he was young and robust, he did not die from it. In the mean time, the Indians, perceiving the succors, fled so quickly that they could not learn their number. They knew, however, from Aguilera, that there were more than fifty men; and some time after, they learned, in this way, the manner in which the thing had happened.

One day the Spaniards, through raillery, asked Aguilera, if he had counted the blows which he had received, and if, to avenge himself for them with honor, he would not challenge these barbarians to fight him, man to man. He replied that the blows had fallen so thick upon his shoulders, that he had not been able to count them. That in regard to the injury they had done him, they would some day be able to give information when they should be in the hands of the enemy. That, nevertheless, to inform them in what manner his misfortune had happened, they should know that many Indians had met him and his comrades in the field, and that, having seen them only seven, on foot, they had detached from the main body a like number, who advanced toward them, and charged them vigorously, whilst the others remained spectators of the combat. That his companions and he, having neither crossbow nor musket to repulse them, the seven Indians had approached them at their leisure, and had fired upon them as upon beasts taken in a snare. That finally, they had put them in a deplorable condition; that however, since he had not lost his life, he pardoned them the injuries they had done him; and that, for fear of another misfortune, he would not think of challenging them; at the same time counselling those who railed at him, not to leave the camp without arms, for fear of being maltreated, and serving, in their turn, for the diversion of others. Those who were listening to Aguilera remained surprised, for they had never believed that the Indians would dare to fight in equal numbers against the Spaniards. But this encounter made them acquainted with the boldness of these people, who, seeing no horses, confided so strongly in their courage, that they did not think of yielding to the bravest Christians in either valor or address.

CHAPTER II.

ARRIVAL IN THE PROVINCE OF ALTAPAHA AND ACHALAUQUE.

THE general left Apalache and repaired to the frontiers of the province Altapaha. He went there to reconnoitre, himself, with one hundred and fifty men, as many of cavalry as of infantry, and entered the third day of his march into the first town of the country. The greater part of the inhabitants had retired from this place, so that they took but six of them, of whom there were two captains, who had remained in order to make the last leave.

They led them to the general, to get some knowledge of the country, but no sooner were they in his presence than these Indian chiefs boldly demanded of him if he came to make war or treat of peace. He had them told that he demanded only peace and some provisions in order to go on. They replied that they ought not to arrest them; that the demand which they made being reasonable, it would be granted without difficulty; and that even throughout the province the troops would be favorably received. They dispatched two of their people to the cacique to inform him of all that had happened, and ordered them to tell those whom they should meet, not to harass the Spaniards; and to make known to each other that these people only traversed their country without devastating it. The general, who had these orders interpreted to him, began to hope that everything would succeed according to his wishes, and commanded that they should regale the two chiefs and set them at liberty. In the mean time, the Indians that were with the general counselled him to retrace his steps to another town, better than the village where he was, and offered to conduct him there by an agreeable route.

Soto, allowing himself to be persuaded, sent orders to his colonel of cavalry to repair to this town. He marched there quickly with what troops he had, and was received there with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The cacique, informed of these things, came to salute the general, who appeared very much rejoiced at his arrival, and the inhabitants who had fled returned to their houses. In the mean time, the rest of the army arrived, one part lodged in the town and the others outside; and during the three days that they sojourned there, they lived peaceably with the barbarians. Afterwards they marched ten days, up along the river, where they saw fine mulberry trees, and remarked that the country was fertile, the

people, gentle and sociable. So that, on both sides keeping the peace inviolate, the Indians did not receive any offence; because they contented themselves with what was only necessary. Afterwards, the Christians departed from Altapaha and entered into Achalaque, a poor and sterile province where they found only old men, of whom the greater part had weak vision or were blind. As they judged of the number of young men by that of the old, and as in the country they had not met any young men, the Spaniards believed that they had concealed themselves, and that they awaited them in ambush. But when they had investigated with care, they learned that they had nothing to fear, and in fact, there were no young men found in Achalaque, which surprised them still more. However, they did not put themselves to the trouble of learning the cause of it; they thought only of going to Cofaciqui, where they all hoped to enrich themselves. They therefore made long journeys and as the country was beautiful, without rivers or forests, they traversed it in five days. When the general left Achalaque, he gave to the cacique, among other things, two hogs. He had made a similar present to the chief of Altapaha, and to some others with whom he had made alliance; for he had brought into Florida more than one hundred of these animals, which, during the entire journey, were of use on divers occasions. But because sometimes they went astray upon the road, and the general gave away always as many males as females, it is very likely that if the barbarians have not slain them in hate of the Christians, there may be, at this time, many of them in Florida, which is a country very suitable for raising them.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE CACIQUE COFA AND HIS PROVINCE.

WHEN the general passed from one province to another, he was accustomed to go himself openly, or to send notice of his coming; wherefore he sent to the cacique of Cofa to induce him to make an alliance, and to assure him that his design was to gain the people by gentleness; that he acted generously toward those who desired peace, of which the inhabitants of Apalache, their neighbors, were witnesses, whom the Spaniards had treated with every kindness. And as for him, if he would accept their friendship, he would be not less satisfied with it than the others. Cofa and his subjects replied that the general did them much honor, and that he and his troops would be received with joy; that they could never see him too soon,

nor could he enter their country too soon. The Spaniards, delighted with this response, quickened their march, and the fourth day after their departure from Achalaque they arrived at the first town of Cofa, where the cacique, in order to appear as a great lord, awaited them with the most active of his subjects, whom he had assembled from all of his provinces. But when he learned that the Christians were approaching, he went out a quarter of a league to meet them; where, after having saluted Soto and fulfilled his promise to him, and finally made known to each other their satisfaction, the army entered into the town in very good order. The cacique lodged Soto, distributed the quarters, and retired to a town about two musket shots from the troops.

The Spaniards, rejoiced at this reception, remained five days in the country, and, at their departure, gave in custody to the cacique the only piece of cannon which they had. And to show to him the esteem which they had for him, by the importance of the thing which they had confided to him, the general ordered the cannon to be fired at a large oak, which was upset at the second shot. The cacique and his subjects, surprised at an effect which appeared to them so extraordinary, showed that it was truly a great mark of esteem and confidence to leave with them so important a trust. Afterwards the troops took the route to the province of Cofaciqui, and the cacique with his people accompanied them. But after one day's march, they besought him not to go any further. He therefore took leave of the Spaniards with a thousand declarations of kindness, commanded his suite to embrace them, and sent to his brother, Cofaqui, to inform him that the army was approaching his country, and that it deserved to be favorably received. Soto, at the same time, sent to seek an alliance with Cofaqui; and after six days of travel he left the province of Cofa, which is a country suitable for cattle, very productive in corn, and very delightful. There they met with great forests, beautiful rivers, plains, mountains, and, above all, people very sociable.

CHAPTER IV.

COFAQUI RECEIVES THE SPANIARDS.

HAVING learned that the Christians were coming upon his lands, Cofaqui had everything prepared to give them an honorable reception, and dispatched to the general four of the most distinguished of his vassals, accompanied by a number of others, to assure him of

his obedience. Soto, rejoiced to see them, treated them with great kindness, and went with them as far as the first town, which is called Cofaqui, from the name of the chief and the province. While he was approaching this place, the cacique, who was within, had information of it, and went out to meet him, followed by many of his subjects equipped with bows, plumes, and mantles of marten skins. Cofaqui saluted him with respect, and after some compliments he confirmed him in what they had said in respect to himself. The general, on his part, received him in a very courteous manner, and promised him every favor, in gratitude for the reception he had given him. The Spanish officers and the Indians, following their example, also paid each other great civilities, and our people went into the town full of joy and satisfaction. Cofaqui at the same time distributed the lodgings, and for fear of incommoding his new guests, retired, with his own people, to a neighboring village. But the next day he came to pay his respects, and he asked the general to tell him if he would remain or go on further, in order the better to take his measures to render him every service. Soto replied that he would take the route to Cofaciqui, and would not stop until he had reached that country. Thereupon the cacique replied that it was separated from the province of Cofaqui by a wilderness of seven days' journey. That for that purpose he offered him provisions and soldiers, and that, if it pleased him to give his orders, he would have them punctually executed. The general made known that he was obliged to him, and requested him to do on this occasion what he judged necessary for the march, and that thus he hoped the troops would not lack anything, and that he would arrive safely at Cofaciqui.

The cacique, delighted that the general confided in him, ordered the troops to be immediately raised. In four days there were four thousand men to escort the army, with a like number to carry the baggage and provisions. Nevertheless, for fear of some surprise on account of the number of Indians, the general commanded his men to hold themselves more than ordinarily on their guard. But these barbarians were very far from undertaking anything. They thought only of gaining the friendship of the Spaniards, in order that they might assist them to avenge themselves upon the people of Cofaciqui, with whom they were at war. Therefore one day, before the departure of the Christians, the cacique had Patofa, his lieutenant-general, called, and said to him that a good occasion presented itself of resenting the wrongs which the inhabitants of Cofaciqui had done them all. That to have satisfaction for it, he sent him into the country with the army of the Spaniards; that it was

his interest to cherish its friendship by every service, because it was by the assistance of these invincible troops he would avenge him, in a great degree, on his enemies; that this, besides, would give him an occasion to deserve well of his prince and country, and would increase his reputation; that knowing his ardor for glory, his zeal for his country, and his valor upon all occasions, he would say no more, convinced that he would gloriously respond to the hopes they had of him.

After Patofa, who was handsome, and whose visage indicated something noble, had received this order, he took off a mantle of cat skins which he had upon his shoulders, took a palm branch which one of his servants carried for him, and made, before his lord, many gambols and leaps, with so much grace that he was admired. Then advancing towards his chief with the palm branch in his hand, he saluted him in a manner but little different from ours, and assured him that he would sacrifice himself for his service; that since his force was seconded by the Spaniards, he pledged him his word of honor that he would avenge him of his enemies; that even his vengeance should be illustrious, and capable of making him forget the insults which he had received: adding, that if fortune should betray his courage, and that if he did not fulfil the expectation which they had conceived of him, his misfortune should be followed by his death. At these words the cacique embraced his lieutenant, and said to him, that upon the assurance of the success of his enterprise, he would recompense him in advance. Thereupon, he took a mantle of marten skins, which he wore, and which our people valued at two thousand ducats, and invested Patofa with it: which is, among the Indians, the greatest mark of honor that a subject can receive.

CHAPTER V.

THE ADVENTURE OF AN INDIAN.

THE night before the Spaniards left for Cofaciqui, their guide, who was one of the Indians they had taken in Apalache, and whom they named Pedro, without, however, having baptized him, began to cry for help, and that they were killing him. The troops immediately seized their arms in the fear of some treason, and put themselves in order of battle. But not seeing anything, and having inquired the cause of alarm, they learned that it was their guide, whom they found quite frightened, and almost half dead. When the general demanded of him what had made him utter such loud cries,

he replied that the devil, with a frightful visage, accompanied by many little demons, had appeared to him ; that he had threatened to kill him if he led the Christians to Cofaciqui ; that, thereupon, he had trodden upon his belly ; had dragged him through the room, and had given him so many blows that he could not move ; that if he had not been succored by two Spaniards the devil would have killed him ; but that the moment he perceived them he fled away with all his attendants ; that, therefore, since the demons feared the Christians, he begged that they would baptize him immediately, in order that the devil might not come any more to maltreat him. The general and his officers, who judged of the truth of the adventure by the wounds, sent for the priests ; who, after having interrogated this poor Indian, baptized him, and did not abandon him the rest of the night nor the following day. He was in such a pitiable condition that it was necessary to restore him, and the army could not decamp until the next day ; yet it was necessary that this Indian should mount on horseback. Cofaqui accompanied the general two leagues, and afterwards paid him some compliments upon the sorrow he had at leaving him. He again commanded Patofa to obey the Spaniards in all things, and he reminded him that he was engaged in very important affairs ; that they would judge of the merit of men, but by the brilliancy of their deeds. Then he returned to the town, and the troops went on to Cofaciqui, where they ardently wished to arrive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARCH OF THE TROOPS.

THE Indians and Spaniards formed two separate army corps, and marched every day in this manner : Patofa and the general, each at the head of his troops, the baggage and servants in the middle. When night drew near, the Indians distributed provisions to the Spaniards ; the armies encamped and posted sentinels, and put themselves in such a manner, upon their guard against each other, that one might have believed them enemies. The Christians, especially, were always watching the deportment of the barbarians, who only wished to show that they understood warfare. The Spaniards also prided themselves upon the same thing ; each one emulously observed discipline. At the end of two days' journey they arrived in very good order at a wilderness between the provinces of Cofaqui and Cofaciqui. The Spaniards marched six days, without much

trouble, through this desert; because its woods and ways were favorable. Besides some rivulets, they crossed two rivers, not deep, but very wide, and so rapid that they were obliged to place many horses in a file in order to break the rapidity of the water, and favor the passage of the persons on foot, who could not keep themselves erect unless the horses supported them. On the seventh day, about noon, they found themselves at the end of the road which they had followed till then, and met with nothing but paths which went here and there into the forest, and which lost themselves almost immediately. So that, no longer knowing what route to take, the general began to suspect the barbarians. He told Patofa that, under the appearance of friendship, he had wished to destroy them. That it was not credible that among eight thousand Indians whom he commanded, there was not one who knew the road, considering that they had always been at war with the people of Cofaciqui, and made incursions on each other. Patofa replied that he had never been so far, and not one of those who accompanied him; that they could not call war, the skirmishes which had taken place between them and their enemies; that in the desert they had fought only in the divers encounters in hunting and fishing, where they had killed and made prisoners on both sides; that, as the inhabitants of Cofaciqui had always gained the advantage, they feared them, and had not dared to enter their country; that, therefore, since neither he nor his people knew where they were, he begged that he would entertain, in their favor, other sentiments than those which he had expressed; that the people of Cofaqui were not capable of any baseness; besides, the cacique and he had too much honor to falsify, by an infamous treachery, the good reception they had given the Spaniards; that, for the guarantee of his word, they might take such hostages, and as many as they pleased; that he would even pledge his life and those of his soldiers, who would all devotedly sacrifice themselves to maintain the honor of their cacique and their own glory.

Soto, moved by this discourse, feared lest their commander might go to some extremity to show the innocence of his conduct, and replied to him, that, very far from believing that he had maliciously misled the Spaniards, he was now convinced to the contrary, and that the manner in which he had spoken, sufficiently justified it. They then called the Indian, Pedro, who had guided them so correctly, that, at the close of the day, he marked the route for the following day. But he avowed that he had entirely lost the way, and excused himself, because it had been a long time since he had been to Cofaciqui. The Spaniards, who imagined that he dreaded being again maltreated by the devil, and that it would be in vain to entreat

him, continued the remainder of the day to march through the most open parts of the forest, and arrived at sunset at the borders of a large river which was not fordable.* As they had nothing to cross it with, and as they had consumed their provisions, this increased their misfortunes, and they were all the night in great consternation. At the break of day the general, in order to reassure them, promised not to continue the march until they had first discovered some road.

He therefore commanded Gusman, Vasconcello, Aniasco, and Tinoco, captains of cavalry and infantry, to take each their men, and ordered some to coast the river upward, others to do the same downward, and all the rest to advance a league into the country, and to return in five days to the camp, to report there what they should have discovered. Aniasco went up the river with the barbarian general, the guide Pedro, and a thousand Indians. The other captains had each as many of them, in order to spread themselves through the woods and be able the more easily, to discover some road. In the mean time, Soto awaited them upon the borders of the river, and endured all that one could suffer of famine. He and his soldiers ate, ordinarily, only the things which the four thousand barbarians who remained, brought to them. These Indians left the quarters as soon as it was morning, to search for provisions, and did not return until night, some with herbs, roots, and some birds which they had killed; others with fish; in one word, with whatever they had met with, which they gave entirely to the Spaniards, who were three days only partially nourished by the provisions which the Indians furnished them. But as our people left them the better part of it, and as Soto saw that they could no longer subsist upon it, he had some hogs killed, and distributed half a pound of meat to each Spaniard, which rather irritated than appeased their hunger. Nevertheless, to show their gratitude to the Indians, they divided with them what they had. The general, who persuaded them to this, suffered as the plainest foot-soldier. He concealed his distress; he caressed the soldiers, and encouraged them with a gayety that charmed them and made them forget a part of their troubles; so that, in their turn, they showed a countenance as contented as if they had everything in abundance.

* This river probably was the Ogeeche. They, according to the Elva Narrative, crossed it; and then took place what is related of searching for the road.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE fifth day that the army marched in the desert, an Indian of those who had the care of the provisions ran away ; either that he desired to return to his wife or that he feared to die of hunger. Patofa, who was informed of it, dispatched four of his men in close pursuit of him, who, after having overtaken him, led him back to the quarters with his hands bound, and presented him to him. Then he began to reproach him for his baseness, and represent to him the injury which his flight was doing the Indians, the disrespect which he had for the orders of his cacique ; and swore that his crime should not remain unpunished, but that he should serve for an example to retain the others in their duty. Thereupon, he ordered that they take him to a rivulet and then make him take off what covered him, except his drawers. He commanded them to bring many sprouts, a yard long ; he had the water muddied, and ordered the deserter to lie down in it and drink it all. Four of the stoutest Indians had charge to take the switches and strike, with all their force, this miserable man if he ceased to drink. This poor Indian drank at first as much as it was possible ; but when he came to take breath, they gave him so many blows that they forced him to continue. In the mean time, some of his friends ran to find Soto, cast themselves at his feet, and conjured him with tears, to ask Patofa to pardon the unfortunate man.

Soto, who knew that they would not cease to torment the Indian until he had lost his life, requested Patofa to be contented with the punishment the deserter had suffered. He consented, and they drew from the stream the poor barbarian all swollen with the water which he had drunk ; in one word, half dead.

It also happened that one of the days when they suffered the most from famine in the desert, four soldiers, the most courageous and the most honorable men of the army, resolved to divide what provisions remained to them in common. As they found but a handful of corn, they had it parched to swell it, they divided it among themselves, and each one had eighteen grains of it. Three ate their parts, and there remained but Silvestre, who wrapped his in a handkerchief. Afterwards, another soldier whom they called Troche, asked him if he had anything to eat, and he replied very

pleasantly that they had sent him some good macaronis from Seville.

Troche began to laugh. In the mean time, another of his companions arrived, who begged them to give him some food. Silvestre also pleasantly replied to him, that he had a very excellent cake; that he was ready to share it. This last, turning this into ridicule, Silvestre replied that he had asserted nothing but what was true, and drew out his handkerchief, in which were the eighteen grains of corn. He gave to each of his companions six, and kept the rest for himself. They regaled themselves immediately with this before any one might surprise them. They then went away to drink at a stream, and passed the day thus, without eating. Such is the way in which the other soldiers endured hunger, and it is by such suffering that they won the new world, whence they draw, every year, twelve or thirteen millions of gold and silver, and a great quantity of precious stones. When I consider also that it is principally from Peru that come these riches to the Spaniards, I esteem it very glorious for me to be the son of one of the conquerors of that kingdom.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SUCCESS OF THE CAPTAINS SENT OUT TO EXPLORE.

DURING these things the officers who had been sent to find out the route, did not suffer less from hunger than the general. During three days of the five of their march they had nothing to eat. They did not even succeed in their discovery, except Aniasco, who met with a village on the borders of the river which he coasted. There were few people in this village, but so much provisions that in a single lodge they found five hundred measures of corn-meal, besides a quantity of corn in the grain. The people of Patofa and Aniasco rejoiced at this good luck, visited the rest of the houses, ascended the highest, saw on both sides of the river many habitations and cultivated lands. Afterwards they took their meal, and about midnight the Spaniards dispatched four cavaliers to Soto, who, to assure him of the things which they should tell him, took samples of corn and some cow horns. Up to that time they had not seen cattle in Florida; yet they had found the fresh meat, which often induced them to urge the Indians to tell them where they should meet with these cattle. But neither by entreaties nor by threats had they ever been able to draw anything from these barbarians.(15)

The same night that the cavaliers were sent to the general, the people of Patofa learned that they were in a village of the province of Cofaciqui, and they sacked it. They pillaged the temple, where were the riches of the place, and, without consideration of sex or age, slew those whom they could capture, and took off their heads to carry them to their cacique, to show him the vengeance which they had taken upon his enemies. This disorder continued until day; and about noon Aniasco and Patofa, with those who accompanied them, apprehending that if they remained longer at the village, the people of the country might assemble in great numbers, come and attack them, and cut them all to pieces, resolved to decamp and go and rejoin Soto.

CHAPTER IX.

ARRIVAL OF THE GENERAL AT COFACIQUE, AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTRY.

THE general, having learned the particulars of the discovery of Aniasco, decamped, and took for guides the cavaliers whom they had dispatched to him; but, because the troops which had accompanied him were suffering greatly from hunger, they thought only of repairing to where there were provisions. So that, without keeping any order in their march, they advanced with so much speed that, after having made in one day and a half more than twelve leagues, they arrived where their companions were. They there refreshed themselves seven days, and during this time the three other captains whom they had sent on the exploration returned to the place whence they had departed, without having met with a single village or taken any Indian, although they had seen many pass. But as they no longer found Soto, they followed the route which he had taken, and repaired to the village where he had proceeded.* There they related to him the details of their expedition, and recuperated themselves, of which they had great need; for they were overcome with fatigue, and during eight days they had eaten only roots. In the mean time Patofa and his people spread themselves four leagues around the quarters; they slew indifferently men and women, sacked the towns, and pillaged the temples where they could enter. The general, informed of this, and that the barbarians were going to push their resentment still further,

* Soto had marked a tree, and at the foot of it buried a letter for them, which they found.

believed that it was his interest to stop this disorder; because, being contrary to the design which he had of gaining the people by mildness, they would be to him in the future cruel and powerful enemies. He therefore sent to request Patofa to curb his people. This captain obeyed, and at his return from the pursuit of his enemies, Soto gave him, for his cacique and for himself, some silk stuffs, linen, knives, mirrors, and other like things; and after having thanked him for his kindness, he entreated him not to go any further, but to return to his province.

Patofa, delighted with the presents which they had made him, returned with so much the more joy, as he had bravely avenged his chief. Soto, after his departure, remained two days more at the camp; but as soon as he saw his men ready, he marched up along the river, where he found much provisions and many Indians massacred, which had compelled the other inhabitants of the quarters to retire into the forest. And at the end of three days' journey he encamped in a place filled with mulberry trees and many trees loaded with fruit. The quarters made, he commanded Aniasco to follow, with thirty soldiers, the route which they had held thus far, and to endeavor to capture some Indians, in order to get some knowledge of the country and of the cacique of the province. That, at all events, he should take great care to notice everything which he should see, in order that the army might continue its march in safety; that he relied on his discretion, and hoped that the good fortune which had always accompanied him would not abandon him on this occasion. A little before night Aniasco, with his companions, secretly left the camp. They followed the road which they had directed them, which gradually enlarged; but after two leagues they heard a confused noise, like that which is made in a town. Thereupon continuing their route until out of the forest where they were, they saw a light. They heard the dogs barking, the children crying, and persons speaking, and knew that they were not far from some town. They therefore prepared to capture some Indians; and, with this design, they silently crept directly toward the village, each emulating the other.

When they had gone a little way they perceived the town on the other side of the river along which they had come. They turned and ran here and there to discover a crossing; but not finding one, they stopped in an open place upon the borders of the river at a place where boats landed. They rested there for some time, and then returned before day. They related to the general their discovery, and as soon as the sun had risen he took a hundred horse and as many foot soldiers and went to reconnoitre the town. When

he arrived at the crossing, Ortis and Pedro the Indian cried out to the inhabitants that they came to make an alliance with their cacique, and that the people whom they perceived were the retinue of the ambassador. The barbarians, surprised at what they saw, quickly retired into the village to carry there this news.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONDUCT OF THE LADY OF COFACIQUEL.

THE arrival of the Spaniards being made known throughout the town, six of the principal persons of the place, good looking and aged about forty-five years each, entered a boat with other Indians and crossed the river. When they were in the presence of the general, they turned to the east, and bowed to the sun; then to the west, and bowed to the moon; then to Soto, who was gravely sitting upon a seat which was always kept ready for him to receive the ambassadors who were sent to him. They, according to the custom of the inhabitants of Florida, first asked if he wished peace or war, and he replied peace, their alliance, and boats to cross the river; that he also asked them to give him a passage through their lands, and some provisions to proceed further; that he was sorry to beg them, but that necessity compelled him; that, therefore, the favor which they should grant him would be very gratifying to him; that he would endeavor to acknowledge it, and should so act that they would have as much reason to be satisfied with his conduct as he with their generosity. The Indians replied that they accepted the peace, but that there were but few provisions in the country; that, with the exception of their town, the pestilence had desolated the province; that the greater part of the inhabitants had been taken off by the malady, and that the others, having retired into the forest, had not planted; that even since the pestilence ceased they had not returned to their homes. Nevertheless, he ought to hope for the best, since they were the subjects of a young lady who was not less prudent than generous; that they were going to render her an account of everything, and return to bring her answer, which, according to all appearances, would not fail to be favorable. Thereupon they took leave of the general and returned to the village, and made to their princess a faithful recital of all that they were charged to say to her. Hardly had they spoken and told their opinion concerning the measures which ought to be taken on this occasion, than their lady commanded that they should hold ready a boat, and that

they should deck it in the best manner possible. She afterwards entered it with eight women, the most eminent of the province. This boat was towed by another, where were seated the six Indians who had returned from the Spaniards, and with them many rowers who managed the boats and who crossed them to the side where the general was.

As soon as the young lady approached the general, she paid her compliments to him, and, having sat down on a seat which they had brought for her, she related the things which her men had told her. She added that, although the misfortune of the year had deprived her of the means of assisting Soto as she would have wished, she would, notwithstanding, offer him six hundred measures of corn; that in two houses of the town, which were hers, they would find this quantity in each; that she had amassed these provisions to succor those of her subjects who had been preserved from the pestilence, and provided the general left her the one-half of her provisions, because of the poverty of the country, she would cheerfully abandon the other; that, if he desired any more, she would command to be opened the granaries of a village quite near; that she had two thousand measures of corn,* and he might take as much of it as he should judge necessary; that to lodge more comfortably the general and his officers, she would quit her own house and abandon to them half of the town; that, as for the soldiers, she would have huts built; that, even if all this was not sufficient, she would command the inhabitants to go away into a neighboring village; that, in order to facilitate to his army the passage of the river, she would take care that the next day they should have there rafts and boats all ready, in order to show the general with what ardor she endeavored to serve him.

Soto replied that he was under the greatest obligations to her; that the offers which she had made were more than he merited; that they appeared to him so much the more important, as her subjects were suffering on account of the misfortune of the year; that she deprived herself of many things to oblige him; that, under this consideration, he should have the provisions carefully husbanded, and should incommode her as little as possible; that, touching the lodging, all should be regulated with prudence; and that he was so charmed with her generosity that he desired to be favored by fortune only to testify to her some day his gratitude for the

* This word "measures" conveys no correct idea of the quantity, and is very vague, but from the context it appears that there was a great abundance of corn.

favours she conferred upon the Spaniards. Afterwards, Soto adroitly drew her into conversation about the province of Cofaciqui and the neighboring countries, and she replied in a manner that marked much intelligence and knowledge. They observed, also, that the people of Cofaciqui and of the two last provinces were more gentle, independent, and polite than the inhabitants of the other countries; for, although those of the countries which they had discovered might have demanded peace, and even might have kept it, they remarked, nevertheless, something inexpressibly rude, stiff, and insincere in their conduct. But as for those of Cofaciqui and their neighbors, it seemed as though they all their lives had had intercourse with the Spaniards. Besides, having much esteem for them, they obeyed them in all things, and endeavored by every way to show to them their affection, which required that they should treat their friendship with much discretion.

CHAPTER XI.

THE ARMY CROSSES THE COFACIQUE RIVER.

WHILST the Lady of Cofaciqui was speaking to Soto, she unstrung, one after another, large pearls from a chain, which made three tours around the neck, and descended to her waist. Then she made a sign to Ortis to take them and give them to the general; but when he showed to her that by presenting them herself, her pearls would receive a new lustre, she said to him that the modesty of persons of her sex forbade her this liberty. Soto, who knew what she said, replied to her that really her hands enhanced the value of her pearls, and that since she presented them only with the view of making peace, she was acting contrary neither to decorum nor her dignity. These words inspired her with a becoming confidence. She immediately arose, and gave the pearls to the general, who very politely approached to receive them. He, himself, took from his finger a very beautiful ruby, of which he made her a present as a sign of peace. She accepted it, and put it upon her finger with remarkable grace. Afterwards she took leave of the general and retired into the town, after having filled the Spaniards with admiration. Her beauty and her intellect had captivated them to such a degree that they did not even think of inquiring her name.* In the mean time, to give orders for the passage of the army, the general remained

* This story of the queen of Cofaciqui is very much like what the Elvas Narrative and Biedma relate; though each gives some different particulars.

upon the borders of the river, which the sailors believed to be the same as that which, upon the coast, is called Saint Helena, and commanded the colonel of cavalry to quickly forward the rest of the troops and repair to him. Also, during this time, the Indians made rafts in very great numbers, and brought many boats; so that the next day they crossed the river. Some persons relate that the Spaniards had four horses drowned, and others seven; which grieved them so much the more sensibly, as this misfortune had happened through the fault of those who conducted the horses. In fact, they drove them so heedlessly across the river that they got them into a gulf where they were lost.* The others having safely crossed with the army, one part of the troops lodged in the half of the village which the Indians had left for them, and the others under huts of branches; for the country is full of wood, fruit trees, and mulberry trees, more beautiful than those of which we have spoken heretofore.

CHAPTER XII.

THEY SEND FOR THE MOTHER OF THE LADY OF COFACIQUI.

THE day after the passage of the troops, Soto carefully inquired about the province of Cofaciqui, and he learned that the land was very good for cultivation, and for raising herds. He learned, moreover, that the mother of the lady of the country was a widow who dwelt twelve leagues from the quarters. Therefore, he entreated her daughter to send for her, and immediately she dispatched to her twelve of the principal Indians, with orders to entreat her to come to the camp to see, there, strangers well worthy of admiration, and also unknown animals. But nothing could move the mother, who blamed her daughter's imprudence, and manifested much resentment at her conduct. She also found great fault that the envoys had not opposed their lady, and she showed, by her conduct, a great contempt for the Spaniards. The general, upon this news, commanded Aniasco to descend along the river with thirty foot soldiers to a place distant from the communication with the village; that there he would meet with the mother of the lady of Cofaciqui, and that he should lead her, with much gentleness, to the quarters; because he wished to gain the country in this way, in order that he might be able, some day, to establish himself there

* This river was the Savannah; they had crossed the Ockmulge, Oconee, and Ogeeche; which is evident in the Elvas Narrative.

without much trouble. Aniasco left with his comrades, and took a young Indian of rank, whom the lady of the province had given to accompany him. This Indian was followed by some of his domestics, and had orders to march in advance, when they should arrive near the place to which they were going, in order to give notice of the coming of the Spaniards, and to beseech the good mother, in the name of her daughter, and the inhabitants of the country, to come to the camp; that she would have pleasure and honor there; that, in a word, she would be received there with much joy and affection. The lady of Cofaciqui had sent this young lord, because, having been raised by her mother, he was tenderly loved by her; and in consideration of this, there was reason to believe that he would render her more favorable to the Spaniards. Besides, he alone was able to make the scheme succeed: for he had address, besides an attractive form and mien, and was very spruce after the fashion of the country, with plumes of divers colors upon his head, a beautiful mantle of skins, a painted bow in his hands, and a quiver full of arrows upon his shoulders. This was the state in which the young Indian marched, who thought only of gaining the friendship of the Spaniards, and who, in all things, manifested that his greatest pleasure would be to oblige them.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DEATH OF THE INDIAN CHIEF, AND THE RETURN OF THE ENVOYS.

AFTER Aniasco and his companions had marched about three leagues, they rested themselves, during the heat of the day, under great trees. In the mean time, the Indian lord, who was in the midst of the troops, and who, until then, had agreeably entertained them concerning Cofaciqui and the neighboring country, began suddenly to muse. He negligently rested his head upon his elbow, and at times uttered profound sighs. Nevertheless, for fear of afflicting him more, they dared not ask him the cause of it. Afterwards, when he ceased sighing a little, he took his quiver and emptied it of nearly all the arrows, one after another. They were extremely beautiful; because the most distinguished inhabitants of Florida pride themselves on the beauty of these sorts of arms, especially on those which served them for ornaments. That one may have the pleasure of learning the manner in which they are made, I shall speak of the arrows of the Indian who accompanied the Spaniards. The arrows of this chief were of reed, furnished with feathers, and every

one had something remarkable. Many were armed with stags' horns or fish bones, and a few, of palm wood, sharpened at the end, and indented at the side with so much neatness that nothing could have been made more exact with steel.

As the Spaniards found them so well made, they took some of them to examine them closely; and all agreed that of this kind, there was nothing more finished. During this time the Indian, who saw that our men did not observe him, drew quietly from his quiver an arrow, the point of which was flint and like that of a poniard, stabbed himself with it in the throat, and fell dead. The Spaniards, astonished at this event, and sorry not to have been able to prevent a blow so fatal, called the valets of this Indian and demanded the cause of this misfortune. They replied, with tears in their eyes, that they supposed their master had killed himself in the belief that the services which he was rendering the Christians would be very disagreeable to the lady to whom he was conducting them. That since she had not come the first time, it was to be believed that she was offended. That thus he was illy requiting the love she bore him and the care she had taken of his education. They added that he was thus convinced that if he executed the orders of the young lady, he would grow out of favor with her. That finally he would be compelled to retire; and they asserted that seeing that he could not avoid disobliging either the daughter or the mother, he had generously resolved to show to them that he preferred death to the misfortune of displeasing them. The Spaniards found these conjectures very probable, and continued the journey. But after three leagues, they inquired of the servants of the Indian, if they knew the retreat of the lady whom they sought, and how far they were still from it. They replied that only their master knew it, but that nevertheless, they would endeavor to find it. Our men did not tire of travel, and at the end of four leagues they perceived some Indians. They immediately placed themselves in ambush, and captured a man and three women. They requested them to direct them to the road which led to the mother of the lady of Cofaciqui; and these barbarians replied that the report was current that she had left her ordinary dwelling, and that even they did not know exactly where she had retired. That, however, if they would follow them, they would inquire about it; and that, without searching very far, she might perhaps be found very near. As the Spaniards were deliberating concerning the resolution they ought to take upon this reply, one of their companions said, that, the first envoys not having had any success in their enterprise, there was no appearance that they would be more fortunate. That the lady whom they were going to seek

showed a particular aversion to the Spaniards; that she having persisted in not coming, she had perhaps assembled troops to cut them all in pieces in case they should wish to carry her off; and that, without horses, they could not defend themselves nor attempt anything; that after all, this good woman was very useless to them for their conquest, and that it was sufficient to have her daughter, with whom it was requisite to make a durable peace. Besides, they did not know what route to take to go to the dwelling of the mother, because they lacked faithful guides; and that, without speaking of the young chief whose death was a bad sign, their fatigue ought to make them return to the general. They all unanimously concurred in this opinion, and retraced their route to the camp, where they rendered an account of their adventure. Three days after that an Indian offered to conduct them, by descending the river, to where was the mother of the lady of Cofaciqui; and Aniasco took two boats with twenty of his comrades, and followed his guide. The first day they found the four horses that were drowned at the crossing of the river Cofacique, and this renewed the regret which they had had for their loss. But the five other days which they continued their voyage they did not make any discovery; and after much trouble they returned to the quarters with news that the lady whom they went in search of, having known that they would return for her, had concealed herself in a forest, whence they had no means of drawing her. The general then, despairing of taking her, turned all his thoughts elsewhere.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE METAL WHICH THEY FOUND IN COFACIQUI.

DURING the expeditions of Aniasco, the other Spaniards, who all expected to make fortunes in Cofaciqui, carefully inquired about the riches which are found there; and the general commanded to be called the two young Indians whom they had brought from Apalache. He sent them to the lady of Cofaciqui to entreat her to procure the pearls and the white and yellow metals with which trafficked the merchants whom they had served, assuring her that if she obliged the Spaniards in that, she would succeed in loading them with her favors. This lady immediately dispatched some of her subjects to fetch these metals, and they brought back copper of a very golden color, with some white slabs like silver, an ell long and wide, from three to four inches thick and yet very light. But when

they handled it they reduced it to powder as they would a dry clod of earth. Afterwards, she sent word to the Spaniards, that at the end of the village, in a temple where were interred the most distinguished persons of the place, there were all sorts of pearls in abundance; that they might take as many of them as they thought proper; that if they wanted more they would find some at a league from the quarters, in the capital of the country; that this town, the residence of her ancestors, had a temple where they would see a great quantity of pearls, which she abandoned to the discretion of the general and his troops; and that, if they were not satisfied with all that, they could even have more of them, by means of the fishing that was practised in the country. This news consoled the Spaniards for not having met, in Cofacique, with the gold and silver with which they had flattered them. They also rejoiced to see that many believed that there might be gold in the copper, but as they had neither aqua-fortis nor quicksilver they could not assay it.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TEMPLE WHERE WERE INTERRED THE MOST DISTINGUISHED INHABITANTS OF COFACIQUEL.

WHEN they knew the riches of the temple where were interred the most distinguished of the inhabitants of Cofacique, they had it guarded, and, at the return of Aniasco, the general and the captain went there. They found in this temple great wooden boxes without locks, and they were astonished that, without tools, the Indians had been able to make them so well. These boxes were around the wall upon benches two feet from the ground, and inclosed the dead, (16) embalmed in such a manner that they had not an offensive odor. Besides these great boxes, they had smaller ones, and cane baskets very well made. These last boxes were filled with clothing of men and women, and the baskets with pearls of all sorts. The Spaniards were rejoiced at so much wealth; for they found there more than a thousand measures of pearls. They examined twenty measures, and took only two, with as many of the seed pearls, to send to Havana, where their value was known.* In fact, the general

* Biedma mentions the temple as a burial place of the chiefs of the country; that the Spaniards took from it a great quantity of pearls, six or seven *arrobas*, but that they were spoiled by being buried in the ground. He says they dug up two Spanish axes, a chaplet of wild olive seed, and some small beads resembling those brought from Spain for the purpose of trading with the Indians.

did not wish that they should encumber themselves with many things, and he even would have had the rest of the pearls replaced in the baskets, if they had not begged him to distribute them. He therefore gave them liberally to the soldiers and the officers, with orders to make chaplets of them, for which they were suited. Afterwards the Spaniards left the temple, and Soto, two days after, took three hundred men, the principal of his troops, and went to Talomeco.

Both sides of the road, from the camp to this town, were covered with trees, of which a part bore fruit, and it seemed as though they promenaded through an orchard, so that our men arrived with pleasure and without difficulty at Talomeco, which they found abandoned on account of the pest. Talomeco is a beautiful town, and quite noted, as it was the residence of the caciques. It is upon a small eminence near the river, and consists of five hundred well-built houses. That of the chief is elevated above the town, and is seen from a distance. It is also larger, stronger, and more agreeable than the others. Opposite this house is the temple, where are the coffins of the lords of the province. It is filled with riches, and built in a magnificent manner; but as I despair of describing it properly, I conjure the worthy persons who shall read this history to supply the defects of my description in forming to themselves a grand idea of the things with which I am going to entertain them.

CHAPTER XVI.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF TALOMECO.

THE temple of Talomeco, where is the sepulchre of the caciques, is more than a hundred steps long, by forty broad. The walls are high in proportion, and the roof very elevated, to supply the want of tiles and to give more slope to the water. The covering is of canes, very thin, split in two, of which the Indians make mats which resemble the rush carpets of the Moors, which are very beautiful to view. Five or six of these mats, placed one upon the other, serve to prevent the rain from penetrating and the sun from enter-

The Elvas account says, that about a league and a half around Cofaciqui were great towns dispeopled and overgrown with grass; that there were, in store-houses, great quantities of clothes, mantles of yarn made of the barks of trees, and others made of feathers, white, green, red, and yellow; deer skins made into hose, stockings, and shoes. He also says that in this town were found a dagger and beads that had belonged to Christians.

ing the temple; which the private people of the country and their neighbors imitate in their houses.

Upon the roof of this temple are many shells of different sizes, of divers fishes, ranged in very good order. But they could not comprehend whence they could have brought them, these people being so far from the sea, unless they had taken them in the rivers and streams which water the province. All these shells are placed with the insides out, to give more brilliancy, putting always the great spiral sea-shell between two small shells, with the interval from one piece to the other filled with many strings of pearls of divers sizes, in the form of festoons, from one shell to the other. These festoons of pearls, which extend from the top of the roof to the bottom, joined to the vivid brightness of the mother-of-pearl and the shells, produce a very beautiful effect when the sun shines upon them.

The temple had doors proportioned to its grandeur. There were seen at the entrance twelve statues of giants, made of wood. They are represented with an aspect so ferocious and menacing that the Spaniards stopped a long time to consider these figures, worthy of the admiration of ancient Rome. They say that these giants were placed there to defend the entrance of the door; for they are in a row on each side, and gradually diminish in size. The first are eight feet high, and the others proportionally a little less, in the order of the tubes of an organ.

They have arms conformable to their height, the first on each side have clubs ornamented with copper, which they hold elevated, and seem ready to bring them down with fury upon those who may dare to enter. The second have maces, and the third a kind of oar; the fourth, copper axes, the edges of which are of flint; the fifth hold a bended bow with the arrow ready to leave. Nothing is more curious to see than these arrows, the lower end of which is a piece of stag's horn very well finished, or a flint stone as keen as a dagger. The last giants have very long pikes, ornamented with copper at the two ends, and are in a menacing posture as well as the others, but all in a different manner, and very natural.

The height of the walls of the temple within is adorned conformable to the exterior of the roof; for there is a kind of cornice made of the great spiral sea-shell, placed in very good order, and between these are seen festoons of pearls which hang from the roof. In the intervals of the shells and pearls, there is seen in the arches a quantity of plumes of divers colors tied to the roof, and very well arranged. Besides this order which reigns above the cornice, many plumes and strings of pearls hang from all the other parts of the

roof, retained by imperceptible threads tied above and below, so that it seems as though these works might be ready to fall.

Beneath this ceiling and cornice, there are around the four sides of the temple two rows of statues, one above the other, the one of men and the other of women, of the height of the people of the country. Each one has his niche joining another, only to adorn the wall which had otherwise been too naked. All the men have arms in their hands, on which are rolls of pearls of four or five rows with tassels at the end, made of very fine thread, and of divers colors. As for the statues of the women, they hold nothing in their hands.

At the base of these walls there are wooden benches very well worked, where are placed the coffins of the lords of the province, and of their families. Two feet above these coffins, in the niches of the wall, are seen the statues of the persons who are buried there. They represent them so naturally that we can judge how they were at the time of their death. The women have nothing in their hands, but the men have arms. The space which is between the images of the dead, and the two ranks of statues, which commence under the cornice, is decorated with bucklers of divers sizes, made of reeds so strongly woven that there is no arrow of a crossbow, nor even shot of a musket that can perforate them. These bucklers are all adorned with pearls and with colored tassels, which greatly contribute to their beauty.

In the middle of the temple there are three rows of chests upon separate benches; the largest of the chests serve for a base to the medium size, and these for the smallest, and ordinarily, these pyramids are composed of five or six chests. As there are spaces between the benches, they do not prevent going from one side to the other, and seeing, in the temple, all that one wishes.

All these chests are filled with pearls, in such a manner that the largest contain the largest pearls, and thus, in succession, to the smallest which are full of seed pearls only. Besides, the quantity of pearls was such, that the Spaniards avowed, that even if there had been more than nine hundred men and three hundred horses, they all together could not have carried off at one time all the pearls of this temple. We ought not, however, to be too much astonished at this, if we consider that the Indians of the province conveyed into these chests, during many ages, all the pearls which they found, without retaining a single one of them. And hence we can judge by comparison, that if all the gold and silver, which they have brought from Peru to Spain, had not been transported elsewhere, the Spaniards would now be able to cover with gold and silver many churches.

Besides the innumerable quantity of pearls, there were found many packages of chamois skins, some of one color and others of another, without counting many raiments of skin with the hair variously dyed; many garments of cats', martens', and other skins, as well dressed as at the best places in Germany and Russia.

About this temple, which everywhere was very clean, there was a great magazine divided into eight halls of the same size, which added much ornament to it. The Spaniards entered these halls, and found them filled with arms. There were, in the first, long pikes, mounted with very beautiful copper, and ornamented with links of pearls, which made three or four turns. The place where these pikes touched the shoulder was embellished with colored chamois; and at the extremities there were tassels with pearls, which contributed greatly to their beauty.

There were, in the second hall, maces, like those of the giants, furnished with links of pearls, and, in places, with tassels of divers colors with pearls roundabout. In the third were found hammers, embellished as the others; in the fourth, pikes decked with tassels near the blade and at the handle; in the fifth, a kind of oar adorned with pearls and fringes; in the sixth, very beautiful bows and arrows. Some were armed with flint, sharpened at the end in the form of a bodkin, a sword, a pike blade, or the point of a dagger with two edges. The bows were adorned with divers brilliant colors, and embellished with pearls in divers places. In the seventh hall there were bucklers of wood and of cow-skins, brought from a distance, decked with pearls and colored tassels. In the eighth were bucklers of cane, woven very skilfully, and decked with tassels and seed pearls. Such is the description of the temple and magazine of Talomeco; which the Spaniards, who had been in Peru and in other parts of America, admired as the wonder of the New World. Afterwards, they asked the Indians, what had led them to amass so much wealth; and they replied that all the chiefs of the country, and principally those of their province, made their grandeur to consist in the magnificence of their temples.(17) Our people contented themselves with this reply, and immediately the controllers of the emperor, who attended the army to receive the fifth of all the wealth it should find, deliberated upon taking the claims of their master. But Soto told them that they ought not to burden themselves with anything; that they were sufficiently encumbered with the arms and provisions which they carried; that after the conquest of Florida they would divide it, and that he to whom should fall the province of Cofaciqui should pay the fifth of the

treasure which should be found in the temple of Talomeco. Everybody approved this sentiment, and they retraced their route to the quarters.*

CHAPTER XVII.

DEPARTURE FROM COFACIQUI, AND WHAT HAPPENED ON THE MARCH AS FAR AS CHOVALA.

As soon as the general had arrived at the quarters, he employed ten days in inquiring about the neighboring provinces, and, upon the assurance that they were fertile and populated, he commanded his men to hold themselves ready to leave, and went with the officers to take leave of the lady of Cofaciqui and the principal Indians. He thanked them for their kind reception, and particularly the young princess, to whom he promised every acknowledgment for the kindness she had had for the Spaniards. Then the troops decamped; but because they had not enough provisions to march in a body, they divided. The general ordered three of his captains to take a hundred cavaliers and two hundred foot soldiers and advance twelve leagues into the country, aside from the route to Chovala, whither they were going; that they would find in a village six hundred measures of corn; and that, after having taken as much as they could, they should rejoin the rest of the army on its march. These captains departed immediately, and the general took the route he had resolved upon. He arrived in eight days at Chovala, which bounds the province of Cofaciqui, and his officers at the town where they had been ordered to repair. They found there a great quantity of corn. They took two hundred measures and went to resume the route of the general who had passed. The greater part of them (who did not know how far they were from him, and who, in this uncertainty, feared to fail of provisions on the route) mutinied and would not obey, and doubled their pace in order to overtake him. The captains, who wished to go slowly on account of three sick horses, endeavored to restrain these mutineers by the consideration of the services they would draw from these animals; but they replied fiercely that they must not prefer three horses to the lives of three hundred men; and they began to march faster and in greater disorder than before. Thereupon one of the captains, who was at their head, told them that he was astonished at the recklessness with which they went; that in two days at the most they would rejoin the general at Chovala; that he had too much

* Neither the Elvas Narrative nor Biedma mentions these marvels.

honor, and was too well versed in war, to leave them in an enemy's country; that, therefore, it was not necessary, through a ridiculous fear of provisions failing, to abandon the horses which were so useful against the barbarians; that, without doubt, their conduct would cover them with shame, and would give great displeasure to Soto, who loved them; that, therefore, they ought rather to return to their duty and die like brave soldiers, than to be disobedient and live without glory. These words arrested them a little; and the next day at noon there arose, as they were marching, a storm, accompanied with wind, thunder, and hail, so destructive that, had they not met with some large trees, they would have all perished, for the hail was very large. But fortunately it did not last long; so they continued their march, and the third day arrived at a small village which was called Chalaques, whence the inhabitants had retired, excepting some old men, of whom the greater part were blind.

At three days' journey thence they rejoined the general, who had waited for them two days in a valley of the province of Chovala, distant from the capital about five leagues by the route which they had taken, and which they found quite pleasant, for they marched almost always through a country level and intersected, every three or four leagues, by small streams which flowed pleasantly through the country. They also met with some mountains with very gentle slopes, covered with herbs very suitable for cattle, and saw during their journey very good lands.

However, from Apalache to Chovala the route was about fifty-seven days' journey, and almost always toward the north or north-east. What is somewhat remarkable, the Spaniards found in the villages which were subject to the lady of Cofaciquei many slaves, Indians of other countries, that those who went hunting and fishing had made prisoners. These slaves served to cultivate the lands, and had been very badly treated to prevent them from escaping. Some had the tendons of their insteps cut, and others that of their heels. When I shall again have something to say of the lady of Cofaciquei, I will relate the most important things that happened or were seen in her provinces.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE GENEROSITY OF THE LADY OF COFACIQUEI.

THE Spaniards sojourned fifteen days in the capital of Chovala, situated between a town and a very rapid little river. They were very well received there, because the province was subject to the

lady of Cofaciqui. Afterwards they decamped, and marched the first day through cultivated lands, and five others over uninhabited mountains which were twenty leagues across. They were full of oak and mulberry trees, good pastures, and small streams which flowed among valleys very cool and agreeable.

To return to the lady of Cofaciqui. She had not been contented to have the Spaniards conducted as far as Chovala; she even commanded the inhabitants of this province to furnish them with as much provisions as they should wish, and even to give them Indians to serve them during the twenty leagues of mountains which they had to cross before reaching Guachoula. She also took care, in order that everything should work the better, that the Indian servants should be commanded by four of the chiefs of the country, and made to keep this order while the Spaniards marched through her lands. But this is the manner in which she conducted herself in respect to them when they left her dominion: She ordered the four Indian commanders that, as soon as they should arrive at the country of Guachoula (which borders on her provinces), they should march in advance; and that, in the quality of ambassadors, they should go and solicit the cacique to favorably receive the Spaniards in his kingdom; that, in case of refusal, they should declare war against him, and threaten to put fire and sword to everything in his country. The general knew nothing of this order until after they had passed the mountains. Then, when the four Indians asked him that they might take the lead, they discovered to him the business with which they were charged. Our people, surprised at this generous conduct, retained the opinion which they had, that the lady of Cofaciqui ardently desired to serve them. In fact, when in her province, she zealously served them; she begged them always to pardon her if she did not render them all the favors that were expected of her. The Spaniards, to convince her of the contrary, complimented her upon the manner in which she acted. This lady was not only liberal to our people, but even to her subjects, whom she loaded with favors. She also deserved to rule kingdoms; and to be an accomplished princess she only needed to be enlightened with the light of the faith.*

* This is very different from what the Elvas account relates of this Indian princess. It relates that she was forced to accompany Soto; that, one day stepping aside in the forest with one of her servant-women, she escaped with three slaves that fled from the camp; and that, in Xualla, she and a slave of Vascoucellos lived as man and wife.

CHAPTER XIX.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE TROOPS IN THE WILDERNESS.

THE day that the Spaniards left Chovala they missed three slaves, of whom two were negroes and the other a Moor. The love of women rather than any bad treatment had caused them to flee and live among the Indians, who were so delighted to have them, that they could never recover them whatever haste they made for that purpose. As the negroes loved their masters and passed for good Christians, they were surprised at their crime; but no one was astonished at the conduct of the Moor, who was crafty and wicked.

Two days after this flight, when the troops were marching through the wilderness, Juan Terron, one of the stoutest soldiers of the army, toward noon, drew from his saddle-bags about six pounds of pearls, and pressed a cavalier, one of his friends, to take them. The cavalier thanked him and told him that he ought to keep them, or rather, since the report was current that the general would send to Havanna, send them there to buy with them horses, and go no longer afoot. Terron, offended at this answer, replied that "these pearls then shall not go any farther," and thereupon he scattered them here and there upon the grass and through the bushes. They were surprised at this folly, for the pearls were as large as hazelnuts, and of very fine water, and because they were not pierced they were worth more than six thousand ducats. They collected about thirty of these pearls, which were so beautiful that it made them regret the loss of the others and say, in raillery, these words which passed into a proverb with them, "These are not pearls for Juan Terron."

Terron would never disclose where he had found so many large pearls, and as his companions often laughed at him for his conduct, he begged them, one day, to spare him, and said that every time he remembered his folly he took a notion to hang himself. Such are the prodigals that foolishly spend their wealth, and afterwards are in despair for it. On the contrary, those who are liberal have certain secret joys which they feel better than they can express.

PART SECOND.

BOOK FIRST.

THE RECEPTION OF THE SPANIARDS IN DIVERS PROVINCES, AND THE
BATTLES WHICH WERE FOUGHT THERE.


CHAPTER I.

HOW THE CACIQUES OF GUACHOULA AND ICIAHA RECEIVED THE
TROOPS.

WHEN the Spaniards had traversed the wilderness of which I have spoken in the last chapter of the first part of this history, they entered into the capital of Guachoula, situated among many streams which pass on both sides of the town and come from the mountains which are round about. The lord who bore the name of the province left the capital half a league, to meet the Spaniards, accompanied by five hundred of the principal persons of the country, very gayly dressed after their fashion. In this state he received the general with great manifestations of friendship, and conducted him into his village which consisted of three hundred houses. Then he lodged him in his house which he had prepared for that purpose, in consideration of the lady of Cofaciqui, and provided the Spaniards with everything necessary. His lodge was upon a mound, with a terrace around it where six men could promenade abreast.(18)

During four days that the general sojourned in this place, he inquired about the character of the country. Then he took the route to the province of Iciaha, and by making every day five leagues he arrived the sixth at the capital which bears the name of the cacique and the country. To go there, he descended along the many streams which pass by Guachoula, and which unite at some distance from there and make a river so powerful, that, in the province of Iciaha, distant about thirty leagues from the other, it is larger than the Guadalquivir, which passes by Seville.

The capital of Iciaha is at the point of an island of more than five leagues. The cacique, on the arrival of the general, left this village, and received him with every appearance of great joy. The



Indians who accompanied him did the same thing in regard to the other Spaniards, and they ferried them over in boats and upon rafts, which they held ready to render them this service. Afterwards they lodged them in their houses, and regaled them the best they could, and tried by every means to show to them their good-will. The general inquired, according to his custom, what in particular was found in that country; and the cacique told him that at thirty leagues from the capital, there were mines of the yellow metal of which he inquired, and that, if he wished to send people there, he would have them safely conducted there and back. Villabos and Silvera offered to make the journey. Soto consented to it, and they left immediately, on foot, with Indian guides.*

CHAPTER II.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE INDIANS EXTRACT PEARLS FROM THEIR SHELLS.

THE next day the cacique visited the general, and gave him a string of pearls of about two fathoms. This present had, without doubt, passed for beautiful, if the pearls had not been pierced; for they were all alike, and large as filberts. Soto, in acknowledgment of this favor, gave him some pieces of velvet and cloth which were particularly esteemed by the Indians; of whom he inquired where they fished for pearls. He replied that it was in his province; that in the temple of the town of Iciaha, where his ancestors were buried, there was a great quantity of them, and that they might help themselves at their discretion. The general replied that he was obliged to him, but that he would not carry away anything from the temple, and that he had received his present only in order not to displease him; that his design was only to know in what manner they extracted the pearls from the shells. The cacique replied that he would have them fished for all the night; and that the next morning at eight o'clock he should have the satisfaction he wished. He, therefore, immediately commanded them to send four boats to fish for pearls, with orders to return in the morning. In the mean time he took care that they should burn a great deal of wood upon the shore, in order to make there a great bed of live coals, that at

* Dahlonga, or Talonica, as it was originally named by the Indians, is in Lumpkin County, in the heart of the gold region of Georgia, not far from the northern boundary of that State. It is probable that the Indians procured their gold from this region. They "ascended to the sources of a great river" (Coça or Chattahooche).

the return of the boats they might put thereupon, the shells, which would open with the heat. They found, at the opening of the first shells, ten or twelve pearls of the size of a pea, which they took to the cacique, and to the general, who was present, and who found them very beautiful, except that the fire had deprived them of a part of their lustre.

When the general had seen what he wished, he returned to dine; and immediately after, a soldier entered, who instantly said to him that, in eating oysters which the Indians had caught, his teeth had encountered a very beautiful pearl of a very lively color, and that he begged him to receive it to send to the governess of Cuba. Soto politely refused this pearl, and assured the soldier that he was as obliged to him as if he had accepted it; and that some day he would try to acknowledge his kindness, and the honor which he did his wife; and that, nevertheless, he was of the opinion, that he preserve his present to purchase with it horses at Havana. The Spaniards, who were then with the general, inspected the pearl of this soldier; and some of them, who prided themselves upon their knowledge of jewelry, valued it at four hundred ducats; and as they had not made use of fire to extract it, it had not lost any of its lustre.(19)

While the Spaniards sojourned in the capital of Iciaha, a cavalier, whom they called Louis de Bravo, taking a walk upon the bank near the river, with a lance in his hand, saw a dog passing, and threw his lance at him with the intention of killing him to eat, for the want of better meat. But he missed him, and the spear struck the temple of Juan Mateos, who was fishing with a line, and killed him. Bravo, who had not seen him, and who did not suspect the misfortune, ran to get his lance, and found that he had pierced the head of Mateos—the only person of the troops who was gray-headed; wherefore they called him their father, and as they had much respect for him, his death sensibly affected them.

While these things were passing, those who had gone to explore, returned at the end of ten days, and reported that the mines were of a very highly colored copper; that, likely, if they had searched with care, they might have met with gold and silver; that, besides, the land through which they passed was good for grazing and for tillage; that, through the towns which they had passed, they had welcomed them; that even, every night, after having regaled them, they sent them two very pretty young girls to sleep with;(20) that, nevertheless, they had not touched them, for fear that if they had taken any liberties with them, the barbarians the next day might have avenged themselves for it by shooting them with arrows. But the Indians, perhaps, made use of them in this manner, with the

idea of better diverting their guests, whom they saw young and vigorous; for if they had wished to kill them, they could easily have done so without seeking any pretext.

CHAPTER III.

THE RECEPTION OF THE SPANIARDS IN THE PROVINCE OF ACOSTA AND COCA.

AFTER the return of Silvera and Villabos, the general commanded that they should hold themselves ready to leave, and they left the following day, with the friendship of the Indians of the country. The troops marched along the island, and at five leagues from Iciaha (where the river of this country unites with that of the country into which they were entering),* they came to the capital of Acosta, which bears the name of the province. The cacique received them at first in a manner very different from that of his neighbor; for when they entered Acosta there were more than fifteen hundred men under arms, all resolute and determined to fight, who did not disarm during the whole day, and who treated the Spaniards with so much pride and insolence that many times they were ready to come to blows with them. But the general prevented it, to preserve the peace they had kept ever since they had left Apalache. They obeyed; but they were all night under arms, as well as the savages, who, the next day, acted with less defiance and more civility. And the cacique, accompanied by the leading men of the country, came obligingly to offer corn; and our people believed that he was calmed by the recommendation of the cacique of Iciaha, who had sent to plead in their favor. The general accepted the provisions and paid for them. The troops immediately decamped, and passed the river in boats and on rafts, delighted that the affair had terminated without battle. From there they entered into the province of Coça, the inhabitants of which came to meet them, and received them with affection. They also furnished them with provisions, and with guides to conduct them from one town to another.

Coça is a province of a hundred leagues through. The land is good and the country is well peopled, for within a single day, without counting the villages on each side of the route, the Spaniards passed through ten or twelve small villages, the inhabitants of which gave them provisions, and also those of one place conducted them to another and introduced them. They accompanied them in this

* The junction of the Etowah and the Oostenaula, which make the Coça.

manner during their march, which was from four to five leagues per day ; so that, according to the occasion, our people encamped sometimes in the villages and sometimes in the fields.

While they were marching, the cacique, who held his court at the other extremity of the province, dispatched each day to congratulate the general upon his coming, and to request him to advance wholly at his leisure ; that he was awaiting him at the capital, where he and all his troops would be well received. The Spaniards, after twenty-three or twenty-four days of travel, safely arrived at this town which was called Coça, from the name of the chief and the country. The cacique, on the tidings that they were approaching, advanced a league to meet them, followed by more than a thousand men, well formed and gayly dressed with habiliments of skins, many of which were marten skins which were fragrant. They marched in order, each rank twenty abreast, with great plumes of divers colors upon their heads, which was pleasant to see.

Thus did the subjects of Coça receive the Spaniards and evince to them the esteem which they had for them. Afterwards, they all came to the capital, and they lodged Soto in one of the houses of the cacique, made as those of the other chiefs of Florida. The town of Coça is upon the borders of a river, and consists of five hundred houses, of which the chief had one-half vacated to lodge the troops commodiously. They sojourned about two days in this place, where they received from Coça and his vassals, every mark of sincere friendship.

CHAPTER IV.

THE POLITENESS OF CACIQUE COCA, AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE TROOPS.

ONE day, after Coça had dined with Soto, and had been conversing of the conquest of the country and of the manners of the people, he arose and made his obeisance to him, turning slightly toward the officers who were present. Then he said to him, that in consideration of the kindness which the Spaniards had manifested for him, he begged that, if he sought to establish himself in the country, he would prefer the province of Coça to the others. That he had seen of this province, only the places the least fertile ; but that if it pleased him to send to examine the whole of it he would find that its land was very good and the abode very agreeable ; that he might choose the best and most beautiful part ; that he would populate it, have villages built, and a town where he might hold his court ; that

at least, if he refused this favor, he besought him, since winter was approaching, to pass it with him; that during this time, he might, at his leisure, inquire into everything and be served with much affection. The general thanked the cacique for so much friendship, and replied that he could not settle in the country until he had first secured some port where he could land the ships of Spain with the things necessary for a settlement. That when he should see the time favorable for a settlement, he would heartily accept of his offer, and that he should not forget it. That nevertheless, he begged him to always preserve, for him, this good intention, and that very soon he would return into his province when he would comply with it in every respect. The cacique, rejoiced at this reply, said to Soto that he took his words for the pledge of his promise, and that he should remember them until he should have accomplished it. Coça was then twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, handsome, intellectual, gentle, wise, so polite that one might have believed him raised among polished and intelligent people. The Spaniards refreshed themselves ten or twelve days in the capital of his province, and continued their journey toward the sea, for as soon as they left Chovala they struck straight for the coast and turned in the form of a curve, to arrive at the port of Achussi. The general had thus decided with Maldonado, who was to bring soldiers, cattle, and provisions there.

The cacique accompanied Soto as far as the frontier of the province, and was followed by many of his soldiers, subjects, and Indian porters. At the end of five days, they arrived in good order at the town of Talisse, which is the key of the country. This town was palisaded, invested with very good terraces, and almost surrounded by a river.(21) It did not heartily acknowledge the cacique, because of a neighboring chief, who endeavored to make the people revolt against him. However, Coça was not at war with this lord, but Tuscaluca, it was thus that the neighboring chief was called, was artful, bold, and enterprising, and took pleasure in making mischief. Coça, who, for a long time, knew the design of Tuscaluca, was very glad to accompany the general as far as Talisse; not more to serve him than to intimidate the inhabitants and make them return to their duty by means of the Spaniards.

Whilst the troops were leaving the town of Coça, a Christian who was not a Spaniard, concealed himself in this place that he might not follow the others, but as he was not of importance, they did not miss him except at Talisse, where they endeavored to make him come, but in vain. He sent word to the general that he would remain with the Indians, and that his captain having quarrelled with him, he therefore wished never to see him or the Spaniards. There-

upon the general asked the cacique to deliver this deserter to him. But Coça pleasantly replied, that since they all had not wished to settle upon his lands, it was just that there should remain at least some one of them, and that he would take very particular care of him; that therefore he begged him to pardon him, if he did not compel his soldier to rejoin the troops. Soto, who then reflected that he would obtain nothing from the cacique, did not urge him further.

I have forgotten to say that a negro, a very good Christian and a very good slave, remained sick at Coça, and that he was recommended to the cacique, who promised to take care of him. These particulars are of little consequence, but I report them in order that if some day, they make the conquest of Florida, they may inquire of the inhabitants of the country, if they do not remember the strangers who had established themselves among them.

CHAPTER V.

THE MANNER IN WHICH TUSCALUCA RECEIVED THE GENERAL.

THE general sojourned ten days at Talisse, where he inquired about the neighboring provinces and the journey he had to make. In the mean time the son of Tuscaluca visited him. He was a young man, about eighteen years of age, but so tall that he exceeded in height, by nearly half of his body, all the Spaniards and all the Indians of the army. He had in his suite, many important persons, and came, in the quality of ambassador, to offer to Soto the friendship of his father, his person, and his province. Soto received him also with much politeness; as much for the personal merit which he seemed to possess, as for his appearance which had something noble. Afterwards, when the young lord learned that the general wished to visit Tuscaluca, he told him that his father was but twelve leagues from the camp, and that they could go there by two routes; that he begged the general to send some soldiers to reconnoitre them, with orders to go by one and return by the other; that he would have them conducted there and brought back in safety, and that afterwards they could march by the route the most agreeable and the easiest. Villabos, who expected that the expedition would be fortunate, offered to go with one of his companions to Tuscaluca. On his return, the Spaniards bade adieu to Coça and his subjects, and took the route that Villabos indicated to them. They crossed the river Talisse* upon rafts and boats, and at the end of three days they arrived in view of a little village where Tuscaluca awaited

* Tallapoosa River which with the Coça forms the Alabama River.

them. But when he learned that they were approaching, he went to meet them, and stopped upon an eminence, the better to see them. He was surrounded by a hundred of his principal subjects, all standing while he was seated upon a wooden chair about two feet high, without back or arms, and all of one piece. Near to this chair there was an Indian with an ensign of chamois skin traversed by three azure bars of the shape of a cavalry ensign. Our people were surprised at it, for they had not yet seen flags among the Indians.(22)

Tuscaluca was forty years of age or thereabouts, and two feet higher than those who accompanied him, so that he appeared a giant. His face, his shoulders, and the rest of his body corresponded with his height, and he was large in proportion; a handsome man, of proud and noble mien; the best formed and greatest that they had yet seen in Florida. While he was awaiting Soto upon the eminence, some Spanish officers proceeded as far as to him without his deigning to look at them or show them the least civility, and he pretended as though he did not see them. But on the arrival of the general he arose and made fifteen or twenty steps to receive him. Soto, on his part, dismounted and embraced him. They conversed together while the soldiers were taking lodgings in the village and the environs. Afterwards, they went hand in hand to the house which was prepared for the general, where the cacique took leave of him and retired.

The army refreshed itself two days in the village, and the third it left. Tuscaluca, under pretext of friendship and service, wished to accompany it during its march over his lands. Therefore, Soto commanded that they should have ready a horse for this cacique, the same as they had done, until then, for all the other Indian lords, which I had forgotten to mention. But as Tuscaluca was large, they had trouble to find a steed for him. Nevertheless, when they had searched well, they found a large pack-horse. They put him thereupon, after having given him a scarlet dress, and cap of the same color, but his feet lacked very little of touching the ground.

The general, rejoiced that they had found wherewith to mount the cacique, gave his orders to march, and the army made four leagues each day, and on the third day arrived at the capital, which is called Tuscaluca, from the name of the lord of the province. This town is strong because it is in the middle of a peninsula, which is formed by the river which passes by Taliase, and is much larger and more rapid at Tuscaluca than at that town.* The next day they

* It was the Alabama River.

crossed the river ; but because they had not rafts enough, they consumed the whole day in crossing, and could not camp but at half a league from there, in a very pleasant valley. There the Spaniards missed Villabos and another cavalier, without being able to learn what had become of them. Only then they suspected that, having gone astray, the Indians had killed them. Villabos, in fact, loved to leave the camp and travel over the country, but from this kind of excursions there ordinarily happened only misfortune.

They began from that time to have a bad opinion of the friendship of Tuscaluca ; and that which confirmed this belief was that, when the Spaniards manifested to the Indians their astonishment at the loss of their companions, the barbarians replied, with insolence, that they had not given them to their keeping, and that they were not obliged to render them an account of them. The general would not push the affair further for fear of disquieting the cacique ; and because he believed that Villabos and his companion were slain, he deferred avenging their death until fortune should furnish him an opportunity.

The next day Soto sent to Mauvila, which was a league and a half from the camp, Gonçal Quadrado Charamillo and Diego Vasques, cavaliers experienced in all kinds of encounters, and ordered them to reconnoitre the town and await him there.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE TREACHERY IN MAUVILA.

At the same time that Quadrado and his comrade left, the general took a hundred horse and as many foot soldiers to go as a vanguard with him and the cacique, and gave orders to the colonel of cavalry to promptly follow him. Nevertheless, the rest of the army did not leave until late, and in the belief that they had nothing to fear, they scattered themselves here and there to hunt.

The general arrived about eight o'clock in the morning at Mauvila, which consisted of eighty houses, in some of which they could post fifteen hundred men, in others a thousand, and in the smallest about six hundred. These houses, however, have but one main room, for the Indians do not make them otherwise, and each main room is in the form of a hall, with some small chambers. Besides, as Mauvila is a frontier place, its houses are strong, beautiful, and indicate sufficiently the power of the cacique. The greater part also belongs to him, and the rest to the most important of his

subjects. The town of Mauvila is on a very agreeable plain, and surrounded with a very high rampart, palisaded with large pieces of wood fixed in the earth, with beams across on the outside, and attached within with strong cords. To the height of the pieces of wood was plastered with loam mixed with long straw, which filled the void between the pieces of wood in such a manner that it appeared a wall of masonry. There were, every fifty paces, towers capable of holding eight men, and embrasures four or five feet from the ground. There were but two gates at Mauvila (one to the east, the other to the west), and a great square in the middle of the town, surrounded with the principal houses.(23) Soto arrived with the cacique at this square. Tuscaluca immediately dismounted, and called Ortis to show him the lodges of the general and his officers. He told him that the valets and other servants should take the house nearest to the lodge of the general, and that the troops should camp outside at the distance of an arrow-shot, where very good huts had been made. The general replied that he must wait until his colonel of cavalry joined him, and thereupon the cacique entered into a house where was his council of war. However, the soldiers who had proceeded with the general remained in the square, and sent their horses out of town until they had seen the place which was destined for them. In the meanwhile, Quadrado, who had been to reconnoitre Mauvila, came to the general. He told him he must beware of the chief, and that he feared treachery; that there were, in the houses of the town, nearly ten thousand warriors, all young men, brave, and well armed, the flower of the vassals of Tuscaluca and the neighboring chiefs; that many lodges were full of arms; that there were in Mauvila only young women who could fight, no children; and that the inhabitants were free and unembarrassed; that, to the distance of a quarter of a league around the town, they had laid waste, which showed that they intended to fight; that every morning they went out into the field and exercised in very good order; that to this they should add the death of Villabos and the pride of the barbarians; and that, therefore, he was of opinion that they should hold themselves upon their guard. The general immediately commanded that they should secretly advise those of the men who were in the town of the treason, in order that they might hold themselves ready in case of alarm, and ordered Quadrado to relate to the colonel of cavalry what he had seen.

Carmona says the general was received at Mauvila with great rejoicing, and that at his entry, the Indians, the better to conceal their evil design, had ordered many women dances which were

pleasant to see, for the Indian women are beautiful and well made. In fact, that which Moscoso took from Mauvila to Mexico was found so charming, that the Spanish ladies in that kingdom often besought him to send her to them that they might see her.

As to the cacique, when he had entered the house where his council awaited him, he said to his captains that they had no time to lose, and that they must promptly decide whether they should kill the Spaniards who were in the town or wait until they were all assembled. That he did not doubt of the success of the enterprise, whatever resolution they might take, because they had to do with but a small number of cowards and inept. But as to them, that besides being eight to one, they were valiant and experienced. That they might therefore boldly declare what they found proper to do, and that he awaited but that to destroy his enemies.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CACIQUE, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE OF MAUVILA.

THE opinions of the council of Tuscaluca were divided. Some, maintained that they ought not to wait to attack the Spaniards until they should be united, because their defeat would be more difficult. Others, that it would be cowardly to attack them when they were so few; that they ought to defer the attack until they all should be in Mauvila, and that then they would have more glory in conquering them. To that, the first replied that they ought to hazard nothing; that the Spaniards being united, would defend themselves with more vigor, and might be able to slay some Indians. That the death of their enemies would be bought too dear if it cost them the loss of any of their men; that therefore it was important to attack them without further deliberation. This opinion prevailed, and it was decided that they should seek a pretext for a quarrel, and that in case they did not find one, they should not defer it, inasmuch as they had always a right to destroy their enemies.

While these things were passing, the valet of the general who had prepared the dinner, informed him that they were going to serve it, and he commanded them to tell Tuscaluca, who had always eaten with him, that he awaited him in order to dine. Ortis, who had received this order, went to the lodge of the cacique to invite him to dinner, but was refused admittance, and they told him that Tuscaluca was going to leave. He returned a second time and had

the same answer, and the third time he said that Tuscaluca might come if he pleased, that the dinner was upon the table. Then an Indian who had the appearance of an officer, replied that he was astonished that brigands dared to utter the name of his lord with so little respect, and to call him Tuscaluca without giving him the titles which were due to him. He swore by the Sun that the insolence of these scoundrels should cost them their lives, and that it was necessary to begin from that day to chastise them. Hardly had this Indian spoken, when there came another who gave him a bow and arrows to begin the battle. The barbarian immediately threw back the borders of his mantle over his shoulders, made ready his bow, and put himself in position to shoot upon a troop of Spaniards in the street. Gallego, who by chance met him at the side of the door through which he had gone out, seeing this treachery, struck the barbarian with the edge of his sword, such a blow upon his shoulder, covered only with his mantle, that he clove him even to the entrails, and he fell dead upon the spot, as he was going to discharge the arrow. This captain just slain, had, on going out, commanded the Indians to charge the Spaniards. Therefore the Indians rushed from all sides upon our men, and attacked with so much fury that they drove them more than a hundred paces out of town. Nevertheless, not a Spaniard turned his back; all fought and retired like brave soldiers.

Among the barbarians who attacked the first, was a young man of distinction, eighteen years of age, who casting his eyes upon Gallego, discharged six or seven arrows at him, but in vain; so that through rage at having neither wounded nor killed him he closed with him, and discharged with his bow, three or four blows with so much force upon his head that the blood flowed from it. Gallego, who anticipated the second attack, pierced him with two thrusts of his sword, and laid him dead at his feet.

They were convinced that the person killed was the son of the Indian captain who had lost his life; and that the strong desire to avenge the death of his father had irresistibly impelled him to Gallego. But it was not only this young man who fought courageously, the others attacked with the same ardor, for the sole aim of them all was to exterminate the Spaniards.

The cavaliers who had sent their horses out of Mauvila, ran immediately to recover them. The swiftest mounted, the others had not time, and cut their halters that they might escape the fury of the barbarians; but the last, who could neither mount nor set them at liberty, saw them severely wounded with arrows, for the Indians who had formed two battalions, attacked vigorously: one battalion,

the Spaniards, the other the horses and baggage that was there. Afterwards they carried the booty into their houses, and the Spaniards had only their lives left, which they defended like brave men. They in fact did on this occasion, all that brave soldiers could do.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE BATTLE OF MAUVILA.

THE cavaliers, who had mounted their horses, being joined by those who had arrived in file, opposed themselves to the fury of the barbarians, and advanced to succor the infantry, which was hard pressed. The enemy gradually giving way, our men assembled and formed two bodies, one of infantry, the other of cavalry. Then they fell upon the Indians with so much order and courage, that they drove them back even into their fortifications, where they would have entered pell-mell, if those who were within had not showered upon them, from all sides, arrows and stones. Therefore our men retired, and the Indians sallied so quickly that many leaped down from the walls and approached the Spaniards so near, that some of them seized the lances of the cavaliers. However, they did not gain any advantage. Our soldiers, who fought in good order, having adroitly drawn them more than two hundred paces from the town, redoubled their efforts, and briskly drove them back. But as the barbarians incommoded our men from the tops of the terraces, the Spaniards had recourse to ruses to induce them to sally, and give the cavaliers an opportunity to pierce them. They therefore made many feints to draw them out, and as they succeeded, they repulsed them many times, but not without loss on both sides; for they vigorously opposed and attacked our men.

Captain Gallego, in the skirmishes, was followed by a Dominican, his brother, well mounted, who begged him to accept his horse; but the captain, who was foremost in the fight, and who was passionately fond of fame, would never quit his rank. Meanwhile his brother, who was spurring on with another after him, was shot by an Indian, who wounded him slightly in the shoulder, because he had on two hoods, with a large felt hat that flapped above.

In these attacks there were a number killed and wounded. Among others, died Don Carlos Henriquez, who had espoused the niece of the general, and was loved by all the army. This cavalier, among many excellent qualities, was generous toward everybody, and personally very brave. Nothing touched the Spaniards more

than his death, which happened in this manner. His horse, in the last attack, had an arrow-shot in his breast, and immediately Henriquez stooped to draw it out; but as he turned his head a little to his left shoulder, he exposed his throat, and received in that place an arrow armed with flint. He fell to the ground, and died the next day.

Thus the Spaniards and Indians fought; but there perished more on the side of the barbarians, because they had no defensive armor. Therefore, after they discovered that the horses prevented them from conquering, they retired into the town, of which they shut the gates, all resolved to die upon the ramparts with arms in their hands. The general at the same time commanded the cavaliers to dismount, because they were better armed than the foot soldiers, and ordered them to take bucklers and axes, and rush headlong to crush in the gates of Mauvila, which they bravely did, but not without suffering. Then they entered this town, and in the mean time the foot soldiers, who were in the environs, ran there in a great crowd. But as they all could not pass through the gates because they were narrow, and moreover, as they would not lose the opportunity of distinguishing themselves in the battle, they struck down, with the sturdy strokes of their axes, a part of the palisades, and, sword in hand, entered the town to the assistance of their comrades. Then the Indians, who saw their enemies masters of the town, fought with desperation in the middle of the streets and from the ramparts, whence they incommoded our men very much; so that, to prevent the barbarians from taking them in the rear, and from regaining the houses which we had seized, we set fire to them, and as they were only straw, there was in a moment seen nothing but flame and smoke, which served to increase still more the number of the dead and wounded.

As soon as the Indians had retired into the town, many of them ran to pillage the lodge of the general; but they found there persons who repulsed them—three crossbow-men, a well armed Indian friend of the Spaniards, two priests, as many slaves, and five of Soto's guards. Whilst the priests prayed, the others fought courageously, so that the enemy, not being able to gain the door of the house, endeavored to enter by the roof, and made openings there in three or four places; but the crossbow-men shot all who presented themselves. In the mean time the general and his men arrived. They fell upon the barbarians who were besieging the house, put them to flight, and delivered those who were within.

Then the general, who had already fought four hours on foot, left the town and mounted his horse, in order to increase the fright

of the Indians and the courage of the soldiers. Then he re-entered Mauvila accompanied by Tovar, and crying "San Iago," they cut through the enemy, put them in disorder, and pierced them with many thrusts of their lances.

In the melee, as Soto raised himself in his stirrups to pierce an Indian, he was shot behind. The arrow broke his coat of mail and entered quite deep into his buttock. Nevertheless, for fear that the wound might abate the courage of his men, and elevate that of the barbarians, he concealed the wound that he had received and did not extract the arrow, so that he could not sit down. But he did not cease to fight valiantly until the end of the combat, which lasted five hours. Certainly this action alone marks sufficiently his courage and his horsemanship.

Tovar, also, had an arrow-shot which pierced through his lance above the handle. But because the wood was good, the arrow made only its hole, so that the cavalier made use of his lance as usual, after the arrow was cut. This shot is of little importance; however, I related it because the like of it seldom happens.

In the mean time, the fire which they had set to the houses increased more and more, and incommoded the barbarians even upon the ramparts, whence the greater part fought; therefore they were constrained to abandon them. The fire, which they set to the doors of the lodge, each of which had but one, also did great mischief. Those who were within, not being able to get out, were miserably burned up. Many Indian women who were shut up in the houses where the fire was at the doors, all perished there in this manner. The fire excited not less disorder in the streets than in other places. Sometimes the wind drove the flame with the smoke upon the Indians, and favored the Spaniards; and sometimes the contrary, so that the enemy regained what they had lost, and there were many persons slain on both sides.

The battle so disastrous and so stubbornly contested during seven hours lasted until four in the afternoon. Then, when the barbarians saw the number of people they had lost by fire and sword, and that their forces began to grow weaker and those of the enemy to increase, they implored the assistance of the women, and induced them to avenge the death of many brave Indians or all nobly perish.

When they called the women to assist, some of them were already fighting by the sides of their husbands, but as soon as they were commanded they ran in a crowd, some with bows and arrows, others with swords, halberts, and lances, which the Spaniards had dropped in the street, which they skilfully used. They all put themselves at the head of the Indians, and full of anger and hate, braved the

peril and showed a courage above their sex. But when the Spaniards saw that they were no longer fighting except merely against women, and that these brave Indian women meant rather to die than to conquer, they spared them to such a degree that they did not wound one of them.

In the mean while the rear guard, which was advancing and amusing itself on the march, heard the noise of the drums and the sound of the trumpets, and, conjecturing what had happened, marched rapidly and in good order; so that they arrived even in time to give assistance. But no sooner had they arrived and Diego de Soto, nephew of the general, learned the death of Don Carlos, his cousin, whom he dearly loved, than he wished to avenge him. He leaped from his horse, took a shield, drew his sword, and entered the town in the height of the melee. He was there immediately struck by an arrow which passed through his eye to the back of his head. He fell to the ground, and languished till the next day, when he died without they being able to extract the arrow. This misfortune was distressing to the whole army, and above all to the general; Diego de Soto was a cavalier truly worthy of being his nephew.

The battle was not less sanguinary in the country than in the town. As soon as the Indians discovered that their numbers impeded them in such a small place as Mauvila because their skill was almost useless, many of them glided down the ramparts and gained the country, where they fought like brave men. Nevertheless, they had not more good fortune there than in the town. The advantage which they gained over the foot-soldiers the cavaliers had over them, and pierced them easily with the thrusts of their lances because the barbarians had no pikes. They also broke them many times; and then when the rear guard joined Soto, they finally put them to rout, and very few escaped.

At the time the sun was about to set and the cries and noise of those who fought in Mauvila increased, there entered there a party of cavaliers. Until then no person except Soto and Tovar had entered there on horseback to fight, for they could not there conveniently manage their horses. Therefore, as soon as these cavaliers were there, they divided into many small squads and raced through all the streets, where they slew many Indians. Twelve of these cavaliers spurred through the main street where there was a battalion of men and women whom despair had forced to fight. These cavaliers took them in the rear, and when they had broken them they briskly drove them, at the same time overthrowing, pell-mell, some of our men who were fighting on foot, and killing these brave Indians, nearly all of whom died with arms in their hands, preferring death

to servitude. It was by this last battle, which took place the day of St. Luke in the year one thousand five hundred and forty,* that the Spaniards, after having fought nine entire hours, without ceasing, succeeded in completely conquering their enemies.

CHAPTER IX.

SOME PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE BATTLE.

WHEN the Indians attacked our men so courageously that they drove them from Mauvila, a Spaniard, of very little importance, took to flight; and when he had escaped from danger, he fell on the ground and arose immediately. However, because he did not believe that he was entirely safe, he began again to flee, and fell. What appeared surprising, they found him dead without the vestige of a bruise or wound; they believed he was frightened to death. That is one of the events which happened during the battle, and this is what happened immediately after: Men-Rodriguez, a Portuguese cavalier, who had served well in Africa and on the frontiers of Portugal, fought nearly all the day and did very noble deeds; but after the battle, when he had dismounted, he remained immovable, without the power to speak or to eat, and died in this condition at the end of three days, although he had received neither wound nor bruise. They believed that the extraordinary efforts which he had made against the barbarians had caused this accident to him, and they said that he died of excess of courage. Finally, after the battle, there was found in Mauvila an Indian, who had charged the Spaniards with so much fury that, during the heat of the battle, he had not perceived the carnage they had made of his companions; but when the rage with which he fought had passed, and he discovered the peril in which he was and the misfortune of his party, he gained in haste the ramparts to endeavor to escape to the country. However, seeing the Spanish cavalry and infantry spread here and there, he lost all hope of escape. He took the cord from his bow, attached one end of it to a branch of a tree which they had left between the pieces of wood of the rampart, the other to his neck, dropped from the top of the rampart, and strangled himself. Some soldiers ran to his assistance, but when they arrived he was dead. This action shows the courage and desperation of the Indians, since the only one who had survived the battle preferred destroying himself to falling into the hands of his enemies.

* Monday, the 18th of October, 1540, is the date the Elvas Narrative gives.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONDITION OF THE SPANIARDS AFTER THE BATTLE.

THE day of the battle, the general rendered the last duties to the dead, and the next day he took care to have all the wounded attended to, but there died many of them beforehand; for they found seventeen hundred and seventy dangerous wounds, some in the breast, others in the head, without speaking of the slight wounds, the number of which they could not tell. There was scarcely any soldier who was not wounded, and sometimes with ten or twelve hits. Therefore, many surgeons were needed; nevertheless, there was but one, very slow and very unskilful. Besides, everything was wanting—oil, bandages, lint, clothes—because the Indians had carried off the baggage and the fire had consumed everything; also, there were neither huts to cover them during the night nor provisions to refresh them. The soldiers themselves could not go in search of them because of the darkness and their wounds; so that, not hoping any solace from men, they implored the aid of Heaven, and discovered that by prayers their strength and courage gradually increased. Thus they gloriously extricated themselves from the deplorable condition to which the fortunes of war had reduced them. The least wounded first took care of those whose wounds were mortal. Some brought straw; others, boughs of the huts which the Indians had made outside of the town, and made lodges of them, which they rested against the ramparts, and under which they placed the sick. Several opened the bodies of the dead barbarians, from which they drew the fat and made of it an unguent for the wounds. Some took the shirts of their dead companions, and even stripped themselves of their own, to make of them bandages and lint, and kept those of flax for the dangerous wounds; for the slight wounds were dressed with coarse linen and the linings of pantaloons. Others skinned the horses which had been killed, and gave their flesh to the most feeble; and the rest were under arms to oppose the enemy in case he should appear. Thus the Spaniards rendered every service to one another during the four days that they attended the mortally wounded, and yet they lost twenty-two of their comrades for want of their being well treated; so that, with thirteen who expired immediately after the battle and forty-seven who were

slain (of whom eighteen died of arrow-shots in the head), there died eighty-two of them, without counting forty-five horses, which they regretted as the principal force of the army.

CHAPTER XI.

INDIANS KILLED IN THE BATTLE.

THE Indians lost nearly eleven thousand persons in the battle. There were slain, in the environs of Mauvila, more than two thousand five hundred, among whom was the son of the cacique; and in the town more than three thousand, besides a like number who were burnt; for in a single house there were a thousand women stifled by the fire, which drew the compassion of everybody. At four leagues around the town, among the woods, in the streams, and other like places, the soldiers, who went out in parties, found more than two thousand barbarians, some dead and others wounded, who made every place echo with their cries.* But they could not learn what had become of the cacique. Some asserted that he had cowardly fled, and others that he had burnt himself, as he well deserved the fire because he had caused all the misfortunes that had happened on both sides. In fact, as soon as he learned that the Spaniards were to pass over his lands, he determined to exterminate them there. Therefore, before they entered them, he sent his son, accompanied by some of his subjects, to the general, in order that, under pretext of peace, they might observe the practice of the Spaniards in war, and that, upon their report, he might take measures to accomplish his designs. They learned also that one day, when the inhabitants of Talisse complained to him that their cacique compelled them to give to the Spaniards men and women for slaves, he told them that they might obey him without reluctance, for that very soon he would send their people back to them, and even the Spaniards themselves, of whom they might make use to cultivate the land. The Indians whom our men captured in battle confirmed the same things: that, by the persuasion of Tuscaluca, the inhabitants had assembled with the view of killing the Christians. As for them, the greater part, under great promises only, had been drawn from the neighboring provinces; that to some they were to make presents of scarlet capes, and of satin and velvet aprons, in order to appear at the public dances and feasts; and to others they had agreed to give the horses to ride before the Spaniards. Some said that they

* Indians killed, in the town, were about 2500; Christians, 18 died, 150 wounded; horses, 12 killed, 70 wounded.—ELVAS.

had promised them several soldiers for slaves, and all declared the number they were to have; that, as many of them had their husbands, they had come by their orders, and others at the solicitations of their parents, who caused them to hope that they would have great rejoicings, in order to render thanks to the Sun for the defeat of their enemies. Finally, some avowed that they were at the battle at the request of their lovers, who ardently wished that they should be witnesses of their valor, which sufficiently showed that Tuscaluca had a long time meditated his treachery. But it was fatal to him, as well as to the Spaniards, who, without counting the things I have mentioned, lost many chalices, many altar decorations, chasubles, and other ornaments, the wine, and some measures of flour which they kept for mass; so that, not being able to hear it, the clergy and the monks who served the army assembled to learn if they could consecrate it with corn-bread. But all agreed that bread of pure wheat, and real wine were necessary. As, therefore, they could no longer consecrate it, they erected, every Sunday and every festival, an altar; and then a priest dressed in a kind of chasuble of buckskin said the *Introite*, with other prayers of the mass, without consecration, and the Spaniards called that a dry mass. He who celebrated it, or else some other clergyman, explained the gospel, and accompanied it with a short exhortation. Thus our men consoled themselves a little for not being able to adore Jesus Christ under the sacramental elements of bread and wine. But that which grieved them was, that they remained in this state more than three years, until, leaving Florida, they entered into Christian lands.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONDUCT OF THE TROOPS AFTER THE BATTLE, AND THE MUTINY OF SOME SOLDIERS.

THE Spaniards were eight days at the lodges which they had made around the ramparts of Mauvila, and fifteen more in healing themselves in the huts which the Indians had prepared for them. In the mean time, those who were the healthiest went four leagues round-about in search of provisions in the villages, where they found much corn and many wounded Indians, without meeting with any one who took care of them. They only learned that, by night, persons came to attend them, who, by day, retired into the forest. Our soldiers, touched with compassion, shared their provisions with these poor barbarians. But, as the other Indians were concealed, and as they

wished to know what was passing in the country, the cavaliers hunted here and there to make some prisoners, and took eighteen or twenty Indians. They demanded of them, at first, if they were assembling to attack the troops. They replied that the bravest of their men having been slain in battle, there was no longer any one who could bear arms. They believed this without any difficulty; for while the Spaniards sojourned in the environs of Mauvila, they had this good fortune in their misery; that their enemies gave them no alarm, which would have very much incommoded them in the condition in which they were.

During these events, Soto learned that Maldonado and Arias had brought over the ships, and that they had safely reached the coast. He knew, also, from prisoners, that the sea, and the province of Achussi, where he wished to go, were not thirty leagues from Mauvila. This news rejoiced him in the hope of putting an end to his journey, and of establishing himself in Achussi; for he had resolved to build a town at the port which bears the name of this province, where he could receive all the ships; to make another, twenty leagues in the country, to compel the inhabitants to embrace the Catholic faith, and to reduce them by degrees to the domination of Spain.

In consideration of such good news, and that they could easily go from the camp to Achussi, the general released the cacique of that province, whom, for some time, he had retained very civilly about his person. He begged him to preserve the honor of his friendship; and, after telling him that he had not sent him back sooner for fear that, being so far from his country, some misfortune might happen to him upon the road, he assured him that it would not be long before the Spaniards would repair to his lands. The cacique showed much joy at this, and after some compliments which he made to Soto on the manner in which he had treated him, he promised that he would endeavor to respond, by his services, to the obligations under which he had placed him; and, thereupon, he set out for Achussi. In the mean time, discord, that pest of nations and of armies, destroyed all the designs which the general had formed of peopling this province. For, as there were among the troops soldiers who had aided in the conquest of Peru, and who recalled to mind the riches which they had gained there, and considered that they had nothing of the like to hope for in Florida, it was impossible for them to resolve to settle there. Besides, discouraged by the fatigues, and frightened at the last battle, they said they ought to despair of ever conquering a people so fierce and so warlike as the inhabitants of the vast regions they were every

day discovering; that these barbarians too ardently loved their liberty, and would rather lose their lives than submit to the yoke of the Spaniards; that after all, the most fertile of their countries were not worth the suffering which unfortunately was consuming them; and that, since neither gold nor silver was found there, they should, when they arrived at the coast, take the route to Peru and Mexico, where it would be easy for everybody to make a considerable fortune. These discussions were repeated to the general; but, being unwilling to believe them, unless he should hear them himself, he, all alone, began to rove around at night in disguise. He heard that a treasurer of the troops, and some others, were declaring that if, on their arrival at the port of Achussi, they found vessels, they would sail for New Spain; that they were tired of sacrificing themselves for the conquest of a miserable country. These words troubled Soto with the belief that, at the first opportunity, the army would disperse; that he would have the same misfortune in his plans that Pizarro had in the conquest of Peru, who remained with only thirteen soldiers upon the island of Gorgonne; that afterward it would be impossible for him to raise new troops, because he would have lost his labor, his authority, his honor, and, finally, his fortune. All these considerations compelled the general, who was jealous of his reputation, to take resolutions precipitate and full of desperation. Therefore, for fear that the soldiers should execute what he had heard them say, he gave his orders, with dispatch and address, to advance into the country; desiring to put himself at a distance from the coast, and to take from the malcontents the means of depriving him of his glory, and making the rest of the army mutiny. But this conduct was the cause and commencement of his destruction, and afterwards he always had misfortune. For, sorry to see all his plans fruitless, his hopes disappointed, he wandered, as through spite, here and there, until he lost by his death, all the fruits of his labor, his fortune, and the glory of having founded a kingdom for the enlargement of the faith and the crown of Spain. Nevertheless, if, instead of wandering from the coast, he had, at first, taken the counsel of his wise friends, and chastised the principal authors of the mutiny, he would have, without difficulty, retained the others in their duty, and successfully terminated his enterprise; but as he followed only his passion, he failed in an undertaking which, to him, was of the greatest importance. Thus, he who neglects to consult his friends when he should do so, often fails in his affairs. ✓

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING INDIAN ADULTERESSES.

BEFORE leaving the province of Tuscaluca, it is proper to relate the manner in which the laws of this country and of that of Coça, punish adulteresses. There is, in this last province, a law which decrees, upon penalty of death, that if any one has sufficient indications to believe that a woman is an adulteress, he has to inquire into it and impeach her before the cacique, or, in his absence, before the local judges. These judges upon the report that is made to them, secretly hold an inquest against the person accused, and arrest her if they find her guilty. Afterwards, at the first festival, they order to be published that the inhabitants, on going out from their dinner, repair to a certain place outside of the village, and that there they all arrange themselves in a row. Then come the judges, of whom two place themselves at one end of this file, and two at the other. They first decree that they bring to them the adulteress, and then they say to her husband who is present, that she is convicted of a lewd life, and that he must deal with her according to the rigor of the law. The husband strips her entirely naked, and shaves her with a kind of razor of flint; a disgraceful punishment and common among the Indians of the new world. Then to show that he repudiates her, he leaves with the clothes of his wife, and abandons her to the power of the judges. Two immediately command the criminal to pass in front of the persons who are in a row, and to go and declare her crime to the other two officers. She obeys, and as soon as she draws near to them she tells them that she is convicted of adultery and condemned to the penalty with which the law punishes that crime; that she is sent to them in order that they may do with her what it shall please them for the welfare of the province. The judges immediately send her back with this answer: that it is just that the laws that are made with a view to the preservation of public virtue should be inviolably observed; that therefore they confirm the sentence which they have rendered against her, and order her in the future not to relapse again into her crime. Thereupon she returns back to the first judges, and the people who are in a row hiss her, and endeavor by means of insults, to increase her shame. In the mean time the people who come in a crowd and see her naked, yell at her. Some cast clods of earth at her, and others straw, and others old rags and pieces of mats and other like things, the law

ordering it so, and they regard this poor woman only as the disgrace of her sex. After all these inflictions, the judge banishes her from the country and places her in the hands of her parents, with orders, upon pain of exemplary punishment, not to permit her to enter into any place of the province. The parents receive her, and as soon as they cover her with a mantle they lead her away into a place where she is never seen by any Indian of the country; and at the same time the judges permit the husband to take another wife. Thus they punish, in Coca, the Indian women who violate the faith which they owe to those whom they marry. But in the province of Tuscaluca they punish them with still greater rigor. The law of this country decrees that if, at an unseasonable hour, they see any one enter and leave three or four times a house, and that they suspect the mistress of the lodge of adultery, they are obliged, by the religion of the country, to inform the husband of the conduct of his wife, and to prove, by three or four witnesses, that they assert nothing but the truth. The husband, at the same time, assembles the witnesses, and interrogates them one after another, with horrible imprecations against him who lies, and great benedictions in favor of him who discloses the truth.

Afterwards, if he finds his wife sufficiently convicted of having violated her faith, he leads her out of the village, ties her to a tree or to a post which he fixes in the ground, and shoots her to death with arrows. Then he goes to the cacique, or, in his absence, to the justice of the place. He tells them that, in such a place outside of the village, he has just killed his wife, upon information that she had committed adultery; that he petitions them to summon the accusers, in order that, if the crime of which they charged her is true, he might be formally acquitted, and, if the contrary, he might receive the punishment decreed by the law of the province. In the latter case, the law commands that the parents of the wife shoot the husband to death with arrows; that he be the prey of dogs and birds, and that his wife, as a mark of her innocence, be honorably interred; that if the witnesses persisted in their evidence and did not contradict themselves, in a word, if they verified by good proofs the crime in question, they acquitted the husband, with the liberty to take a wife, and forbid, upon pain of death, the parents of the criminal from drawing a single arrow from her body, or even interring it, because it was necessary that she should serve as an example and be devoured by beasts. We see by this that, in all Florida, they punished very rigorously adulteresses. But we do not know in what manner they punished the men who debauched the wives of others. The laws perhaps favored them there, as among

other nations. I remember what a lady of my acquaintance one day said upon this subject: that only the men were regarded when they made laws against adultery, and that the fear which, without foundation, they had of the infidelity of woman had made them treat her cruelly; but that, if the persons of her sex had decreed the penalties against this crime, they would have been governed in it without passion, and with so much prudence that they would not have had, on either side, any reason to complain.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ENTRANCE OF THE SPANIARDS INTO THE PROVINCE OF CHICACA.

To return to Soto; after the Spaniards had remained twenty-four days about Mauvila, and recovered enough strength to continue on, they left Tuscaluca, and arrived, at the end of three days, in the province of Chicaça, through places unpopulated but very pleasant. The first town which they found in the direction in which they were advancing, was on a river, large, deep, and with high banks. The general immediately sent into the town to ask an alliance, but they haughtily replied that they wished war. In fact, when our men were approaching this place, a battalion of about sixteen hundred men came to attack them. However, after some skirmishes, the enemy yielded, and retired with their most valuable things towards the river, with the design of defending the passage of it. Our men drove them briskly, so that some leaped into the water, and others passed it in small boats, and many by swimming, and joined their troops, which amounted to nearly eight thousand men. They bordered about two leagues of the other side of the river, and strove courageously to prevent us from crossing it; for in the night they crossed it in boats, and came and fell upon the Spaniards, who, tired of being harassed with impunity, secretly made some ditches opposite the places where the enemy landed. Then they concealed in these places crossbow-men and fusileers, with orders not to fire until the Indians should be at a distance from their boats, but then to charge them vigorously, and, sword in hand, to rush headlong upon them, which was executed with success. Three times they drove them back as far as their vessels; so that, without putting themselves to the hazard of crossing the river, they defended only the passage. But while they were acquitting themselves very well, and Soto was despairing of crossing this river, he commanded a hundred of those most expert in carpentry to go into the woods at

a league from the camp and make there two large boats, capable of holding many persons. They executed these orders, and in twelve days the boats were made, and two carriages, on which they placed them, and which they caused to be drawn by mules and horses. The Spaniards themselves aided them during the journey, and fortunately reached before day a part of the river where they found a very convenient crossing. In the mean time, the rest of the troops joined them. And then, after the general had had the boats launched, he commanded ten cavaliers and forty foot-soldiers to enter into one, and as many into the other, and to cross quickly, for fear of the enemy, and commanded the footmen to row while their companions should remain on horseback, in order to be ready to fight on leaving the river. In the mean time five hundred Indians, who were scouting, heard the noise of those who were crossing the river, they ran to the passage, showered upon them arrows, sent for assistance, and gave the alarm everywhere. Nevertheless, without losing courage, the Spaniards arrived at the other border, the greater part wounded; for the Indians shot them at their ease. The second boat deviated a little from the way, and could not gain it but by dint of oars. But those of the first, which was already landed, leaped ashore; Silvestre and Garcia, bold and valiant cavaliers, left the first, and vigorously charged the enemy. They drove them four times, more than two hundred paces from the river, and when they returned to the charge they were seconded by the other cavaliers, which began to lessen the fury of the barbarians and favor the foot-soldiers, who, *hors de combat* on account of their wounds, retired into a village on the borders of the river. In the mean time the second boat made the passage, the soldiers leaped ashore, and joined those who were fighting in the field. Nearly at the same time the general, who, at the entreaty of his troops, had not embarked on account of the danger, crossed with eighty Spaniards, and redoubled, by this reinforcement, the courage of the others. The Indians, who saw the number of their enemies increase, and who feared to be cut in pieces, gave way, and gained a forest quite near, and from there their main body, which was advancing to their assistance. But upon the assurance that the Spaniards had nearly all crossed the river, they together returned to the quarters, where, on their arrival, they fortified themselves with palisades. Our men followed them in the rear, and persistently harassed them, in order to hinder their work. However, they did not cease to continue it, and the boldest even sallied out to skirmish; but the cavaliers, swifter than they, gave them many thrusts with their lances. They

employed the day in these sorts of combats, and at night they remained quiet, because the enemy no longer appeared. In the mean time the rest of the troops safely crossed.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BATTLE OF CHICACA.

AFTER the passage of the river the troops broke up the boats and preserved the iron works to make use of them in case of necessity. Then they continued their march, and after four days of travel through a level country, strewed with villages, they arrived at the capital of Chicaça. This town, situated upon a hill which extends from north to south, has two hundred houses, is watered by many small streams clothed with walnut, chestnut, and like trees. Our men entered into this place at the beginning of December of the year 1540; and as they found it abandoned, they went into winter quarters there. They also built there, to lodge themselves more comfortably, houses, with wood and straw which they brought from the neighboring villages. Then they scoured the country and made many prisoners. But with the view to make peace, the general sent back some of them with presents for the cacique, who, amusing him with hopes and excuses, dispatched, in his turn, to him, and sent him fruits, fish, and game. However, every night Indians came to harass our men, but as soon as they saw them they retired, manifesting fear and weakness to render the Spaniards more negligent to fight them, through the contempt which they bore them, and to conquer them with more facility when they should attack them in earnest. Finally, ashamed of all these feints and of having so long concealed their courage, they resolved to give evidences of it by the defeat of our troops. Therefore, one night, about the end of January of the year 1541, when the north wind favored them, they advanced three battalions abreast to within one hundred yards of the Spanish sentinels. The cacique, at the head of the middle one, commanded the attack on the town, and there were heard, at the same time, fifes, horns, and drums. Everything echoed with the yells of the barbarians, who, flambeau in hand, charged upon our men. These torches, which seemed to be of wax because they illuminated well, were made of a certain herb which grows in that country, which, when it is twisted and lighted, preserves the fire like a wick, and shaken emits a very brilliant flame. Besides these torches which were very useful to them in the fight, they kindled, at the

end of their arrows, this herb of which I have just spoken. Then they discharged them upon the town, and set fire to it without difficulty because the houses were of straw and the wind was very favorable. Therefore, an attack so extraordinary and so unexpected surprised our men; but it did not shake their courage; they made resistance everywhere. Soto gave what orders he could in this horrible confusion, mounted his horse, his helmet on his head, his lance in hand, and with his coat-of-arms, and boldly sallied from the town to oppose the barbarians. But in a little while he is seconded by ten or twelve brave cavaliers and then by many foot-soldiers, who, in spite of the flames and smoke which the wind drove upon them, showed their courage. Some, on all fours crawled under a torrent of flame which rolled in the place where they were, and safely joined the general. Others ran to the sick and made their escape to the country with a part of them, while the rest were burnt before they could be succored.

The cavaliers, on their part, endeavored to extricate themselves from this danger. Some, in the fear of not being able to save themselves, abandoned their horses. Others mounted them without saddles and went to the general, who, the first had had the honor to slay a barbarian with his own hand. In the mean time, the Indians, except the battalion of the cacique, entered into the place by the favor of the fire, and cruelly slew men and horses. Forty or fifty foot-soldiers, frightened at this fury, cowardly took to flight, a shameful thing which had not yet been seen since the troops had entered Florida. Tovar, who perceived them, ran, sword in hand, after them, and cried out to them with all his strength to return immediately against the enemy; that there was no retreat for them, and that only their courage could save them. In the mean time Gusman, at the head of thirty soldiers, sallied from another quarter of the town, intercepted these fugitives, blamed their cowardice, and urged them so strongly to recover their honor that compunction seized them. They returned to their duty, going round the town with him and Tovar, and courageously driving all the barbarians whom they encountered. Vasconcelos at the same time also sallied with twenty-four Portuguese cavaliers, and from his side, fell upon the Indians. Finally, both attacked them and pressed them with so much vigor that they forced them back even into the battalion of the cacique, where was the height of the melee, and where those who seconded Soto fought like true soldiers. However, on the arrival of assistance, they made a new effort. The general attacked an Indian who was distinguished among all in the fight. He closed with him, wounded him, and redoubled his blows, for he

had not taken his life. But as he raised himself in his stirrups to completely finish him, the weight of his body joined to the violence with which he bore himself, turned the saddle of his horse, which they had forgotten to girt, and he fell in the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, who saw him in danger, rushed headlong to the rescue and fought with so much courage that they saved him. They immediately placed him upon his horse and he recommenced to fight. In the mean time, the Indians, noticing our men charging upon them from all quarters, began to yield; and, except occasionally, no longer obstinately contended. But finally, in view that they were going to succumb, they called out with loud cries to one another to retire, and took to flight. The general closely pursued them with his cavalry, and followed them as far as the fire could light them. Then he had the retreat sounded, and re-entered the place to see the disorder that the barbarians had made during more than two hours of fight. He found forty soldiers dead with many horses wounded and fifty slain, of which some that they had not had leisure to untie, had been burnt at the mangers to which they had been fastened with the iron chain of their halters. Besides the hogs, except some which escaped from the pen which inclosed them, were consumed by the fire, which was felt so much the more, as, in the need in which they were of meat, they were reserved for the sick.

Carmona, who relates this particular, adds that each Indian brought three cords, one to tie a hog, another a horse, and the third a soldier. That which also grieved, very sensibly, our men, was the death of Francisca Henestrosa, the only Spanish woman who followed the army. She was the wife of Fernando Bautista, and ready to *accouch* when the enemy gave the alarm. Her husband, who was brave, then thought of repulsing them, and on his return from the fight, he saw that his wife, not having been able to protect herself from the fire, had perished in it. Francisco Henriquez, a poor foot-soldier, was much more fortunate in his affliction. All wasting away as he was, among the sick, he saved himself from the conflagration. But as he was fleeing, an Indian shot him with an arrow near the groin, and extended him on the ground, where he remained more than two hours. However, he was fortunately cured of his sickness and his wound, which was believed mortal. Strange thing that a wretched man should escape from all his ills whilst so many brave men should perish!

CHAPTER XVI.

WHAT THE SPANIARDS DID AFTER THE BATTLE.

WHEN they had rendered the last duties to the dead, and given orders for the wounded, they went upon the field of battle where they saw a large horse with an arrow that passed through his shoulder and four inches on the other side. They also found many other horses with their entrails pierced with arrows, and fifteen pierced in the middle of their hearts; of which four had each two arrows through them. And three days after, in fear of a new attack, because the enemy had lost but a hundred men, the general ordered an advance of a league, and commanded the soldiers to go in search of wood and straw, and to build a town which they called Chicacilla. They there quickly fitted up a forge with bear-skins and musket-barrels, and made lances, shields, and other arms of which they had need. It was in this place that the general gave the office of Moscoso to Gallego; for when he had investigated the conduct of the field officers he knew that Moscoso had badly discharged his duty, and that he was partly the cause why the Indians had surprised and almost conquered the Spaniards. In fact, but for a monk and some privates, who compelled the fugitives to return to the melee, the barbarians, who fought for the honor and for the liberty of the country, had gained the victory. Therefore, the Indians, ashamed of having run away, returned three days after their flight, to attack us; determined to conquer or gloriously die. But at two musket shots from the camp, there fell so heavy a rain that it wet the cords of their bows and compelled them to retrace their steps. Our men, informed of this design by an Indian whom they took the next morning, again dreaded the fire, and placed themselves in battle array outside of the burgh, with sentinels here and there. Notwithstanding, the barbarians did not cease to come every night, by divers places, to fall upon them with loud cries. They constantly killed some soldier or wounded some horse. The Spaniards, who stoutly repulsed them, also did not fail to pierce many of them; but for all that the Indians did not lose courage. Soto, who wished to secure himself from their assaults, sent every morning into the country parties of cavalry and infantry who slew all the Indians they met, and returned at sunset with the assurance that four leagues around the camp there would not be found any inhabitants of the country alive. But what was astonishing, the enemy's battalion, some hours

after, returned to harass us, with loss on both sides. Nevertheless, during these skirmishes, nothing of more importance happened than that one night the quarter of Gusman was attacked by a battalion of Indians. This captain, with five cavaliers, immediately went out to oppose them; he commanded his infantry to follow him, and at the same instant that the enemies lighted their torches, our men charged them. Gusman attacked the standard bearer, made a violent thrust at him with his lance; the Indian avoided it, seized the lance, wrested it from the hands of Gusman, and without abandoning his standard, with his left hand pulled him down from his horse. Our soldiers ran to his assistance, rescued him, and put the enemy's battalion to rout; but not without loss. They had two horses wounded and as many slain, which moderated the joy which they had of extricating their captain from peril.

CHAPTER XVII.

AN INVENTION AGAINST COLD.

NOTWITHSTANDING the continual attacks of the Indians, the Spaniards remained until the end of March at their post. They suffered much from cold, because they passed the nights under arms, and the greater part were without shoes, with wretched doublets only, and miserable buckskin pantaloons. Therefore, to all appearances, they would have died of cold, but for Juan Vego, of whom I shall here say something before coming to the good services which he rendered them. Vego passed for a rough soldier, but, nevertheless, sometimes agreeable. Therefore they amused themselves with making merry with him, and playing him some petty tricks. Porcallo de Figueroa, especially, loved to ridicule him, for he had played him such a joke at Havana that, to satisfy him for it, he gave him a horse, for which they offered him in Florida seven thousand crowns, to be paid upon the first smelting of gold that they should make there. But Vego refused this condition, and no smelting was ever made. This is what he invented for himself and his companions. As he perceived that they all were going to suffer from cold, and that there was a great deal of very good straw at the quarters, he set himself to making a mat four inches thick, and long and wide in proportion; so that one-half served him for a mattress and the other for a covering. He knew that this invention would protect him from the cold, and he speedily made many other mats on account of the soldiers who assisted him to work,

each one priding himself upon putting his hand to the work; so that by means of these mats, which they carried to the guard-house and to the parade, the Spaniards easily resisted the cold. Also, with the exception of the mischief which the barbarians did them, they passed the winter without inconvenience; for they had fruits and corn in abundance, and needed none of the necessaries of life.

BOOK SECOND.

THE ATTACK ON FORT ALIBAMO; THE DEATH OF MANY SPANIARDS;
THE ARRIVAL OF THE TROOPS AT CHISCA; PROCESSION IN WHICH
THEY ADORE THE CROSS; THE WAR BETWEEN THE TWO CACIQUES;
AN INVENTION TO MAKE SALT; THE INHABITANTS OF TULA; AND
THE TROOPS WINTERING IN UTIANGUE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ATTACK UPON FORT ALIBAMO.

THE general and his captains, after four months' sojourn in the province of Chicaca, left it with joy at the beginning of April, of the year 1541, and made, the first day of their march, four leagues through a country with many villages of fifteen to twenty houses each. They camped at a quarter of a league from these habitations, in the expectation of finally taking a little repose, but it happened otherwise; for, after the scouts whom they had sent out to explore had reported that quite near the camp there was a fort where there appeared about four thousand men, the general, with fifty horse, went immediately to reconnoitre them, and at his return he told his captains that it was necessary to drive away these barbarians before night. That it was provoking beyond measure that they should pursue and brave them with so much presumption; that, therefore, they were in honor bound to chastise them, and teach them at the cost of their lives, the valor of the Spaniards; that, in one word, they ought to bear themselves with so much the more courage to cut off their retreat, as they would harass the troops all the night with continual skirmishes. All the officers approved the opinion of their general, who left a part of the army to guard the camp, and marched with the others against the fort, which was called Alibamo.(24) This fort formed a square with four lines of palisades, each four hundred paces long, and two others

within. The first of all had three gates, so low that a cavalier could not enter; one in the middle, and the others at the angles; and only opposite to these entrances they had, in each line of palisades, three others, so that if the first were won, they defended themselves in the next. The gates of the last palisades faced a small river, with wretched bridges, which in certain places was very deep, with borders so high that one could hardly cross on horseback. The Indians thus had built the fort in this place in this manner, in order to secure themselves against the horses, and oblige the Spaniards to fight on foot; for they did not fear our infantry.* When they approached this place, the general ordered a hundred of the best armed cavaliers to dismount; and, after having formed three battalions of them, he commanded the attack, and ordered the infantry to support them. Gusman marched straight to the first gate, Cardeniosa to the second, and Silvestre to the third, each at the head of his men. The besieged immediately made through each gate a sortie of a hundred men, with great plumes upon their heads, and, in order to give more fright, their faces and their arms painted with streaks of divers colors. They vigorously attacked the Spaniards, and wounded first Diego de Castro and Pedro de Torres, who were at the side of Silvestre, whom Peinoso seconded very promptly. Louis de Bravo, at the head of another battalion with Gusman, was also struck with an arrow in the lower part of the thigh. Cardenioso saw fall near him Francisco de Figueroa wounded in the same place as Bravo. The Indians generally aimed from the thigh downward, because elsewhere the Spaniards had wherewith to protect themselves from their shots. Nevertheless, because they fired upon our men with arrows armed with flint, and as these arrows did much more injury than the others, Cardenioso and his companions pursued them so closely that they prevented them from making use of their arrows, and drove them before them as far as the gates. Thereupon the general attacked with fifty cavalry, and received upon the front of his helmet so violent a blow that the arrow bounded at least to the height of a pike. However, without being disconcerted, he drove the Indians so briskly that he compelled them to quickly throw themselves into the fort. But, as the gates were so narrow that but two at a time could pass, they made great slaughter of them, and they also entered pell-mell with them. The Spaniards then, reanimated by the remembrance of the injury they had done them, charged them with

* In equal numbers on foot, the Indians had the advantage of them by water and by land.—ELVAS.

ardor, and put a great number to death. The enemy, in disorder, abandoned the fort. Some leaped from the top of the palisades, and fell into the power of the cavaliers who had not dismounted, and who pierced them with their lances; others passed upon the bridges, but they crowded each other to such a degree that they fell into the water. Many who could not gain the bridge because they pushed them so closely, leaped into the river, crossed it by swimming, and ranged themselves in order of battle upon the bank. And immediately one of these Indians came out of the battalion and challenged the bravest of the Spanish crossbow-men to fight with him. Juan de Salinas boldly accepted the challenge, left the main body that was behind trees, under shelter from the arrows, and went and posted himself upon the edge of the river opposite his enemy, who, as he, was unprotected by any shield. They made ready for the battle, and fired. The Spaniard struck the Indian in the breast, and the Indian, the Spaniard a little lower than the ear, and pierced his neck in such a manner that the arrow projected as much from one side as from the other. The Indians, who saw that their man staggered, ran to him, and carried him off. In the mean time, the general, annoyed by their resistance, crossed the river at a ford above the fort, assembled the cavalry, rushed upon them, and pursued them until night. So that counting those who perished in the fort, there were slain on the side of the enemy more than two thousand men, but on that of the Spaniards only three soldiers, Castro, Torres, and Figueroa, for whom they had much sorrow, and moreover there died of their wounds a few after the battle. But there were so many wounded, that at the return from the pursuit of the barbarians they were obliged to remain four days in the fort to treat them.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEATH OF MANY SPANIARDS FOR WANT OF SALT.

BEFORE going further it is proper to relate that at the time that the Spaniards entered Tuscaluca, they lost many of their companions for want of salt. At first a malignant fever seized those who had most need of it, and putrefied their entrails, so that at the end of three or four days they were so offensive, that at fifty paces one could not endure the stench; thus, after languishing some time, this disease got the better of them beyond remedy. The greater part of the others, astonished at so strange an occurrence,

fortunately had recourse to the preservatives of the Indians which saved them from this putrefaction by means of a certain herb which they burnt, and mingled the ashes of it among the things which served to nourish them. But as for the other Spaniards who contemned this receipt, and who fancied that it was a disgrace to them to employ for their preservation the same remedies as the barbarians, they unfortunately died, for although during their illness they gave them this preservative, it was of no benefit to them because it was only fit to prevent the corruption and not to expel it; and in the course of a year that they lacked salt, there perished more than sixty of these vain persons.

It also seems necessary to say here that they spoke a language entirely different from all the other countries of Florida, and that Soto had, besides Ortis, thirteen or fourteen interpreters in order to communicate with the caciques. These interpreters, when there was business with these lords, placed themselves in a row according as they understood one another, and the word went from one to the other to Ortis, who was at the end and who reported everything to the general.* Thus our men had much trouble to inquire about the particulars of these provinces through which they passed. The Indians, on the contrary, had not any to understand the language of the troops, for after two months of frequent visiting they conceived what was said to them, and partly explained themselves upon subjects the most ordinary, but when they had remained five or six months along with the army, they served as interpreters. They understood the Spanish and expressed themselves in it with facility, which greatly aided the general to inquire about everything, and that showed that the inhabitants of Florida had a reasonable amount of understanding.

CHAPTER III.

THE TROOPS ARRIVE AT CHISCA AND MAKE PEACE WITH THE CACIQUE.

I RETURN to where I was in my history. The Spaniards, on leaving Alibamo, marched through a wilderness always towards the north, in order to go away, more and more from the sea, and at the end of three days they saw the capital of Chisca, which bears the name of its province and of its chief. This town is situated near a river which the Indians call Chucagua; the largest of all those which our men had seen in Florida. The inhabitants of Chisca, who

* This was in Tula, west of the Arkansas. The Alibamos were somewhere between the Yallobusha and the Mississippi.

were not informed of the coming of the troops because of the war which they had with their neighbors, were surprised. The Spaniards pillaged them and made many of them prisoners. The rest fled; some into the woods between the town and the river, and others to the house of the cacique, built upon an eminence whence it commanded all the place. This chief was old and then sick in bed, almost without strength, of so small a size, and so poor an appearance, that they had not yet seen any such in the country. Nevertheless, at the noise of the alarm and upon the report that they pillaged and seized his subjects, he arose, left the room with a battle-axe in his hand, and threatened to slay all those who had entered upon his lands without his orders. But as he was going to leave his house to oppose himself to the Spaniards, his wives, aided by some of his subjects who had fled to him, retained him. They represented to him, with tears in their eyes, that he was weak, without troops, his vassals in disorder and not in a condition to fight; and those with whom they had to do, vigorous, in good order, in great numbers, and the greater part mounted upon animals so swift that they could never escape them. That it was therefore necessary for him to await a favorable opportunity to avenge himself, and in the mean time to deceive his enemies by fair appearances of friendship in order to prevent his ruin and that of his subjects. These considerations arrested Chisca, but he was so much irritated at the injury the Spaniards had done him, that without deigning to listen to the envoys of the general who demanded peace of him, he declared war upon them, adding that he hoped in a short time to kill their captain and all those who accompanied him. Soto, nevertheless, without being surprised at this, dispatched other persons to him, who apologized for the disorder they had made at first and continued to demand peace of him, for he saw that the troops were disheartened by continual fighting, and embarrassed with sick men and horses; that in less than three hours there had joined the cacique about four thousand men very well armed; that probably he would assemble a still greater number of them; besides, that the situation of the place was very favorable for the Indians and very inconvenient for the Spaniards, because of the woods which was around the town, and which prevented them from making use of their horses; that finally, instead of progressing by war, they were daily ruining themselves. Such were the considerations which led the general to make peace. But the greater part of the Indians who had assembled to deliberate upon this subject had views quite to the contrary. Some desired war, in the belief that they had no other means to recover their goods, and to deliver their companions from the power of the Spaniards; that such people were not to be feared; that the

peace which they demanded with so much eagerness was a sure mark of their lack of courage; that it was therefore necessary to teach them by a battle, the courage of those whom they came to attack, in order that no foreigner should, for the future, have the boldness to enter upon their lands. But the others maintained that peace was the only means to repossess their goods and to recover the prisoners; that if they came to blows, they would have to apprehend a greater misfortune than the first; fire, the loss of their corn which was still standing, the entire ruin of the province, and the death of many of their people; that since these enemies had come so far to them, through so many difficult perils and brave people, they could not reasonably doubt their valor; that therefore, without having other proofs of it, it was necessary to declare for peace; and that if it was not beneficial, they could then break it much more advantageously than they could now make war. This opinion was the strongest, and the cacique, concealing his resentment, demanded of the envoys of the general what they expected in consideration of the peace for which they had manifested so much desire. They replied, their lodgings in the town and provisions to proceed. Chisca consented to everything on condition that they should set at liberty those of his subjects whom they had taken; that they should restore all the plunder, and should not enter into his house; that otherwise they would have but to prepare to fight to the last extremity. The Spaniards accepted the peace upon these conditions. They released the subjects of Chisca because they did not lack Indian servants; and restored all the booty, which was poor buckskin and some mantles of very little value. Then the inhabitants abandoned the town and what provisions they had, and the Spaniards remained there six days to treat their sick. The last day Soto obtained permission of Chisca to visit him in his house, where, after having thanked him for the favors which he had done to the troops, he retired and continued, the next day, his discovery.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE SPANIARDS FROM CHISCA TO CASQUIN.

ON leaving the province of Chisca the troops again marched up the river.* They made, in four days, only twelve leagues on account of the sick, and arrived at a place where they could cross the river, because it was easy to approach it; and elsewhere, on both sides,

* The Chucagua, now the Mississippi.

the river was bordered with a very thick forest, and the banks so steep that they could neither ascend nor descend them. They remained to make boats at this place, where, at their arrival, there appeared on the other side of the river about six thousand Indians, well armed, and with many boats, to dispute the passage of it. But the next day, four of the most eminent of the troop came on the part of the cacique to visit the general; and after the customary ceremonies they complimented him upon his arrival, and demanded of him peace and his friendship. Soto received them with joy, and sent them back well satisfied. Therefore, during twenty days that the Spaniards were upon the borders of the river, these four Indians served them with all the forces that were with the cacique. Nevertheless, it was impossible to induce him to come to the camp, and he always excused himself in one way or another. So they believed that he had sent to the general only through fear, and to prevent the devastation of his province; for as the time of the harvest, which looked remarkably fine, was near at hand, that caused him much uneasiness.

The Spaniards finished two large boats in fifteen days, because everybody worked at them. And they guarded them night and day for fear lest the Indians should burn them, for they came from all quarters, in boats, to range themselves against our men; then they advanced against them with loud cries and showered upon them arrows. But they were repulsed with musket shots from the entrenchments which were upon the bank of the river. So that, in spite of all their efforts, the Spaniards launched four boats, which could hold one hundred and fifty soldiers and thirty cavaliers, and rowed in the presence of the enemy, who, despairing of hindering them, retired each into his burgh; so that our men safely crossed the river in these boats and in the pirogues which they had taken from the enemy. Then, after having detached the iron works from their boats, because it was indispensable to them, they continued their route, and at the end of four days of travel through unpeopled places, they discovered, on the fifth, from the top of an eminence, a town of about four hundred houses, upon the banks of a river larger than the Guadalquivir which passes by Cordova.* They also saw that the lands about it were covered with corn and a number of fruit trees. The inhabitants of this place, who were informed of their coming, went out to meet them, and offered to the general their property and their persons, and put themselves under his protection. Some time after, there came to him on the part of the cacique, two

* St. Francis River, about eighty miles below Memphis. The hills border the old bed of the Mississippi from Helena, and then continue up the St. Francis.

of the principal persons of the country, who confirmed what the others had said. Soto received them with all the tokens of great kindness, and sent them back to him well pleased.

The capital, the province, and the cacique were called Casquin. The Spaniards stopped six days in the town, because of the provisions which they found there. And after two days of marching they arrived at some small villages where the lord of the country held his court, and which were distant four leagues from the capital in ascending the river. The cacique left these villages, accompanied by his principal subjects, and came to receive Soto, to whom he offered his friendship and his house; for at one side of his dwelling he had still ten or twelve lodges where dwelt his family with many women and servants. The general received with joy the friendship of the cacique. Nevertheless, for fear of incommoding him, he thanked him politely for his house, and lodged in a garden, where the Indians promptly made huts with the branches of trees, because of the heat of May, in which month they then were. So that the troops commodiously camped, one part in the village and the other in the neighboring gardens.

CHAPTER V.

A PROCESSION IN WHICH THEY ADORE THE CROSS.

THE army had been at Casquin three days when the cacique, who was about fifty years of age, accompanied by the most important of his subjects, came to the general. When he had made a very profound reverence he said to him that since the Spaniards always vanquished the Indians he was compelled to believe that they were the favorites of a greater God than theirs. That therefore he had come with the most distinguished of his vassals to beg the general to ask rain of his God; because the fruits of the earth had need of it. Soto replied that although he and those of his suite had been very great sinners, nevertheless they would pray to God, who was the Father of Mercy, to send rain; and at the same time he charged the ship carpenter to make a cross of the highest pine tree that could be found in the province. In fact, they chose one so large and so high that even after having made it round, a hundred men could hardly raise it. In two days they made of it a cross, without taking anything from its height; and they placed it upon a very high knoll* on the borders of the river. Afterwards, Soto ordered

* Artificial, according to Biedma, and on the east side of the St. Francis.

a procession for the next day; and for fear of a surprise, he commanded that the rest of the army should be under arms. The cacique and the general marched in the procession by the side of each other, followed by many Spaniards and many Indians. They amounted to about a thousand persons. The priests and the monks went before chanting the litanies, and the soldiers responded. They advanced in this order towards the cross, where, as soon as they arrived, they fell upon their knees, and after some prayers, they went with much zeal and humility to adore it, the clergy first, then Soto and the cacique and the rest of the troops.

On the other side of the river there were about fifteen or twenty thousand persons of all ages and sexes; they raised their hands and eyes to heaven, and showed, by their posture, that they prayed God to grant to the Christians the favor which they desired. There were also heard among them cries as of people who wept, to obtain from heaven, as soon as possible, their demand. So that the Spaniards had much joy to see their Creator acknowledged, and the cross adored in a country where Christianity was unknown. Afterwards, the clergy sang the "*Te Deum*," and the Spaniards and the Indians returned to the village in the same order that they had come. This lasted, in all, more than four hours. In the mean time our Lord was pleased to show the subjects of the cacique Casquin that he heard the prayers of his servants; for, towards the middle of the following night, it began to rain. Some say that it rained during three entire days, and others six; so that the inhabitants of the province, rejoicing at the favor which God granted them through the means of the Christians, came with the cacique to render thanks to the general for it. They assured him of their service, and declared to him that they held it an honor to depend, absolutely, on him. Soto replied to them, that he was very glad to see evidences of their kind sentiments; but that they were under obligations only to God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and that it was He whom they ought to thank. After that, when the troops had already sojourned nine or ten days in the villages, they left them to continue their discovery. Casquin begged the general to permit him to go with him, and to bring soldiers and porters; the one to escort the army and the other to carry the provisions; because he would have to pass through places where they would find no habitations. The general consented to what Casquin desired; who immediately commanded the bravest of his subjects to hold themselves ready to accompany the Christians as far as the province of Capaha, of which the cacique and the capital bear the same name.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MARCH OF THE TROOPS TO CAPAHA.

THE lords of Casquin and Capaha had, at all times, been at war with one another. Therefore, the caciques who governed these provinces, at the arrival of the Spaniards, were embroiled. As that of Capaha was the most powerful, he had always had the advantage of the other, who was shut up within the bounds of his country without daring to leave it for fear of exasperating the cacique Capaha. But when he saw an opportunity to free himself from restraint and to avenge himself on his enemy, by the help of the troops, he levied five thousand men, very active, and in good order, without counting three thousand Indians, loaded with provisions, and very well armed. Then they went forward, in order of battle, towards Capaha, under pretext of discovering some ambuscade, and to take care to choose a good post to lodge the two armies. The Spaniards followed at the distance of a quarter of a league, and continued their route all the day. Then, on both sides, they camped in very good order, and in such a manner that the cavalier scouts passed between the Indian sentinels and the Spaniards. They marched three days in this manner; and early on the fourth, they arrived at a swamp which separated the provinces of Casquin and Capaha, and of which the bottom was so bad at the borders, and the water so deep in the middle, that they had to swim more than twenty paces. The men on foot passed it upon wretched wooden bridges, and the horses by swimming. But because of the mud of the shores, they had so much trouble that they remained the rest of the day to cross it; so that the Spaniards and the Indians went but half a league from there, where they camped in very pleasant pastures, and arrived, at the end of three days, upon an eminence from which they saw the capital of Capaha, very well fortified, because it was the key of the province. This town is upon a small eminence, and has some five hundred good houses, and a ditch of ten or twelve fathoms, fifty paces wide in most places, and forty at others. Besides, it was filled with water by means of a canal which they had extended from the place to the Chucagua. This canal was three leagues long, at least as deep as a pike-staff, and so wide that two large boats abreast could very easily ascend and descend it. The ditch, which is filled by the canal, surrounds the town, except in a place which is closed by a palisade of large posts fixed in the ground, fastened by other cross-pieces of wood,

and plastered with loam and straw. There were, besides, in this ditch, and in this canal, such a quantity of fish that all the Spaniards and Indians, who followed the general, fished from it without it appearing that they had taken a single fish from it.

The cacique Capaha was in the town when the Indians, who accompanied the troops, discovered it. But as he lacked people to defend it, he retired into an island which the Chucagua makes. Those of the inhabitants who were able to have boats followed him; a part of the others gained the woods, and the rest remained in the place. Nevertheless, there yet escaped some of them, because the vassals of Casquin apprehended that those of Capaha had laid ambushes for them; and remembering that they had been many times vanquished by them, they feared them, and did not enter at first but cautiously into the town. But upon the certainty that there was no danger, they ran in crowds into the place; slew more than a hundred and fifty inhabitants; took off their heads as a mark of their victory, and pillaged the town—particularly the houses of the cacique. They took, besides many young men, two of his wives, who were very beautiful, and who had not been able to escape with the others, on account of the confusion in which the arrival of the enemy had placed them.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EXCESSES WHICH THE CASQUINS COMMITTED IN THE TEMPLE OF CAPAHA, AND THE PURSUIT OF THE CACIQUE.

AFTER the vassals of Casquin had pillaged the town, they called one another, and, with the design of barbarously offending Capaha, who was high-spirited and proud, they entered the temple where was the sepulchre of his ancestors, and carried off all its riches. They overthrew the trophies which had been erected of their spoils, broke the coffins, and scattered on all sides the bones of the dead. Then, through rage, they trampled them under their feet, took away the heads of their people that were upon the ends of lances at the doors of the temple, and put in their places those which they had cut from the inhabitants of Capaha. Finally, they omitted nothing that could mortally offend their enemies. They even deliberated about burning the temple and the houses of the cacique, and were prevented only because they feared to offend Soto, who arrived after this disorder. When he learned the retreat of the cacique, he dispatched to him some of his subjects, whom they had taken, to solicit peace

and his friendship. But the barbarian showed that he breathed but vengeance for the wrong which they had done him, and that he assembled troops to have redress for it. Wherefore, the general commanded the Spaniards and the Indians to hold themselves ready to march towards the island; and thereupon Casquin begged him to wait three or four days, whilst he should bring boats up the Chucagua, which also passed by his lands. Soto consented to this; and immediately Casquin ordered his subjects to come and join him with sixty boats, in order to completely avenge themselves of their enemies. In the mean time, Soto sent each day to Capaha, with the view of making peace; but as he despaired of succeeding, and as he knew that the boats were advancing, he went with his troops to receive them and repair to the island where Capaha had retired, after having remained five days in the town of the cacique.

The Casquins immediately followed the general, and the better to devastate the lands of their enemy they extended themselves, on the march, about half a league. They found many slaves of their province, the tendons of whose insteps were cut in order to prevent them from escaping; and they sent them back to their country, more to show their victory than to derive any service from them. Then they arrived, with the Spaniards, at the island which the Chucagua forms, where the cacique had fortified himself with good palisades, and where it was difficult to take him because of the woods which were there, and of the brave men who accompanied him, all well armed and resolved to defend themselves courageously. Nevertheless, in spite of all these obstacles, the general made two hundred Spaniards embark in twenty boats, and three thousand Indians in the others, and ordered the attack on the island. But at the moment when they were going to debark, there was drowned a Spaniard named Francisco Sebastien, who had served a long time in Italy. This soldier, wishing to have the honor of being the first to leave the vessel, placed the large end of his lance in the ground and tried to reach the shore. In the mean time, the vessel recoiled; he fell into the water, and went to the bottom because of a coat-of-mail which he wore. Sebastien had never appeared more joyful than the day he lost his life; for, some hours before his misfortune, he agreeably entertained his companions. He told them that his bad luck had led him to America; that he had much more happiness in Italy, where he was treated with great respect, and where he was in need of nothing; that if by chance, in that country, he slew some enemy, he had his spoils, and often a good horse, in place of which, in Florida, he gained by the death of an Indian only a bow, some arrows, and worthless feathers. He added that nothing grieved him more than the prediction of a famous Italian astrologer,

who had assured him that water would be fatal to him. It was therefore, he said, that his destiny had driven him into damnable regions, where he was always engaged in the midst of waters. In this manner, before his death, Sebastien entertained his companions, who were greatly concerned at his loss. Nevertheless, they landed and fought like true men of courage. They forced the first palisades, driving the enemy as far as the second, which frightened to such a degree the women and servants who were on the island that they ran, with loud cries, to embark, and rowed with all speed along the river. But those who guarded the second palisades defended themselves like lions; for, encouraged by the presence of the cacique, the remembrance of their noble deeds, and the glory of their ancestors, they fought with desperation, and wounded so many Spaniards and Casquins that they prevented them from advancing further.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CASQUINS FLEE, AND SOTO MAKES PEACE WITH CAPAHA.

WHEN the people of Capaha had sustained the attack of their enemies, they recovered courage, and cried to them that they were cowards; that they ought to bravely prosecute their design and lead them prisoners, since they had had the insolence to sack their village and insult their cacique; but that they should remember the injury they were doing them, and should know that some day they would have redress for it. These words frightened the Casquins, who remembered that they had many times been vanquished by those whom they attacked; so that they abandoned the fight and fled to their boats. Neither the entreaties of the general, nor the threats of their cacique, could retain them. They all, therefore, embarked in disorder, and even wished to carry off the vessels of the Spaniards, that their enemies might not find any to pursue them; but they were prevented by some soldiers who guarded them.

After a flight so shameful, the Spaniards knew that they could not resist the multitude of enemies, because they lacked horses.* They began to make their retreat in very good order; and as soon as the Indians of the island saw them in small numbers, they came, all in a rage, to attack them. But Capaha, who was wise, and who wished to gain the good-will of the general, in order to hinder, by his means, the Casquins from making more devastations, and to oblige him afterwards to pardon the contempt which he had shown

* See note, page 402.

for his friendship, ran, with loud cries, to his subjects and forbid them to do anything to the Spaniards; so that our men safely retired, satisfied with the conduct of Capaha; for, without him, they would all have been cut in pieces. And the next day there came to the general four of the principal Indians, who, after having demanded peace, offered to him their services and their friendship, and entreated him not to suffer their enemies to make more disorder in their country. They also begged him to return to the town of Capaha, and that immediately their cacique himself would come to assure him of his obedience. Such are, in a few words, the speeches of the envoys, who made a bow to the sun, another to the moon, and the third to Soto; but they did not render any civility to Casquin, who was present. The general replied to the Indians, that Capaha might come when he pleased; he should be well received; that he accepted with much joy his friendship, and that he would prevent them in the future from ravaging his lands; that their cacique was the sole cause of all the disorder, because he had always refused peace; but as, for his part, he had generously forgotten all that had passed, he would beg him to do the same. The envoys, contented with this reply, returned to their lord. In the mean time, Casquin was in despair at all this, for he wished that his enemy might be obstinate, in order to have the means of destroying him by the assistance of the foreign troops.

After the departure of the envoys of Capaha, the general resumed his route to the town, and had published that not an Indian nor a Spaniard should, during the march, take anything that should prove prejudicial to the inhabitants of the province; and, when he had arrived at Capaha, he commanded the subjects of Casquin to return to their country, and that there should remain but those whose services were necessary to the cacique, who would not leave the army.

About the middle of the day on which the troops marched, Indians on the part of Capaha came to learn how the general was, and assured him that their cacique would very soon pay his respects to him. At sunset, as Soto was at the village, Capaha dispatched other persons who congratulated him upon his virtues. All these envoys made the accustomed reverences and said what they were ordered to. Soto answered them with civility, and took care that they should be treated very politely, in order that they might know the esteem which he had for them. The next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, they saw Capaha accompanied by a hundred of his principal subjects very spruce in their way. As soon as he had entered the town he went to the temple, where, concealing his dis-

pleasure, he himself collected the bones of his ancestors, which the Casquins had cast upon the ground, and after having kissed them, he replaced them in the coffins. Then he went to the lodge of the general, who left his room to receive him, and embraced him with much affection. The cacique assured him that he came to place himself and his province under his authority. Soto rejoiced at that, kindly thanked him for it, and then he inquired about the nature of the country and the neighboring lands. Capaha replied with intelligence, and showed wisdom in all his remarks. This cacique was then twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, and very handsome.

When the general had ceased to inquire concerning his province, Capaha broke out against Casquin who was present, and told him he ought to be henceforth satisfied to see what he had not imagined and what he had not dared to hope from his own forces; that he was finally avenged of his enemy, and had effaced the disgrace which he had had in the war; that in truth he was indebted for it to the valor of the Spaniards, who would very soon leave his province, and that then he should suffer for all the outrages received.

CHAPTER IX.

PEACE BETWEEN CASQUIN AND CAPAHA.

UPON the knowledge which the general had of the hate of the caciques, and that after his departure the war would rekindle with intensity between them, he showed them that it was sad that they should destroy one another, and that he was firmly determined that they should agree. He therefore tried at first to calm Capaha, and said that if they had ravaged his lands, he ought to impute the fault to himself; that if he had sent persons to meet the Spaniards, they would have prevented his enemies from making any disorder, and they should not have entered his province; that therefore, he ought not, on his part, refuse to make peace with Casquin; that he entreated them, for his sake, to stifle their resentment; that even should it be necessary, he should command them to obey him upon this occasion, and would regard as an enemy him of the two who should insist upon war. Capaha replied to Soto that the greatest mark he could give of his obedience, was to do what he requested of him, and that he was ready to willingly unite in friendship with Casquin; and thereupon the two caciques embraced each other, but apparently their caresses were constrained. Nevertheless, they did not omit to converse ingeniously with the general concerning Spain

and the provinces of Florida. Their conversation lasted until they came to inform him that it was time to dine, and immediately they passed into another room, where the table was set for three. The general placed himself at the upper end, and Casquin at his right, but Capaha civilly remonstrated with Casquin, that as the most distinguished, most powerful, and of a more illustrious nobility, that place belonged to him. Soto, who saw this contest, wished to know the cause of it, and when he had learned it, he said that without having regard to the advantages which the one had over the other, Capaha ought to have respect for the white hairs of Casquin, and accord to him the place the most honorable; that it was becoming a young lord, well-bred, to have consideration for the aged. Capaha replied that if Casquin was his guest he would willingly concede the first place to him without even having regard to his age, but that eating at the table of a third person, he ought not to lose his rank; and that if he were not jealous of this honor, all his subjects would complain of it; that for these considerations, if the general wished that he should eat with him, he should not suffer him to derogate from his rank nor from the glory of his ancestors; that otherwise it would be better for him to go and dine with his soldiers, who, knowing his conduct, would love him the more for it. Casquin, who wished to appease Capaha, and who knew that this lord was right, arose and said to Soto that Capaha demanded nothing but what was very just, and that he begged him to invite him to take his place; that as for him, he esteemed himself so honored to be at his table, that it was of no importance on which side he sat. As he thus spoke, he passed to the left of the general and calmed Capaha, who, during all the time of dining, did not show any resentment. These circumstances show that even among barbarians, the rank which gives title is something of importance. The Spaniards were astonished at the proceedings of these two chiefs, for they never would have believed that the Indians would have been so sensitive upon the point of honor.

As soon as the general and the caciques had dined, there were brought in the two wives of Capaha, who, the preceding day, had been set at liberty with the other prisoners. This cacique received these two ladies very civilly, and then begged the general to accept of them for himself, or at least to give them to some of his officers, because they must no longer live in his house nor upon his lands. The general, who did not wish to refuse Capaha for fear of offending him, replied that he willingly accepted the agreeable present which he made him. These women were indeed very beautiful, and because of that they were so much the more surprised at the conduct of the

cacique, who was in the bloom of life. But they believed that he had an aversion to these ladies because he suspected that they had been defiled by his enemies, whose prisoners they had been.

CHAPTER X.

THE SPANIARDS SEND TO SEEK SALT, AND GO TO THE PROVINCE OF QUIGUATE.

THE general inquired of the caciques and of their subjects where they could find salt, because many soldiers died for want of it, and by good luck he met with eight Indian merchants who traded it through the provinces, and who asserted that there was some in the mountains at forty leagues from Capaha. They also said that there was found there that yellow metal of which they had spoken to them. Our people rejoiced at this news. Moreno and Silvera, who were careful and wise, offered to go with the merchants and find out the truth of all these things. The general immediately dispatched them with orders to notice the quality of the land through which they should pass; and Capaha had them escorted by Indians, and gave them pearls, deer-skins, and beans to purchase gold and salt. Then they left, and at the end of eleven days they returned with six loads of fossil salt, clear as crystal, which gave great joy to the Spaniards. They also brought back some copper, very yellow, and said that the country whence they came was sterile and very poorly populated. Upon this report Soto resumed the route to the town of Casquin, in order, from there, to direct his course towards the west and to explore its lands, for from Mauvila he had always marched directly to the north, in order to place himself at a distance from the sea. He refreshed himself five days at Casquin, and then marched four days down the river through a country fertile and populated, and arrived at the province of Quiguate. The cacique and his subjects came to meet him, and received him courteously. But the next day they begged him to advance as far as the capital, with the assurance that he would be much better served there. The general believed what they told him, and continued five days his journey, descending along the river through places abounding in provisions, and on the fifth arrived at the capital named Quiguate, which gives the name to the province. The town was divided into three quarters. The Spaniards lodged in two, and the Indians in the third, where was the house of the cacique. Two days after the arrival of the troops, these barbarians ran away without the cause

of it being known, and returned at the end of a couple of days to ask pardon for their fault. The cacique excused himself in regard to it, that he expected to return the same day. But they believed that he had returned only through fear that the Spaniards, on their departure, would set fire to the town and to the corn; for evidently he had left with a bad intention, since his subjects, during their flight, caused all the mischief they could. They placed themselves in ambush and wounded two or three Spaniards. However, the general, who did not wish to break with the Indians, did not manifest to them any concern about it.

One of the nights while the Spaniards remained at Quiguate, an aide of the sergeant-major went out at midnight to seek the general, and told him Juan Gaitan, whom he had commanded to patrol a part of the second watch, had refused to obey, under pretext that he was the treasurer of the emperor. This disobedience piqued Soto so much the more as Guitan was one of those who, at Mauvila, had formed the plan to abandon Florida. Then Soto, quite enraged, went to the middle of the court of his lodge, which was elevated, and whence he could easily be heard by the soldiers who were in the neighborhood. There he said that it was a shame that they should mutiny every day, and that they would not do their duty under pretext that they were treasurers of his majesty; that besides he could not comprehend these people who desired to return to Spain or to Mexico, never being able to appear there but as cowards; that they knew that, on the point of rendering themselves masters of a vast and fertile country, they had basely abandoned him; that, as he could not endure that they should make them a reproach so injurious, because it would recoil, in part, upon himself, they therefore must not think of leaving Florida whilst he lived, because he had resolved either to die there gloriously or to conquer it completely; that no one must any longer, under pretext of his office, imagine himself exempt from doing that which should be ordered him, that otherwise he would cut off the head of the first who should disobey. These words, pronounced in an imperious tone full of resentment, made the mutineers and disaffected return to their duty, for they knew that the general was strict and severe, and that after having publicly expressed himself, his menaces were to be feared.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TROOPS ARRIVE AT COLIMA; THEY MAKE SALT, AND GO ON TO TULA.

THE Spaniards sojourned six days at Quiguate;(25) they left the seventh, and after marching five days down along the river, which passes by Casquin, they arrived at the capital of the province of Colima. The cacique received Soto with the greatest manifestations of affection; and this reception rejoiced our men, who were extremely concerned about what had been told them—that the inhabitants of Colima poisoned their arrows. They despaired of being able to resist them; for without using poisoned arrows these barbarians were already too strong in battle. But they learned, with joy, that they did not shoot poisoned arrows, and they esteemed the more their friendship, which, however, did not last but a very short time. For, two days after the arrival of the troops, they mutinied without cause, and retired into the woods with their cacique. After this retreat, the Spaniards remained another day in the town of Colima; whence, when they had collected provisions, they continued their journey through fertile fields, pleasant forests, easy to pass, and at the end of four days arrived at the borders of a river, where the army camped. Afterwards, some soldiers, who went to walk upon the borders of the river, perceived there some sand of an azure color. One of them took some of it, tasted it, and perceived that it was salty. He informed his companions of it, and said that he believed that they could make saltpetre of it; of which there could be made very good powder. They, therefore, collected this sand with this intention, and endeavored to select only that which appeared azure. When they had enough of it they threw it into the water; where, after having washed it, they pressed it between their hands in order to strain it. They then cooked it with a great fire, and converted it into a pale yellow salt, but very suitable for salting. The Spaniards, rejoiced at this new discovery, refreshed themselves eight days at Colima, and made a supply of salt. But there were some of them who, notwithstanding the entreaties that were made them, eat so much of it that nine or ten of them died of dropsy. Thus some lost their lives from having an abundance of salt, and others for want of it.

After our men had furnished themselves with salt, they left Colima and marched two days in order to leave the country which they

called the Province de Sel. From there they passed into that of Tula. They made three days' travel through an unpeopled country; and about noon on the fourth they camped in a very pleasant plain at half a league from the capital, where the general would not go, because the troops were tired; but the next day he took sixty foot soldiers, and a hundred horse, and went to reconnoitre this town, which was situated in a flat country between two streams. The inhabitants, who knew nothing of his coming, armed themselves when they saw him; came out against him, and were assisted by many women, who fought very valiantly. Our men immediately broke the enemy, and drove them even into the town, where they entered pell-mell. The fight then grew warm, for the Indians and their women fought to desperation, and all showed that they preferred death to servitude.

Reinoso, during the melee, entered a house and mounted to an upper room. There were, in a corner of it, five Indian women, to whom he made known that he would not do them any injury; but these women, who saw him alone, sprang with fury upon him; some took him by the arms and the legs, some by the neck, and some even by the privy parts. Reinoso, in order to disembarass himself, struggled and shook himself with violence, and kicked so forcibly that the floor, which was but of cane, gave way; and as one of his feet passed through the hole, he fell upon the floor, where the Indian women treated him cruelly. However, he would not cry for assistance, in the belief that it would be disgraceful for him when it should be seen that women had caused him so much trouble.

While the Indian women were thus outraging Reinoso, another Spaniard entered the room below, and because he heard a noise above, he looked and saw a leg projecting through a hole in the floor. He took it at first for that of an Indian, because it was naked, and raised his sword to cut it; but in the doubt that it might be some disaster, he called two soldiers. They mounted to the room, where, seeing their comrade in a pitiable condition, they attacked the Indian women, and slew all five of them, because not one of them would ever stop biting and striking Reinoso. Thus they saved his life, which he would have very soon lost if he had not been rescued.

This year, 1591, as I finish the History of Florida, I learn that Reinoso still lives, and that he is in the kingdom of Leon, where he was born.

It happened, towards the end of the fight, that Paez, captain of a company of crossbow-men, a very poor horseman, attacked an Indian, who fled. He first thrust at him with his lance. The Indian

parried it with a large stick, with which he gave Paez so severe a blow upon the face that he broke all his teeth, and, leaving him completely stunned upon the field, retired with honor.

Then, as it was already growing late, Soto had the retreat sounded, and returned to camp, much surprised at the courage of the Indians, and especially of the Indian women, who fought with more obstinacy than the men. There remained upon the field many barbarians; but on the side of our men there were only the wounded, whom they took to the quarters, and for whom Soto was very sorry.

CHAPTER XII.

THE INHABITANTS OF TULA.

THE day after the battle the Spaniards entered the capital of Tula. As they found it abandoned, they lodged there, and towards evening the general sent out, in different directions, some cavaliers to scout. They took some Indians who were on watch, but they were unable to draw any answers from them concerning the things which they demanded, nor to make them walk, because they threw themselves upon the ground and let themselves be dragged. Despairing, therefore, of leading them to the camp, they killed them all.

The Spaniards found in the town of Tula many cowhides dressed with the hair on, and made use of them in the place of bed covers. They also found there hides undressed and the flesh of beef, without having seen any cattle or discovered whence the barbarians had brought so many hides.*

The men as well as the women of Tula are very deformed. They have the head extraordinarily long and pointed, and they shape theirs in this manner from their earliest infancy to the age of nine or ten years. They also have very ugly faces, because they disfigure them with the points of pebbles, and particularly the lips, which they blacken after having punctured them. Thus they render themselves so frightful that one can hardly look upon them without dread. In addition to this, their minds are even worse formed than their bodies.

The fourth night that our men were at Tula, the Indians in great numbers approached it before the break of day, and so silently that the sentinels did not perceive them until they fell upon them. They immediately attacked the camp in three places, and entered with so

* Of course these were the rugs, hides, and meat of the buffalo.

much fury and speed the quarters of the crossbow-men, that, without giving them time to prepare their crossbows, they compelled them to retire in disorder to the post of Gusman. This captain immediately rushed out and charged the barbarians, who fought with so much the more ardor, as they thought that the resistance which Gusman made might deprive them of the victory.

The Indians and Spaniards fought courageously at the other places, and nothing but shouts were heard everywhere. Besides, the confusion was so great on account of the darkness, that they hit as often upon those of their own party as upon those of the other. Our men, in order to recognize and not wound one another, gave quickly for watchword Santiago, and the Indians Tula.

The most of these barbarians in place of arrows had sticks from five to six feet in length, because the Indian who previously had broken the teeth of Paez had told them what he had done with a stick; so that many of his comrades, hoping a like good luck, armed themselves with sticks, and severely beat with them some Spaniards. Juan Baeca, one of the halberdiers of the general's guards, was especially abused; for two Indians having seized him, one broke his shield with the first blow of his stick, and the other discharged such a blow upon his back that he stretched him at his feet, and they would have beaten him to death but for some soldiers who hastened to him. There happened many other accidents of the same sort, at which the soldiers afterwards laughed, because they were only the blows of sticks.

The cavalry, whom the enemy feared, broke their battalions, but they did not cease to stubbornly contend; for although the cavaliers pierced them with many thrusts of their lances and put them many times in disorder, they courageously resisted until daylight. But then they retired into a wood adjacent a stream which passed near the town. The Spaniards were very glad of this retreat, for the Indians fought to desperation, and ardently desired the defeat of their enemies. The combat ended with the rising of the sun. Then our men re-entered the camp to cure the wounded, which were in very great numbers; and nevertheless they lost but four men.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COMBAT OF AN INDIAN WITH FOUR SPANIARDS.

AFTER the battle some Spaniards went, according to their custom, to see the dead and wounded; and in the mean time Gaspard Caro, who in the melee had lost a horse, mounted that of one of his friends

to go and hunt his own, which had fled away into the country. Caro found his horse, and driving him before him, arrived at the battle-field where he met four foot-soldiers, one of whom, named Salazar, wished to show his skill in riding, and mounted the horse which Caro drove. In the meanwhile Juan de Carranca, one of the four foot-soldiers, called out that he had seen an Indian in the bushes near them. The cavaliers immediately advanced, the one on one side and the other on the other, to prevent the barbarian from escaping. Carranca ran to the place where he had seen him, and was followed by his companions, of whom one went with haste after him and the other slowly. The Indian, who saw himself intercepted on all sides, left the bushes and ran at Carranca with a battle-axe which he had won in the attack on the arbalisters. This axe was very well sharpened, and had a handle more than half a fathom long. The Indian took it with both hands and struck so furious a blow upon the shield of Carranca, that he cut half of it away and wounded his arm to such a degree that he put him *hors de combat*. He then rushed upon another soldier and treated him in the same manner.

Salazar, who was on Caro's horse and who had seen his two comrades maltreated, attacked with fury the Indian, who, for fear of the horse, gained an oak that was there. Salazar pursued him, approached as near to him as he could, and, with his sword, struck at him several blows in vain. But as the barbarian saw that he could not make use of his bow because of the branches, he left the tree, placed himself to the left of the cavalier, and with his axe discharged such a blow upon the shoulder of the horse that he cleaved it in two. In the mean time, Gonçalo Silvestre arrived, who followed at a slow gait in the belief that his companions would easily vanquish the Indian. When he was near, the barbarian advanced boldly, directly at him, and discharged at him a blow with all his force; but Silvestre avoided it with so much skill that the axe only glanced upon his shield, and immediately he gave the Indian a stroke with his sword, the blow of which wounded his breast, face, and forehead and cut off his left wrist. Then the barbarian, enraged at having only one hand, threw himself upon his enemy. Silvestre parried with his shield, and with his sword gave him so powerful a stroke at the waist that, encountering neither arms nor clothing, it cut him in two so that he fell dead at his feet.

At the same time Caro arrived, who, sorry to see his horse in the condition in which he was, led him to the general, and, quite in a passion, told him that an Indian, with three blows of an axe, had put *hors de combat* three Spaniards who prided themselves upon

their skill and courage, and that he would have even taken their lives but for Silvestre who had gallantly slain their enemy.

The general, and those who accompanied him, admired the hardihood of the Indian and the valor of Silvestre. But as Caro was too much transported with rage against the three Spaniards, Soto, who knew their merit, told him that their misfortune was the effect of chance, which, in war, favored sometimes one and sometimes another; that he ought not to be so much enraged at the wound of his horse, for that was trifling; that, besides, he wished to see him whom Silvestre had killed; and thereupon he went, with many of his officers, to the place where was the body of the Indian, whose valor surprised them anew after having heard, from the wounded, the particulars of the fight.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DEPARTURE FROM TULA, AND THE WINTERING OF THE TROOPS IN UTIANGUE.

WHILST the Spaniards sojourned at Tula they made divers excursions through the province and found it very populous. They captured many Indian women and many Indians of every age. But they could neither by force or gentleness lead them away, for when they wished to compel them to follow they threw themselves upon the ground and only made known that they should leave them or kill them. Our men, who were provoked at their brutal obstinacy, slew the men who were capable of fighting and released the women and children. However, Juan Serrano, through artifice, brought away an Indian woman; but she was so savage that if he cautioned her of her duty she threw at his head the pot, the fire-brands, or whatever she met with. She would have them either leave her alone or kill her, and said that she was not born to obey. Wherefore her master suffered her to do everything according to her fancy. Nevertheless, she ran away, whereat Serrano was very glad.

At the very name of Tula they quiet the children that cry, and the brutal disposition of the inhabitants of this province causes them to be feared by their neighbors. When the Spaniards left this province they carried away a young boy of nine or ten years of age; and when, in the towns which they afterwards discovered, and where they were well received, the children made small companies to fight one against the other, our men ordered the young Indian of Tula to choose one or the other of the parties. Those of his troop

immediately took him for their captain, and at the same time he arranged them in order of battle, and with loud cries attacked the opposite party, which he made fly when he happened to cry Tula! The Spaniards who were present then commanded him to go over to the side of the vanquished and to charge the conquerors. He obeyed, and as soon as he began to cry Tula! his enemies fled, so that on whichever side he placed himself, he always gained the victory.

After the Spaniards had remained twenty days at Tula, on account of their wounded, they left it, and at the end of two days' travel they entered the country of Utiangue, with the resolution of passing there the winter, which was approaching. They marched four days through this province, and found the lands of it very good, but poorly populated, and the inhabitants bold; for upon the route they continually harassed the Spaniards by attacks and alarms every half league. At first, they fired at them, from quite a distance, a quantity of arrows, and then fled. But, as they fought in the open field, the cavaliers pursued them and easily pierced them with their lances. However, without losing courage, as soon as they could rally only twenty or twenty-five men, they returned with loud cries to fall upon our men, who charged them vigorously. They also sometimes concealed themselves among the tall grass, the better to surprise the Spaniards. Nevertheless, nothing availed them; they were always beaten. The troops arrived at the capital, which bears the name of the province, and lodged there, for it was abandoned. The general dispatched Indians of the country to the inhabitants of this place, but they would have neither peace nor alliance with the Spaniards. The people of the province of Utiangue are bold, proud, daring, and much better made than those of Tula, for they have neither the disfigured visage nor the monstrous head.

When Soto and his officers saw that there were provisions in the town of Utiangue, that it was situated in a fertile plain watered on both sides by a stream, with pastures around it, and inclosed with palisades, they resolved to take up their winter-quarters there; for, besides that it was already the middle of the month of October, of the year 1541, they did not know whether they should meet elsewhere with so much convenience as in this place. Therefore, they fortified it, and laid in a supply of wood, corn, dried grapes, plums, and other fruits, which they found in abundance. They also killed, hunting, many rabbits, stags, and roebucks, with which they regaled themselves; and they would not have been better off in Spain, nor more comfortable, than in Utiangue. It is true that the winter was severe there, and that it snowed so much that they

remained a month and a half without being able to go out; but the good fires which they made easily protected them from the cold.

Indeed, when I come to consider all these conveniences and the excellence of the land of Florida, I cannot approve the conduct of the Spaniards, who would not settle there because they found neither gold nor silver there. But they did not reflect that they did not meet with any of these metals because the inhabitants of the country did not give themselves the trouble to search for them, and did not make any account of them. In fact, they assert that ships having perished upon the coast, and the Indians having found purses full of gold, they carried off the purses, with the view that they might be serviceable to them, and left that which was within them because they did not know the use of it.

CHAPTER XV.

THE STRATAGEM OF THE CACIQUE OF UTIANGUE, AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE PROVINCE OF NAGUATEX.

THE cacique, who knew that the Spaniards were making their winter-quarters at Utiangue, took the resolution to drive them away. For this purpose, he tried to divert the general with some men whom he dispatched to him by night, and who assured him that the cacique would very soon come to the town. But, under this pretext, they had orders to reconnoitre the troops, in order that, upon the report which they should make of it, they might deliberate upon the means of attacking them with safety. The Spaniards, who did not suspect these Indians, showed them the horses, the arms, and the guard which they kept in the place. In the meanwhile, Soto, informed of the design of the barbarians, told their envoys that they must not enter any more, except by day, into Utiangue. But, as they persisted in coming there by night, they believed that they ought to teach them by force to obey, since, in regard to them, gentleness appeared useless. Therefore, Barthelemy d'Argote, who had the order of the general, being one night on guard at the gate of the town, slew one of their envoys who wished to enter to speak to the officers. This action was approved by everybody, and particularly by Soto, for he gave great praise to Argote, who afterwards passed for a brave soldier; and the Indians, who knew that their design was discovered, returned no more to our people.

During the wintering of the troops at Utiangue, some guarded

the place, and others, when the snows had melted, set out to capture Indians, because they needed servants. But because, after seven or eight days of travelling, they returned with but few prisoners, the general chose two hundred and fifty men, as many of cavalry as of infantry, and advanced twenty leagues into the country as far as Naguatex, a fertile and populous province. In this country he surprised, before day, a town where the cacique lived. He took there a sufficiently large number of men and women, and returned afterwards to Utiangue, where the rest of the army awaited him, and began to fear for him, because it was fourteen days since he had left. But his return dissipated their fear, and they thought only of rejoicing and sharing the prisoners.

BOOK THIRD.

THE DISCOVERY OF MANY PROVINCES, WITH THE ADVENTURES OF THE SPANIARDS IN THESE COUNTRIES, AND THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

THE ENTRY OF THE TROOPS INTO NAGUATEX.

AFTER five months' sojourn at Utiangue, the general left it at the beginning of April of the year 1542, and marched towards the capital of Naguatex, which bears the name of the province. He made in seven days twenty-two or twenty-three leagues in order to go to this town, and passed through very good and very populous lands. Nothing happened to him on the route except that the barbarians attacked him at the passes of the woods and streams, but they fled the moment they opposed them. Our men, therefore, safely arrived at Naguatex, which they found abandoned, and where they remained fifteen days, during which time they traversed the whole province and seized the provisions which they needed with but feeble opposition from the inhabitants.

The Spaniards had been six days in Naguatex when the cacique sent to Soto to apologize for not having awaited him at the town in order to receive him with honor. He also sent him word that he was so ashamed of his conduct that he dared not visit him at present, but that as soon as he should recover from so much confusion, he would not fail of his duty; that nevertheless, he would command his vassals to strictly obey his orders, because he recognized him

as his sovereign. The general replied that he was obliged to the cacique for the favor which he did him; that they might assure him that he should be very well received, and that he would be rejoiced to see him. Thereupon the envoys returned, well satisfied with Soto, and the next day, very early in the morning, there came others of them who brought with them four of the principal Indians with more than five hundred servants. They told the general that they presented to him the most important persons of the province to serve him, and to be kept as hostages until the arrival of the cacique. Soto thanked them for this favor, and commanded that no more Indians should be made prisoners. Nevertheless the cacique did not come to see him, and they believed that he had sent these men to the Spaniards only to prevent them from ravaging his lands and seizing his subjects. In the mean time the principal Indians and all the others served the troops with ardor, and only aimed implicitly to please them. The general, who knew their zeal, and also the soldiers who were about to leave, inquired of them concerning the country of Naguatex, and marched as far as another province accompanied by many other Indians whom the cacique sent to him with provisions.

CHAPTER II.

THE FLIGHT OF GUSMAN.

AT the end of two leagues, the Spaniards missed Diego Gusman, a brave cavalier, but a great gamester, who had come to Florida well equipped with everything. The general immediately ordered a halt, and the principal Indians* to be arrested until they should hear from Gusman. There were then made, among the Spaniards, inquiries where this cavalier could be, and it was discovered that the day before that in which they searched for him, they had seen him at the quarters; that four days before, he had gambled away at cards his arms and baggage; that being excited at playing, he had lost a very charming Indian girl about eighteen years of age, who had fallen to his lot when they divided the prisoners of the province of Naguatex; that he paid all the rest of what he had lost, but that in regard to this beauty, he had said to him who had won her, that in four or five days he would send her to him; that nevertheless he had broken his promise, and that neither he nor the Indian woman appeared any more; so that they suspected that he had retired among the barbarians because of the shame which he

* There were four, according to what follows.

had for having played for his equipage, and lost this young woman whom he loved ; in fact, they no longer doubted it, when they knew that the Indian woman was the daughter of the cacique. Therefore, Soto, who esteemed Gusman, ordered the chief Indians to send for him in haste ; that otherwise they should believe that they had had him assassinated ; and that he, in order to punish so black a crime, should put to death them and all their people. These poor Indians, for fear of losing their lives, sent promptly where they thought they might learn some news of Gusman ; and their messenger, who went and returned in a day, reported that he was with the cacique, and that he had sworn to them that he would never return to the Spaniards. Thereupon the general replied that he could not give faith to that, and that assuredly the leading Indians had killed him. One of them then gravely replied, and said, in a tone quite unlike that of a prisoner, that he had too much honor to lie ; that in order to be more certain of that which they had reported to him, they begged him to set at liberty one of their companions who might go to the Indians. That they would promise him that his cavalier should return to the camp with their comrade, or that he should declare his final resolution. That he might take only the trouble to order him, by letter, to return or reply by a note ; and that he might judge by that whether the cavalier was living. They added, that, if their companion did not return in the manner in which they assured him, the three others would submit to lose their lives ; but that they had so high an opinion of the prudence of the general, that they were convinced that he would not carry his resentment against the others, but upon them ; and that even he would never consent that three persons of rank should die for a soldier who had cowardly deserted without being compelled by any inhabitant of the province. Soto and his captains agreed to all that the Indian had proposed, and ordered him to go to Gusman ; and Gallego, who was loved by this cavalier, to write to him his sentiments concerning the imprudence he had committed, and to induce him to return ; that they would restore to him all his equipage ; and that, in one word, he should never want for anything.

The Indian, at the same time, left with the letter of Gallego, and the order of the general, who requested the cacique to return to him his soldier, or that he would vow to destroy everything, and to kill all the Indians who were in his power. When Gusman had seen what was commanded him, he wrote his name with charcoal to make known that he was living ; and desired the envoy to assure the Spaniards that he would never return to them. And immediately the cacique replied, that as Gusman was free to remain upon

his lands, he, therefore, would not force him to leave them; that in consideration of the favor which he had done him in having brought back to him his daughter, he would always treat him very kindly, and would conduct himself in the same manner towards the Spaniards, who should settle in his province; that, after all, Soto would never be praised for putting to death the subjects of a person who received his people with friendship; that, nevertheless, he should speak to him no more on the subject, and that he might do with them as he pleased. The general, who knew the obstinacy of Gusman, and that the cacique spoke like a man of honor, determined to continue on, and to release the principal Indians and the porters when they all had accompanied him as far as the other province.* However, it must be agreed that love and gambling blind men greatly, since they oblige them to abandon themselves to their own enemies.

CHAPTER III.

CONCERNING THE PROVINCE OF GUACANE.

OUR men marched five days through the country of Naguatex, and arrived at the province of Guacane, of which the people were very different from their neighbors. Those of Naguatex were gentle, civil, and friends of the Spaniards; and the inhabitants of Guacane, barbarous, and their sworn enemies. In fact, instead of making an alliance with them, they showed, on every occasion, that they hated them, and many times offered them battle. But our men always declined it, because they had lost more than half their horses, and because they did not wish to expose the others to the fury of the enemy. Therefore, in order not to have any occasion for coming to an engagement with them, they doubled their march, and traversed, in eight days, the province of Guacane. They saw, in this province, wooden crosses upon most of the houses; because those of this province had heard of the great things which Nugnez and his companions had done in the name of Jesus Christ in the regions of Florida, where they had been whilst they were in the power of the Indians. Nevertheless, neither Nugnez nor his companions ever penetrated as far as Guacane, or into many other countries where their reputation was known. But fame had published, from one province to another, the miracles which they had worked by the power of God

* The Elvas Narrative mentions this as having happened on Moscoso's expedition westward, after the death of Soto.

in favor of the sick whom they cured with the signs of the cross. Thus the inhabitants of Guacane, astonished at these marvels, imagined that by putting crosses upon their houses they would guarantee themselves from every danger; and by that we may learn what facility there is to convert to the faith the people of Florida; and that example is more powerful than force and violence to lead them to virtue.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MARCH OF THE TROOPS TO THE PROVINCE OF ANILCO.

THE general left Guacane with the intention of returning to the Chucagua by a different route from that which he had taken, and to make a longer tour, in order to discover other provinces. The object which he had was, to establish himself in Florida before diseases and battles should entirely ruin his army. He was, besides, vexed not to have reaped any fruits from the trouble which he had taken, and was still taking every day, to make new discoveries. Therefore, he ardently desired that Florida, which is vast and fertile, should be inhabited by the Spaniards, and especially by those who accompanied him. He was of opinion that if he should die without commencing his settlement, there could not be assembled in many years as brave troops as his own. He, therefore, repented of not having settled himself in the country of Achussi, and wished to repair the fault which he had made. But as he was far from the sea, and would lose time in seeking a port, he resolved that upon his arrival at the Chucagua he would build a town upon the banks of that river; that he would build two brigantines, the charge of which he would give to faithful persons, who would descend the river as far as the sea, in order to go and inform the inhabitants of Mexico, Cuba, and other countries, that in Florida they had discovered vast regions abounding in everything. He hoped that, by this means, the Spaniards would flock there from all parts, and would bring what was necessary for a colony; which could easily have been executed if death had not interrupted such glorious designs.

The general, on leaving Guacane, traversed seven other countries to arrive at the Chucagua, and to begin in the spring to settle himself. But, because they progressed by long journeys, the Spaniards did not inquire the names of the provinces, of which four abounded in provisions and were very agreeable, because of the orchards and streams which they met with there. As for the three

others, they were neither fertile nor pleasant, and it was believed, also, that the Indian guides had led the troops through the worst and least attractive places. The general was very well received through all this extent of country, so that our men passed very successfully through these provinces, which were probably at least one hundred and twenty leagues across. Finally, they arrived at the frontier of the country of Anilco, and accomplished thirty leagues, as far as to the capital, which bears the name of the province and of the cacique. It is upon the borders of a river wider than the Guadalquivir, and has about four hundred good houses, with a beautiful square in the middle. The dwelling of the cacique is upon an eminence which commands the town. This lord was, at the arrival of the troops, in front of this place at the head of a battalion of fifteen hundred men, the *élite* of his subjects. The Spaniards, who observed the deportment of the Indians, made a halt to await the soldiers, who followed in the rear, and promptly arranged themselves in order of battle. In the mean while, Anilco ordered that the women should retire, and that each one should save the most valuable things he had, and at the same time our army advanced to attack, but the barbarians fled without shooting an arrow. Some entered the town, and the greater part crossed the river in little boats and upon rafts, and a few by swimming, for they had no intention to fight, but only to arrest the enemy, to favor those who carried off their goods. Our men, when they saw that the Indians fled, charged upon them and captured a few upon the banks of the river, and took in the town many women and children who had not been able to escape. The general afterwards sent to offer peace and his friendship to Anilco, and to request of him the honor of his good offices. But he would not reply, and only made with his hand a sign to the envoy that he might retire.

The Spaniards lodged in the town, where they remained four days. In the mean time, they furnished themselves with little boats and rafts, and crossed the river without having been interrupted by the Indians. Then they marched four days through unpeopled lands, and entered the country of Guachoia.

CHAPTER V.

CONCERNING GUACHOIA, ITS CACIQUE, AND THE WAR OF THE INDIANS.

AFTER the crossing of this wilderness, the first habitation which the Spaniards found was the capital of Guachoia. It bears the name of its province, and is upon the banks of the Chucagua [Mis-

Mississippi, situated upon two eminences separated by only a level platform, which serves for the public square of the town, consisting of three hundred houses, half upon one of these hills and half upon the other.* The house of the cacique is upon the highest of these two eminences. Our men surprised Guachoia, because those of Anilco, who were at war with the inhabitants of this town, did not inform them of the march of the troops. The cacique and his subjects, astonished at the sight of the army, and seeing that they could not resist, took to flight and retired to the Chucagua, which they crossed in boats, with their women, children, and the best of what they had. The Spaniards took possession of the town, where they took lodgings, because there was there a quantity of fruit and corn.

As I have already said that the greater part of the provinces through which they passed were the enemies of one another, I am going to relate here in what manner the inhabitants of these divers countries make war. The Indians of one province do not fight those of another through an unruly ambition to seize upon their country, nor raise an army to deliver battle. They only lay ambuscades for one another, and plunder while fishing and hunting; in a word, everywhere where they meet with an advantage. They also sometimes kill and sometimes take prisoners; but of those who are taken, some are exchanged for others, and the rest remain slaves, the tendons of the instep of one of whose feet they cut, in order to prevent them from escaping. And if, by chance, war suddenly breaks out, they lay waste the lands of their enemies, set fire to the towns, and retire. Such is the way in which the inhabitants of Florida fight, province against province, and become valiant and bold, because they are perpetually at war, and always under arms or in practice. But because divisions prevail among them, and ordinarily the cacique of one country is embroiled with all his neighbors, it is certain that the conquest of the whole country will be on account of it the more easy, and that the discord which they entertain will some day cause their ruin.

To return to our men. After they had refreshed themselves three days in the town of Guachoia, the cacique, whom they call from the name of his country, having learned that Anilco had refused to make peace with the Spaniards, wished to profit by the opportunity which fortune presented to him of avenging himself of his enemies. He therefore dispatched to the general four of the principal men of his province, with many porters loaded with fruit

, * These eminences, on the west bank of the Mississippi, below the Arkansa, might now mark the site of Guachoia.

and fish. They entreated Soto to pardon their cacique the error he had made in not having awaited at Guachoia to receive him with honor; that now he acknowledged him for his lord; and that if he obtained permission to come in person to assure him of it, he would repair in four days to the quarters. Soto, rejoiced at this news, charged the envoys to say to their master that he was obliged to him; and that, as he particularly esteemed his friendship, he might give himself the trouble to come and see him when it pleased him, and that he would be welcomed. The Indians, satisfied with this answer, returned with it to the cacique. During three days that he deferred repairing to the camp, he sent, each day, seven or eight persons to pay his compliments to the general; that through them he might artfully discover whether the Spaniards change their disposition, and whether it would be prudent for him to visit them. But when he knew that they would treat him well, he came about noon to the quarters, accompanied by his principal subjects, all decked with plumes, and very gayly dressed, after the fashion of the country.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VENGEANCE OF GUACHOIA.

WHEN the general learned that Guachoia had arrived in the town, and that he was coming to visit him, he left his room to meet him at the door of the lodge. There he paid his respects to him and all those who accompanied him; then he passed with them into a hall, where he and the cacique, by means of an interpreter, conversed regarding the neighboring provinces, and all that which might retard or advance the conquest of the country. During which time the cacique sneezed, and immediately the Indians of his suite, who were ranged against the walls of this hall, bowed and extended their arms; they also showed their respect to the cacique in several other ways, and all said politely: "May the sun be with you, enlighten, defend, and preserve you." The Spaniards were surprised that they had as much politeness among barbarians as among the most polished people, and believed that there were certain customs which were generally observed by all the world.

Then when they had conversed enough, dinner was served, and the cacique dined with Soto, the Indians standing around them until the end of the repast. These Indians then went to dine in another room which they had prepared for them; and towards evening they gave an apartment to the cacique, with some men to serve him. The others retired to the other side of the river, and returned to pay their

court to their lord, and never failed to do it whilst the Spaniards sojourned at Guachoia.

During these affairs the cacique, who was artful, told the general that he ought to return to the province of Anilco, abounding in every convenience. That he offered himself to accompany him there with the greater part of his subjects. That to facilitate the passage of the river, which bears the name of this country, he promised to send for more than eighty boats which would descend [ascend] seven leagues by the Chucagua to the mouth of the Anilco [Arkansa] which empties into this river. That then they would ascend by the Anilco as far as the town of the same name.* That in all there would not be more than twenty leagues; and that while the vessels descended and ascended, the rest of the troops might go by land and that they all would arrive together at their destination. The general suffered himself to be persuaded, because he wished to know if the province of Anilco would be convenient for the design which he had. He wished, besides, to establish himself peaceably between this country and that of Guachoia, in the belief that this place would be favorable to him to wait for the news from Mexico, whither he had resolved to send. But Guachoia had very particular views which were not known. He intended, by the assistance of the Spaniards, to avenge himself of the cacique Anilco, who, in all of the engagements, had gained the advantage of him. So that when he had engaged the general to return to the province of Anilco, he caused to be brought all the boats which he had promised, and then Soto ordered Gusman and his company to embark with four thousand Indians and many rowers armed with bows and arrows. This captain therefore entered into these boats with all these troops, and descended the river. Immediately the general, with all the other Spaniards, and Guachoia, with two thousand of his subjects, marched by land accompanied by a great number of Indian porters, and all arrived at the same time, in view of the town of Anilco where the cacique was not at that time. Nevertheless, the inhabitants bravely disputed the passage of the river, but when they saw that it was impossible for them to resist longer, they took to flight and abandoned the place. The subjects of Guachoia entered with fury, pillaged and ransacked the temple where was the sepulchre of the lords of the province, with the wealth of Anilco. In this temple were the arms and the ensigns which the subjects of Anilco had won from their neighbors; and at the doors were seen, upon lances, the heads of the most important vassals of Guachoia. But the people of this

* Here it is seen that Garcilasso places the Guachoia above the mouth of the Arkansa; but it was below, as is plainly seen in the Elvas Narrative.

cacique took off these heads and quickly put in their places those of some of the subjects of Anilco. They recovered the ensigns, overturned the coffins, trod upon the dead in revenge of the outrages which they had formerly received from them, and slew all without sparing age or sex. But they principally exercised their cruelty upon the suckling infants and upon the old men; they first tore from the latter their clothes, and shot them to death with arrows which they generally aimed at the parts which show the difference of the sex. As for the infants they threw them by the legs into the air, and shot them to death with their arrows before they fell to the ground.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RETURN OF THE GENERAL TO THE TOWN OF GUACHOIA, AND HIS PREPARATIONS FOR MEXICO.

Soto, informed of the cruelties which the people of Guachoia did, was extremely offended at it, for the design which he had of returning to the province of Anilco was very contrary to this barbarity. In order, therefore, to arrest the devastation, he had the retreat immediately sounded, cursed the cacique for all the misfortune, and commanded the interpreters to publish that, under penalty of death, none should make a conflagration or maltreat any more the subjects of the cacique of Anilco. Nevertheless, because the general feared that the vassals of Guachoia might secretly execute all that rage inspired them to, he left the town of Anilco and took his route to the river, and ordered the Spaniards to make the people of Guachoia advance in haste, for fear lest they should loiter behind and put to death their enemies. When he reached the river he embarked with all the troops for the town of Guachoia. But hardly had he proceeded a quarter of a league when he perceived the town of Anilco on fire, for the barbarians, who had not dared to burn it after the prohibition of the general, had maliciously put burning coals to the corners of the houses, which were only of straw, so that at the least gust of wind the fire took there, and in a moment all was in flames. The general would have returned to prevent the town from being entirely consumed, but when he saw that the Indians of the neighborhood ran there, he continued his route and went to Guachoia, where he discharged all the care of the troops upon his captains, in order to apply himself wholly to his designs. He then commanded to be cut timber fit for vessels; and to be collected cordage, gum, and iron works, in order to construct the brigantines. But as he hoped God would do him the favor to preserve him until

he had accomplished what he desired, he had already fixed upon the officers and soldiers in whom he confided the most, for the management of the vessels which he should send to Mexico. He had also resolved that after the departure of the brigantines he would pass with the boats of the cacique of Guachoia to the other side of the river, into the country of Quigualtanqui. He knew through the means of his couriers that this country was fertile and populous, and that the capital, which consisted of some five hundred houses, was not very far from the camp. He had already sent to the cacique who held his court in this town which bears the name of the province and of its lord. But this cacique had insolently replied to the envoys who requested peace of him, that very soon he would exterminate all the Spaniards; that they were robbers and vagabonds; that he would have them hung to the highest trees to be a prey to the birds; and that he had sworn by the sun and by the moon, his divinities, never to contract an alliance with a nation so detestable. Soto, who was wise, had this barbarian spoken to with amity, so that he obliged him to change his language and sentiments. However, Soto, being informed that all the appearances of the friendship of this cacique were deceitful, and that he, with the lords of the neighboring provinces, conspired against the Spaniards, held himself upon his guard in the hope of some day chastising this perfidy. For he still commanded more than six hundred men, cavalry and infantry. He had resolved to lead them into the town of Quigualtanqui, and to live there the remainder of the summer and the next winter until he had received the assistance which he expected from Mexico, and which they could easily send by ascending the Chuacagua, capable of bearing all the vessels that might have come.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEATH OF SOTO.

AT the time when Soto thought only of the means of settling himself and drawing some fruits from his labors, he was attacked the 20th of June, 1542, by a fever which at first appeared a small affair, but which increased so very much that he himself judged it mortal. He therefore began, the third day of his sickness, to resign himself entirely to the will of God. He made his will, and confessed himself with much devotion and sorrow for his sins. Then he took the precaution to have summoned his officers, and when he had appointed in their presence Louis de Moscoso d'Alvarado as general,

he commanded them, in the name of the emperor, to obey him whom he had chosen in order to command them until his majesty should send them orders to the contrary. Thereupon he took their oaths according to the forms, and added that Moscoso possessed the qualities of a great captain. Afterwards he commanded them to bring to him by threes, the soldiers whom he esteemed the most, and the others by thirties. He commanded them to labor as much as they could for the conversion of the infidels, and to sustain the honor of the crown of Spain, and above all to preserve peace among themselves. As soon as he finished these words he embraced them and bade them adieu with much emotion on his part and tears on theirs. He passed five days thus conversing with one and another, and on the seventh, when he rendered up his spirit, he began to invoke the Virgin and to pray to her to intercede for him with her Son. Soto died, aged forty-two years, after having expended in the conquest of Florida, more than a hundred thousand ducats. He was born at Villa Nueva de Barca-Rotta, and was of a very noble family. He was a little above the medium height, had a cheerful countenance, though somewhat swarthy, and was an excellent horseman; fortunate in his enterprises, if death had not interrupted the course of his designs; vigilant, skilful, ambitious; patient under difficulties; severe to chastise offences against discipline, but ready to pardon others; charitable and liberal towards the soldiers; brave and daring, as much so as any captain who had entered the new world. So many rare qualities caused him to be regretted by all the troops.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FUNERAL OF SOTO.

THE Spaniards, who ardently loved Soto, very much regretted not being able to give him an honorable funeral. They considered that if they should inter him with pomp, the Indians who would learn the place of his burial; would come to disinter him and would commit upon his body all the barbarities which hate would inspire. They had indeed thus acted toward many soldiers and committed upon them all sorts of indignities. They had hung some and put others, quartered, upon the highest trees, and very probably they apprehended that they would be transported with more cruelty against the general than against the others, in order to highly insult the troops in his person. Therefore the Spaniards, in order to prevent them from knowing the place where he should be interred, resolved to bury him by night. They chose, near Guachoia,

a place in a field where there were many ditches which the inhabitants of this town had made in getting dirt; and they put in one of these trenches the body of Soto, over which they again shed many tears. The next day in order to thoroughly conceal the place of his sepulchre, and to disguise their sorrow, they spread a report that the general was better. They mounted their horses as through joy that he had recovered his health, and, as in public festivals, they caracoled a long time over the trench, in order to conceal it from the barbarians, and hide from them, in some manner, the body of their commander. In order the better to succeed in their design, they even directed that before the races, they should, after having filled all the trenches to the same level as that of the general's, cast a quantity of water there upon pretence of preventing the horses from raising a dust in running. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all these precautions and feints, the Indians suspected the death of Soto and the place where he was, for when they passed over these trenches, they suddenly stopped and fixed their eyes upon the place of his burial. Our men began again to fear for the general, and agreed to take him from the trench and give him, for a grave, the Chucagua, of which beforehand they wished to know the depth; therefore, one evening, Aniasco, Cardenioso, and others, in order to sound the river, pretended to go a-fishing, and reported that there were nine fathoms of water in the middle. They immediately resolved to put there the body of Soto, but as there were no stones in the province to sink it to the bottom, they cut a very large oak which they sawed, and hollowed on one side to the height of a man; and the night following, Aniasco and his companions disinterred the general without noise and put him in the hollow of this oak over which they nailed a covering. They then carried it on the river to the place where they had sounded, and it went immediately to the bottom. Carmona and Coles, who relate this circumstance, add that when the barbarians no longer saw Soto, they inquired for him, and that in order to deceive them, they answered that God had sent for him in order to give him orders for important affairs, and that at his return, which would be in a short time, he would bravely execute them. (26)

CHAPTER X.

THE DECISION OF THE TROOPS AFTER THE DEATH OF THEIR GENERAL.

AFTER the death of Soto not one of his officers had the courage to prosecute the design which he had of settling in Florida. Therefore they resolved to abandon the country where the love and

respect which they bore their general had retained them all. But the most blamable are those who ought to have opposed so cowardly a resolution, and who, nevertheless, were the first to support it. In fact, Aniasco, who had fortunately contributed to the discovery of many provinces, and who was bound in honor to achieve a conquest so illustrious and so useful to all Spain, offered himself to lead all the troops to Mexico. As he prided himself upon being an excellent geographer, he flattered himself that he would easily conduct them into that kingdom, and dreamed not of the forests and deserts which it would be necessary to cross before reaching there. For the desire which he had of leaving Florida rendered all things easy to him. The other Spaniards, whom he had offered to lead to Mexico, also believed that nothing would arrest them on their journey; because the eager desire which they had to abandon their conquest blinded them; and because they hated Florida on account of not having found there either gold or silver. They were likewise led to quit their enterprise because of a report which the Indians had circulated, that not far from where the army was, there were other Spaniards who were subjugating the provinces which were to the west.* Our men, who too easily gave faith to these reports, said that these strangers, of whom the barbarians spoke, were troops from Mexico, and that they ought to go and join them to assist them in their design. Thereupon they left Guachoia, the fourth or fifth of July [1542], and took their course towards the west; determined not to go out of their way neither to the one side nor to the other. They imagined that following this line they would come straight to Mexico; not considering that they were in different latitudes. They made, by long journeys, more than a hundred leagues through new provinces; and did not inquire the names nor the quality of the land of these regions. But it is certain that they were not fertile nor populous as the other countries of Florida which they had before discovered.(27)

CHAPTER XI.

THE SUPERSTITION OF THE INDIANS.

I SHALL here quit for a moment the course of my history in order to report a thing very remarkable concerning the superstition of the barbarians. When the Spaniards left Guachoia they were followed by an Indian from sixteen to seventeen years of age, handsome as

* Coronado's expedition.

are ordinarily the inhabitants of this province. The valets of General Moscoso, whom he had joined, for some time, determined to hinder him from continuing on, and even prepared to drive him from their company. But when they saw that they could not get rid of him, they apprehended that he was a spy and informed their master of it. He therefore sent this Indian to the presence of Ortis, who demanded of him, by command of the general, what induced him to leave his parents to follow strangers. He replied that they saw a poor young man, who had been abandoned from his infancy, and to whom neither father nor mother had left anything; so that one of the principal lords of the province, moved with pity, had received him into his house and had raised him with his children. But that, when this generous benefactor had taken sick and died, they chose him to be buried alive with him; because they said that he was loved by him so much that he ought to accompany him to the other world, in order to serve him there in his wants. That as for him, he acknowledged that he was truly obliged to this lord, but not to such a degree as to suffer that they should put him alive with him in his tomb. That, therefore, in order to escape so cruel a death, he had followed the troops; preferring to be a slave to dying so cruelly. The general, and those who were present at this narration, learned that the custom of rendering the last duties to persons of rank was observed in Florida as in the other countries which they had discovered in the new world. In fact, under the reign of the incas of Peru, they ordinarily interred with the sovereign and the great lords the wife and the servant whom they had loved the most.

All these people believe in the immortality of the soul and another world, where virtuous people are crowned with glory and rewarded for their good deeds, and the wicked punished for their crimes. They call the heaven *Hamampascha*, from a word which signifies the upper world; and hell, *Ucupacha*, from a word which means the lower world. As for the devil, they call him *Cupai*, to whom, they said, went the wicked.

CHAPTER XII.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS AT AUCHE, AND THE DEATH OF THEIR GUIDE.

I RETURN to where I left off my history. The Spaniards, after a journey of more than a hundred leagues, arrived at the province of Auche. The cacique of this country gave them quarters, and

received them apparently with great manifestations of friendship. They recruited themselves two days in the capital, which bears the name of the province; where, when they were informed of the route that they should take, they learned that at two days' journey from this town, there was a desert of four days' passage. The cacique, therefore, gave them porters loaded with corn for six days, with a guide whom he commanded to lead the troops by the shortest route to the inhabited lands. They left Auche with these Indians, and fortunately arrived at the wilderness; through which they marched by a highway which gradually diminished until it was entirely lost. Nevertheless, they did not cease to advance six days without keeping any road; for the Indian who guided them made them believe that he led them in this manner in order to shorten the route. But when they saw that they were not getting out of the woods, and that for three days they had eaten nothing but herbs and roots, they noticed more closely their guide, and discovered that he maliciously conducted them sometimes to the north, sometimes to the west, then to the east, and sometimes to the south. The general immediately commanded this Indian to be called, and to be asked what had caused him to mislead the Spaniards eight days; he who at Auche had promised to put them, in four days, out of the wilderness. To that, at first, he replied so unreasonably, that Moscoso, angry to see his troops in so pitiable a condition, had him bound to a tree, and ordered the greyhounds to be let loose upon him. When he saw that he was about to be devoured, he begged that they would take off the dogs, and that he would disclose all that he had kept concealed. They granted his request, and he declared that he had done nothing but by the command of his cacique, who had told him, that not having sufficient forces to fight openly the Spaniards, he had determined to make way with them by artifice; that to succeed in this undertaking he had chosen and ordered him to mislead them in such a manner that they might perish with hunger in the forest; that if he succeeded in his object, he had promised him great rewards; if not, he might rely upon being unmercifully put to death; that he was, therefore, thus forced to obey his cacique, and to do that which they themselves would have done in like circumstances; that, therefore, his crime was excusable; but that it would be much more worthy of pardon if they would consider the little trouble they had taken to inform themselves of their route; that if they had at first spoken to him of it as they had now done, he would have declared everything to them, and would have placed them in the right road. Nevertheless, if they would spare his life, he would in a short time extricate them from the wilderness; and

that if he failed in it he would submit to any punishment. The general and his officers, indignant at this treachery, would not receive his excuses, and all believed that they should no longer trust him. So they let loose the dogs, which tore him in pieces and ate him. But immediately Moscoso and his captains were sorry for it, and saw themselves more in trouble than they had yet been, because they did not know where to find another guide, having then sent back the Indian porters to Anche. However, as they knew that they must perish, or get out of the woods, they took their course towards the west, and marched three days without any provisions, after having been three more with nothing but roots to eat. Afterwards, from the top of a small mountain, they discovered land, inhabited but very sterile. The inhabitants had taken to flight, and abandoned the wretched cabins, scattered four and four through the country; for the villages of this country were not like those which, until then, they had seen in Florida. The troops, on their arrival in the province, found the fresh meat of beef, with which they appeased their hunger. They called this country the province of Herdsmen, because of the quantity of cow-hides which they met with there, without, however, having been able to discover this sort of cattle living, or where the Indians of the country caught them.

CHAPTER XIII.

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE PROVINCE OF HERDSMEN.

WHILE the Spaniards were in a plain of the province of Herdsmen, there came out of a forest, near the camp, an Indian, with tall plumes upon his head, bow in his hand, and quiver on his shoulder, who advanced directly towards them. Our men, who saw him in this state, allowed him to approach in the belief that he was an envoy of the cacique to the general. But at some fifty yards from them he put an arrow to his bow and fired upon a company of soldiers who were looking at him. However, no one was wounded by it, some having gotten out of the way, and others lain down upon the ground, the arrow passed and struck among five or six Indians who were preparing dinner for their masters. It hit one of them in the middle of the back, and after having pierced him through, continued on, wounding in the breast another who was opposite that man, and stopped in his body. This poor Indian fell dead, as well as his companion. At the same time the barbarian fled, with all his might, to the forest. The Spaniards cried To arms! Gallego, who

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by chance was on horseback, perceived the Indian who fled. He understood that they said kill. He spurred after him, reached him near the wood, and gallantly put him to death.

Three days afterwards, when the troops were taking refreshments, two Indians, superbly dressed in the fashion of the country, came in the morning within about two hundred steps of the camp, and there they walked near a walnut tree, one on one side, and the other on the other side, for fear of a surprise.

Moscoso, informed of that, forbid them to molest them, because they were fools and rash fellows who ought to be ridiculed. They therefore let them walk near the walnut tree until towards evening. The idea of these Indians was that two Spaniards would take a notion to come and attack them. In the mean time, the cavaliers who had set out in the morning returned to the camp a little before night; and as they perceived these Indians near their quarters, they inquired why it was, and learned the order of the general. They all obeyed except Paez, who, wishing to show his courage, said, since these barbarians were fools and rash fellows, it was necessary that one more foolish than they should punish their folly; and thereupon he spurred towards the walnut tree. The Indian who was walking on the side on which the cavalier was advancing marched straight at him, whilst his companion retired under the tree, in order to make known that they desired to fight man to man. Paez rushed against his enemy, who shot so vigorously that, beside his coat of mail which he broke, he pierced his left arm through and through, so that the reins of the bridle of his horse fell from his hands. His companions, who saw this accident, and who had not yet dismounted, ran at full speed upon these two barbarians, who fled when they saw so many men charge upon them. However, they were taken before they could gain the woods. But on this occasion the Spaniards disregarded the laws of war; since the Indians would not put themselves two against one, it was reasonable that they should have treated them in the same manner.

After these things the troops marched more than thirty leagues through this province of Herdsmen, and when they had succeeded in crossing it, they discovered, to the west, high mountains and dense forests which were solitudes.* But the general and his officers, whom fatigue and hunger had made wise, resolved not to proceed until they should have first found a sure route to conduct them into an inhabited country. Therefore he commanded four companies of cavalry of twenty-four men each to go by three passes

* This was in Texas.

towards the west, in order to explore the country, and ordered them to enter it as far as possible, to go at a distance from each other, and endeavor to learn the character of the land and the disposition of the inhabitants. For that purpose he gave them the most capable interpreters that they could find among those who served the Spaniards. Then they left, and, at the end of fifteen days, when they returned, they all said that they had entered more than thirty leagues into the country, and that they had met with lands very sterile and poorly populated; that the more they advanced the more wretched they were; that the inhabitants of these parts cultivated nothing, and lived only on fruits, herbs, and what they caught by hunting and fishing; finally, that they marched by companies, and wandered from one country to another. Carmona adds that the Indians asserted that on the other side of their province there was a vast extent of level country where fed the cattle whose skins the troops had seen; and that there was, in these quarters, a great multitude of cattle.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE RETURN OF THE SPANIARDS TO THE CHUCAGUA, AND THEIR ADVENTURES.

ON the report of the cavaliers who had been on this exploration, the Spaniards lost all hopes of going to Mexico by the route which they had taken. Therefore, for fear of getting too far into the wilderness where they all would have died of hunger, they were of opinion to return to the Chucagua, in the belief that the shortest and safest route to get out of Florida was to descend this river and to reach the gulf of Mexico. Therefore they inquired their route to reach the Chucagua. They knew that the shortest was to turn to the right of the route which they had taken in coming; but they would have to traverse many great solitudes; and that, on the contrary, if they turned to the left, it was longest, but they would march through fertile and populous lands.* They therefore took the former route, and turned towards the south, taking care not to involve themselves in difficult places and not to commit any ravages on their route, for fear of irritating the Indians. Nevertheless these barbarians harassed them night and day; for they placed themselves in ambush in the woods near the road, and when there were

* According to this, it appears that they had made a circuit *northward*, and to turn to the *right* would be to turn to the *south*, the direction they went.

no woods they laid upon their bellies in the grass, and when the Spaniards were passing they suddenly rose and fired so many arrows that they always wounded some of them. But as soon as they went at them they took to flight, and immediately there came others to the charge, who took the troops on all sides, always with the loss of men and horses; so that, without coming to an engagement, our men were worse treated in this province of Herdsmen than in all those through which they had passed, and especially the last day, because they crossed streams and places which were real cut-throats, where the barbarians sallied out in fury upon them, and where they retreated without the possibility of being injured. The Spaniards lost in this day's journey several of their men, Indian porters, and horses, and had a great number of soldiers dangerously wounded. One of the most important of these was Saint George, of whom I am going to speak. As this cavalier was crossing a stream where the troops were attacked, an Indian, concealed behind a bush, discharged at him an arrow so violently that after having broken his coat of mail, it pierced his right thigh, passed through the saddle-bow, and entered into the body of the horse, which, quite furious, rushed out of the stream, bounded over the plain, and tried, by kicking, to disengage the arrow, and throw his rider. The Spaniards who were then engaged near this soldier ran to his assistance, when they perceived that the arrow had pinned him to the saddle, and as the troops were camped quite near the stream, they led him to the quarters. Immediately they adroitly raised him, and cut the arrow between the saddle and his thigh. They also unsaddled the horse, and the Spaniards were surprised that a cane arrow, armed only with a cane point, had penetrated so far. Afterwards they laid Saint George upon the ground, and left him to dress his wound himself. Besides the many qualities which he possessed, he had that of curing wounds with oil, raw wool, and words which his companions called charms. He had actually treated some wounds with so much success, that it seemed that God especially favored him in the cures which he made. But when the oil and the raw wool were consumed by the fire at Mauvila, he would no longer cure any one, and even persisted a long time in not taking care of his wounds; for though afterwards he had received a stroke from an arrow, which entered under the foot and came out at the heel, and though by another blow he had been so dangerously struck in the knee that the point of the arrow had remained there, nevertheless he never undertook to attend to himself but at the last moment, imagining that for the want of oil and raw wool he could not cure himself. I return to the wound which he had received in his

thigh. As he knew that he was on ill terms with the surgeon, who had done him much injury in extracting the arrow from his knee, and as he remembered that he had told him that another time he would sooner die than call him, to which the surgeon had replied that although he should be certain of preserving his life, he should not do it until he had first sent for him; I say, as he remembered that, and as he did not expect any assistance from any one, he took, instead of oil and wool, hog's fat with the lint of an old Indian cloak, and used it very fortunately for his wounds; for during four days that our men recruited themselves near the stream, he was entirely cured, mounted his horse the fifth, when they continued their march; and in order that they might not doubt of his cure, he began to spur from one side to the other about the troops, crying out that he deserved to lose his life, because, for not having consented to treat the wounded in the belief that he would labor in vain, there had died more than one hundred and fifty soldiers.

Finally, the Spaniards left the province of Herdsmen, after having suffered there many misfortunes. They marched twenty days, by long journeys, through other countries, the names of which they did not inquire, and went inclining toward the south. But because they believed they descended more than they ought, to reach Guachoia, where they wished to return, they took to the east, taking care to ascend always a little to the north, and happened to cross a road through which they had passed in going. However, they did not recognize it. They were then in the middle of September, and they had already travelled nearly three months, from the time of their leaving Guachoia, without having failed a single night or day of being attacked. The barbarians during the day placed themselves in ambush and fell upon those who strayed; and during the night they came and alarmed the camp.

It happened also that one time, by favor of the darkness, they dragged themselves upon all fours as far as the camp, where they fired upon the horses and slew two sentinels. A few days afterwards, twelve cavaliers and as many Spanish infantry, who had need of porters, put themselves in ambush to capture some Indians of those who, at the instant the troops decamped, came to carry off what was left. They posted themselves behind large trees, and upon the highest a sentinel, with orders to give them notice as soon as he discovered anything, which he successfully did; for they took fourteen Indians, whom they divided among themselves. But afterwards, when they desired to rejoin the army, one of the company, who was not satisfied with having only two Indians, besought his

comrades not to return until they should have taken one more of them for him. His companions, who were not of this sentiment, told him he must defer that to another time, and they each offered him the Indian they had in the division. Nevertheless, seeing that they could not prevail upon him, they stopped again. In the mean while, the sentinel gave notice that he saw an Indian, and Paez, whom misfortune ought to have made wise, immediately spurred directly toward the barbarian, who, seeing himself discovered, fled under a tree. Paez approached and gave a vigorous thrust at him with his lance, but did not strike him. The Indian, who held his arrow ready, fired, and wounded in the flank the horse of this cavalier; so that, after having staggered about twenty paces, he fell dead. Bolanios, who followed Paez, at the same time charged upon the barbarian, and was as unfortunate as his companion. Juan de Vega, who came next at a slow pace, surprised to see his comrades dismounted, spurred towards the Indian; his companions, lance in hand, also ran at the barbarian, who boldly advanced straight at Vega to slay his horse and escape at the same time. But the cavalier, who was wise, had beforehand taken precautions that there should not happen to him a misfortune like that of Paez. He had put upon the breast of his horse a cowhide in three folds; and it was thus that most of the cavaliers who took care of their horses made use of it. Some covered the breast of theirs in this manner with deer- or bearskins. When the Indian was within arrow-range, he fired upon the horse of Vega and pierced the cow-skin, so that the arrow entered about three inches into the breast. Immediately, Vega rushed with fury upon the barbarian and slew him. Then the party turned back again, cursing him who had obliged them to remain, and admiring the courage of the Indian, whose appearance did not correspond with the deed he had done. As soon as they had arrived, the general marched to the province of Guachoia, and our men had during their route quite favorable weather, until the end of October. But then, because of the rains it became so wretched that most times they camped soaking wet; and without provisions to such a degree that they were compelled to hazard themselves to seek them. In addition, their labors increased in proportion as the winter advanced. The snows and rains which fell raised the rivers extraordinarily, and caused the streams to increase to such a degree that they could not cross without rafts. Moreover, it was necessary to stop seven or eight days to cross some of them; for, besides not finding wood proper for rafts, they always had their enemies on their hands, and suffered extreme hardships, because the country being nearly inundated, they often

saw themselves forced to camp in the water, covered only with a wretched buckskin dress, always wet, which served them for shirt and cape; for which reason many Spaniards, overcome with cold and sleep, fell sick; and there passed not a day that there did not die two or three of them. They also lost every day horses and Indian porters. However, without allowing themselves to be dejected by misfortunes, our men continued their journey. But they were fatigued to such a degree that they lacked even strength to bury those who died upon the road; so that they were pitiable. Besides, the most of their horses were sick, the cavaliers dismounted, the infantry so feeble that they could scarcely stand up. Nevertheless, all being resolved either to die or return to the Chucagua, the most vigorous mounted the horses that were yet serviceable, and resisted the enemies who harassed the troops upon their march. Afterwards, when they were camped, they posted guards and sentinels, and the next day they advanced in the same order, which lasted from the month of September until the last day of November, of the year 1542, when they arrived upon the banks of the Chucagua. Then, as the Spaniards believed that their misfortunes were ended, they all gave to each other little presents to testify their joy. Their journey, counting the route which they made in returning, was more than three hundred and fifty leagues. When they were returning they met with a sow which they had lost in going, and which had brought forth thirteen pigs, all differently marked in the ears. Hence, we may believe that the Indians had divided these animals among themselves, and that they are now reared in Florida.

CHAPTER XV.

THE TROOPS TAKE POSSESSION OF AMINOIA.

THE Spaniards, on their return from their journey, arrived within sixteen leagues of the town of Guachoia, and met with two villages, one near the other, which were called Aminoia from the name of their province. These villages consisted of two hundred houses, and were each surrounded with a ditch, the water of which came from the Chucagua, which made an island of each of these two villages. Moscoso, who had still, besides seventy horse, about three hundred footmen, resolved to take possession of it, and to pass all the rest of the winter there. He therefore put his troops in order of battle, and attacked so courageously the two towns, one

after the other, that the Indians, astonished at the valor of our men, abandoned them without resistance, so that the Spaniards made themselves masters of them; and in order not to be separated in case of alarm, they some time after destroyed one of them, and carried into the other the provisions and things they required. Afterwards they fortified this post and were twenty days in putting it in a state of defence; because being greatly harassed, they could not work but with great difficulty.

Whilst the Spaniards were in this town, an old Indian woman, who had not been able to escape, asked them where they were going; and being answered "into winter quarters," she told them that every fourteen years the river overflowed so much that the inhabitants were compelled to take to the tops of their houses, and that the current year was the fourteenth, in which the town ought to be inundated. Our men, who knew the design of the old woman, laughed at her reveries. Carmona, who relates this circumstance, adds that the Spaniards found in the town of Aminoia, eighteen thousand measures of corn, with a great quantity of nuts, dried plums, and some other fruit unknown in Spain. Therefore they restored themselves by degrees, for besides these provisions they were very conveniently lodged, and even the barbarians did not come either by day or night to trouble them, which contributed greatly to restoring them to health. When Moscoso saw that his men had nearly recovered their strength and that the month of January, of the year 1543, had passed, he ordered wood to be cut to make the brigantines, and cordage, sails, and other things necessary for his design, to be collected. Finally, while the Spaniards remained in Aminoia, there died about sixty of them. Of this number were Ortis, Touar, and Vasconcello. But during the whole journey there perished more than one hundred and fifty of them, which was found so much the more grievous as the death of so many brave soldiers had happened through the imprudence of the captains who had enlisted the troops in the journey.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONDUCT OF TWO CACIQUES TO THE SPANIARDS.

As soon as the report was spread that the Spaniards had returned from their journey and that they were passing the winter at Aminoia, Anilco, fearing lest by their assistance the subjects of Guachoia might come again to invade his lands and commit there their cruelties,

sent an envoy to Moscoco with orders to offer him peace and his friendship, and to assure him of his obedience; that there was no kind of service which he might not expect from the people of his country; and that for proofs of it he had but to order it. He whom Anilco had charged to say this was his lieutenant-general. He had, in his suite, beside two hundred Indians in service, twenty of the most active and important of the province, followed by twenty others with fruits and venison. This captain acquitted himself very well of his duty, and neglected nothing to gain the favor of Moscoso, who received, very obligingly, him and all the principal persons of his suite, and requested him to assure Anilco that he thanked him for the honor of his friendship, and that he would hold it in particular esteem during the remainder of his life. They immediately communicated this reply to the cacique, and in the mean time, the envoy and those who accompanied him remained with the Spaniards, to whom they showed their friendship by the fidelity of their services.

The subjects of Anilco had been two days at the quarters when Guachoaia, followed by many of his vassals loaded with fruit and fish, arrived there to confirm his alliance with the troops. The general received him very well. But the presence of the captain of Anilco, his enemy, and the honor which they paid him, gave him a mortal offence. Nevertheless, he concealed his displeasure, resolved to show it only upon an opportunity.

During the wintering of the Spaniards at Aminoia, the two caciques rendered them all sorts of good services, and made them, every eight days, new presents. In the mean while, Moscoso and his officers, who thought only of leaving Florida, ordered the superintendent of the vessels to see how many brigantines were necessary for the embarking of the troops, and when he replied seven, he commanded that everything necessary for that number should be prepared. They first made four sheds under which they worked for fear of being incommoded by the rains. Some sawed planks, others planed them; several made nails and iron works; some, charcoal; and others, oars and cordage. Thus they all applied themselves bravely to the things they did the best, and were employed three months at that.

During this time the captain of Anilco showed his zeal for our men, who on their part also esteemed him much; who besides having a noble aspect and being capable of winning affection, possessed rare qualities. He was correct, faithful, obliging, gracefully anticipating all wants, and even giving more than they would have dared demand of him; for without mentioning many cables and other cordage proper for the brigantines, he furnished the Spaniards more old

and new cloaks than they could have reasonably expected, because they found scarcely any of them in the province. The new cloaks served to make sails, and the old to calk the vessels. These mantles are made of a certain herb resembling mallow. This plant has as small fibres as the flax, so that the Indians make thread of it, and they give to these cloaks whatever color they please, but generally a gay and brilliant one.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LEAGUE OF SOME CACIQUES.

WHILST the Spaniards labored at these brigantines, Quigaltanqui believed that they prepared for their return only to go and relate in their country, the excellence of the regions which they had discovered, and afterwards to return in greater numbers and conquer it. That then they would drive away the true lords of the province, and establish themselves there independently, so that, in this belief Quigaltanqui resolved to anticipate such a misfortune, and to exterminate all the Spaniards who were in Florida. He therefore assembled the chiefs of the country, to whom he expressed himself upon that subject, and all assured him that his design was glorious, and that they would die to serve him in so noble an enterprise. He immediately dispatched messengers on both sides of the Chucagua, to ten of his neighboring caciques, and sent them word to engage them in his favor, that they must stifle the animosity that existed between them, and all unite for the destruction of their common enemy; that if they neglected the opportunity for it which fortune presented them, they would deplore the misery with which they would be overwhelmed; that the Spaniards were going home only to return to the country with greater forces, and that after having cruelly seized upon it, they would hold them all in a wretched slavery. The caciques received with joy, the envoys of Quigaltanqui. They approved his design because they found it worthy of a great captain, and praised his courage, the extent of which was already known to them. Therefore they agreed that each lord should raise troops in his province, and prepare boats to attack their enemies by water as well as by land; that in the mean time, the better to surprise them and deprive them of every suspicion, each one in particular should feign to seek their friendship, and should send to them deputies with presents. Quigaltanqui, as chief of the conspiracy, sent the first to Moscoso, and all the others followed his example. Moscoso re-

ceived them with all the more pleasure and kindness as the few troops that remained to him desired only peace. In the mean time, Anilco, who had refused to enter into the league because of the fidelity which he had sworn to the Spaniards, believed that he was bound by his honor to inform them of the conspiracy of the caciques. Therefore he ordered his lieutenant to disclose the treachery to the general, and to assure him that nothing should happen of which he would not inform him. Moscoso took care to thank the cacique for his good advice and the continuation of his friendship, and afterward he had an especial esteem for him and his lieutenant; nevertheless Anilco would never come to the camp, and always excused himself on the plea of indisposition, but really it was because he would not trust himself to the Spaniards.

It is not positively known whether Guachoia, who manifested friendship for our men, entered into the league, but they suspected that he was in correspondence with it; piqued solely by the esteem which they showed the lieutenant of Anilco. In fact he was offended because the Spaniards rendered more honor to this captain who served them promptly, than to him who worked very slowly for them and also endeavored to discredit him in the opinion of Moscoso. But they believed that Guachoia, knowing that Anilco had not consented to league himself with the others, acted in this manner in order that if, by chance, this lieutenant should happen to discover the conspiracy, they would not give faith to what he should say.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE QUARREL OF GUACHOIA WITH THE LIEUTENANT OF ANILCO.

WHEN Guachoia knew that he labored in vain to ruin his enemy in the opinion of the Spaniards, he flew quite into a passion, and told Moscoso, in the presence of several officers, that for a long time he had suffered with pain the honor which he and his troops paid to the lieutenant of Anilco; that he had always thought that honor was due to those who had the most credit and distinction of birth, that nevertheless, the Spaniards acted quite contrary to that, since they esteemed only the lieutenant of Anilco, who had neither wealth, power, nor nobility, and who deserved to be considered only in his condition of vassal; that as for him he had subjects who excelled in every respect him to whom they gave so many marks of esteem; that therefore he begged them to reflect upon their conduct, and to be convinced that the actions of the lieutenant of Anilco were artful

and tended only to deceive them. The lieutenant of Anilco, who had patiently listened to what was said against him, replied, without appearing enraged, that they wrongfully reproached him with his birth; that his ancestors having been caciques, he yielded to no one in nobility; that he confessed that his father had not left him great wealth, but that he had supplied that defect by his courage, since, in the war which he had made against Guachoia and other lords, he had gained a support according to his condition; that therefore he could now place himself among the number of the rich whom his enemy wished that they should esteem so much, and that a vassal like himself would always greatly excel a cacique like Guachoia; that after all he was not properly a vassal, because Anilco did not consider him so, but as one of his nearest relatives, and that with this consideration, he had made him lieutenant-general of the province; that afterwards he had gained many battles, defeated the father of Guachoia, and occasionally his captains; that ever since Guachoia had succeeded to his father, he had cut in pieces all his forces and made prisoners him, his two brothers, and the most distinguished persons of his state; that then he had been able to despoil him of his province and to take possession of it without difficulty, there being no one to resist him, but that very far from undertaking anything, he had taken very particular care of him while he was a prisoner; that he was even his security to set at liberty him, his brothers, and his vassals. Nevertheless, as Guachoia had not kept his word, he awaited only the departure of the troops in order to recapture him; that the boldness which he now had to endeavor to make him pass for a hypocrite would then cost him dearly, and he would teach him not to again rashly attack his reputation; that even not to defer it longer, it remained only with Guachoia whether they should terminate their differences now; that they both had but to enter a boat to fight upon the river; that if Guachoia slew him, he would satisfy his hate and would be avenged of the injury which the Spaniards had done him in rendering honor to his enemy; that as for him, if he had the advantage in the fight, he would show that the merit of men did not consist in the splendor of riches, nor in the possession of many vassals, but in virtue and the distinction of courage. Guachoia replied nothing to all that, and showed his confusion in his countenance. Moscoso and the Spaniards were confirmed in the confidence which they had in the lieutenant of Anilco, and every day rendered him more honor.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCERNING AN INDIAN SPY.

Moscoso, considering that, if the hate of Guachoia and the captain of Anilco should lead them to make war upon each other, they would not furnish him anything for his brigantines, told them that, as they were equally beloved by the Spaniards, they could no longer see them embroiled; that, therefore, he entreated them to smother their resentment, and to live for the future in perfect harmony. The two Indians replied to Moscoso that they were ready to do what he wished, and that, for his sake, they would generously forget everything. Four days after, the quarrel was settled, and upon the departure of the lieutenant of Anilco to return home to his province, the general, who did not trust the word of Guachoia, and who feared that, in order to avenge himself on his enemy, he might lay some ambuscade in the route, ordered thirty cavaliers to accompany him until he should be out of danger. The captain at first politely declined the offer of Moscoso, and informed him that Guachoia was not much to be feared. Nevertheless, for fear of offending the general, he took the escort which he offered him. But, afterwards, he many times came from and returned to his country with only ten or twelve Indians. In the mean while, Quigaltanqui and the other caciques of his party dispatched, night and day, persons with presents to Moscoso, and with orders to their envoys to observe the conduct of the Spaniards, their guards, their skill in handling their arms and managing their horses, in order to see in what they were defective, and to make use of it against them at the proper time and place. The general, who was informed of that, forbid the deputies of the hostile caciques to come to the camp at night; but these prohibitions were useless. Therefore, Silvestre, who knew the order of the general and the disobedience of the barbarians, being one night on guard at the gate of Aminoia, and seeing by the light of the moon two Indians very spruce, who were crossing the ditch upon a tree which served for a bridge, let them advance to him; and as he was on duty, he struck in the face with his sword the first who crossed the wicket of the gate without asking his permission. From the blow, the barbarian fell to the ground; but he immediately arose, seized his bow, and took to flight with all his might. Silvestre did not wish to finish him, because he believed that that was sufficient to make the Indians cautious. The companion of the

wounded man, who had heard the blow, also took to flight, repassed the bridge, regained his boat, crossed the river, and gave the alarm everywhere. In the mean while, the wounded man, his face full of blood, leaped into the river, crossed it by swimming, and called to his comrades. The barbarians, who were on the other side of the river, and who heard him, ran to him and took him out. The next day, at sunrise, four of the principal Indians came, on the part of the leagued caciques, to complain to the general that his men were breaking the peace; that they had grossly abused one of the most distinguished Indians of the country; and that they begged him that he would do justice for this insolence, because the person was mortally wounded. About noon, four others repaired to the camp, where, after having made their complaints, they said that the wounded man was dying; and at sunset there came four more, who said that their companion was dead, and demanded that they should put to death the Spaniard who had caused it. The general each time replied to the envoys that, desiring peace, he had not commanded what had been done; but that the soldier who had wounded their man had not acted contrary to his duty; so that if, to please them, he should wish to punish him, his captains would never consent to it, because the Indian ought not to have entered without speaking to the sentinel, nor the caciques to have sent him, contrary to the prohibition, at an unreasonable hour; that, therefore, since in that it was their fault, it was necessary to forget all that had passed, and to do business hereafter in the proper order, so as to deprive both sides of every pretext for a rupture.

The envoys returned home very much dissatisfied with this answer, and endeavored, but in vain, to induce the caciques to avenge instantly the insolence of the Spaniards; for the caciques agreed to still dissemble for some time, and to carefully seek the means to execute their design. Yet among the troops there were captains who supported the complaints of the Indians; that it was necessary to punish Silvestre; that he had acted indiscreetly; and that his conduct would give occasion to the caciques to mutiny and to take arms against the Spaniards. If these remarks, which jealousy inspired in some of the officers, had not been stopped by the more wise, they would, without doubt, have produced mischievous effects.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PREPARATIONS OF THE LEAGUED CACIQUES, AND AN OVERFLOW OF THE CHUCAGUA.

DURING these things, the Spaniards worked vigorously at the brigantines, and were assisted by the captain-general of Anilco, without whom they would never have been able to accomplish their design. Those who were not employed on the vessels sought provisions for their companions; and, as they were then in Lent, they went fishing in the Chucagua. They made for that purpose hooks, which, after having baited, they attached to long cords, and threw them at dusk into the river. In the morning they drew them out, and ordinarily found on them such large fishes that there were some of them whose heads alone weighed forty pounds, from fifteen to sixteen ounces; so that our men had at Aminoia everything in abundance. In the mean time, Quigaltanqui and the allied caciques each raised troops upon his lands, and they prepared to put thirty or forty thousand men in the field, with the idea of slaying all the Spaniards, or of burning the timber which they had collected for the caravels. They believed that, in preventing them from leaving the country, they would make perpetual war upon them, and would so much the more easily exterminate them, as our men were few, had but few horses, and had lost a very brave and experienced captain. The barbarians, animated by these considerations, impatiently expected the day which they had appointed for the attack, and which, in fact, was very near, as they learned through the envoys, who, finding themselves alone with the Indian women who served the Spanish officers, told them that they might be patient, and that very soon they would deliver them from the servitude in which the Spanish thieves held them; that they were going to cut their throats and put their heads upon lances at the entrances of the temples, and hang their bodies on the highest trees to be a prey for birds. No sooner had the Indian women learned that than they went and disclosed it to their masters. The troops were immediately informed of it; and they were so much the more easily convinced that the barbarians were ready to attack them as, during the night, they heard some noise on the other side of the river, and saw fires here and there in the vicinity. They, therefore, prepared to bravely defend themselves; but, by good luck, in the mean time the Chucagua happened to overflow. It began about the tenth of March,

of the year 1543. It gradually filled all its bed, and immediately after it impetuously spread itself over its border, then through the country, which was immediately inundated, because there were neither mountains nor hills. And the day of Palm Sunday, which was that year the 18th of March, that the Spaniards celebrated the triumph of Jesus Christ at Jerusalem, the waters violently entered through the gates of Aminoia, so that, two days after that, they could not go through the streets except in boats. This overflow did not appear in all its extent until the twentieth of April. They then had the pleasure to see that which but lately was a vast country, had become, nearly all at once, a vast sea; for the water covered more than twenty leagues of the adjacent lands, where were seen only a few of the highest trees; and that made our men remember the prediction of the old Indian woman at their entrance into Aminoia.

CHAPTER XXI.

THEY SEND TO ANILCO.

BECAUSE of the inundations of the Chucagua, the Indians who inhabit both sides of this river, place themselves, as much as possible, upon eminences, and build their houses in this manner. They erect, in the form of a square, enough large posts in the shape of pillars, upon which they place many beams which take place of floors. Then they make the house which they surround with galleries, where they lay up their provisions and furniture. Thus they protect themselves from the inundations, which probably occur on account of the rains and snows of the preceding year.

During the overflow they embarked for the town of Anilco, which is twenty leagues from Aminoia, twenty soldiers and some Indian rowers in four boats tied two and two, for fear lest they might upset them in passing over the trees which were in the water. They had orders to request the cacique to send to the general cordage, pitch, and old mantles for the brigantines; and were commanded by Silvestre, to whom, as will be seen directly, the cacique had a short time since been obliged, and it was, therefore, on this account that they dispatched him. When the subjects of Gnachoia, with the assistance of the Spaniards, ravaged the town of Anilco, Silvestre took an Indian of twelve or thirteen years of age, who was the son of the cacique, led him with him through the province of Herdsmen,

and brought him back into the province of Aminoia. So that the cacique Anilco learned that his son, whom he sought so long, was with the troops. He, therefore, immediately sent to demand him; and Silvestre, through kindness, restored him to him, in consideration of what he had done for the Spaniards.

Silvestre and his companions safely arrived at the town of Anilco, and found that the Chucagua had overflowed much farther, and that it had inundated, on that side, more than twenty-five leagues of land. Our men being arrived, they gave notice of it to the cacique, who called his lieutenant-general, and commanded him to show by his reception the affection which they bore the Spaniards, and to furnish them what they demanded on account of Silvestre, who had generously restored to him his son. Afterwards he commanded them to send for Silvestre only, and he went out of his house to receive him. There, after having embraced him and thanked him for the obligations under which he had placed him, he conducted him into his apartment, and was not willing that he should leave it until his companions should be ready to return home. For Anilco, to whom his son served as interpreter, inquired of the Spanish captain the adventures of the troops since their entrance into the country. But when he had learned the details of it, he made known to Silvestre the affliction he suffered from the cruelties of Guachoia to his ancestors who were in the grave; that very soon this coward would not be assisted by any one, and that then they would see to resenting the indignities which he had committed. Anilco, by that, showed that the affection which he manifested for our men was founded only in the fear that, should they remain longer in the country, they might again assist Guachoia, and prevent him from avenging the injuries he had received. For this reason, and with the view of hastening their departure, Anilco commanded to be given them, promptly, everything; and to furnish them a boat, with several Indians, who should conduct them safely to where they should wish to go. When everything was ready, he embraced Silvestre, and requested him to assure the general of his friendship, and that nothing should happen of which he would not inform him. Silvestre immediately resumed the route to Aminoia; where, as soon as he had arrived, he rendered an account of his journey to Moscoso.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONDUCT OF THE SPANIARDS DURING THE OVERFLOW, AND THE NEWS
OF THE CONTINUATION OF THE LEAGUE.

THE overflow lasted forty days; during which time the Spaniards retired upon certain elevated places, where they worked on their vessels. But as they lacked charcoal to forge the iron works, they made some by cutting off the tops of the trees which appeared out of the water. Francisco and Garcia Ozorio, distinguished cavaliers, signalized themselves on this occasion, as well by their skill as the pains they took to forge and to calk; for they applied themselves to it with resolution, and their example alone excited the others to imitate them.

Whilst the water covered the country, the people of the leagued caciques did not appear; for as soon as they saw the overflow they returned in haste to their homes to save what they had left there. However, Quigaltanqui, and the other lords, the better to conceal their evil designs, did not cease to send always to the general; who, without showing that he suspected them, took care to keep upon his guard.

About the end of April the water diminished by degrees, and was as long in falling as it had been in rising. For on the twentieth of May they could not yet go through Aminoia except bare-footed, because of the water and mud that were in the streets. But at the end of the month the river retired within its bed; and the leagued caciques recommenced the campaign, resolved to execute promptly their design. In the mean time, the captain of Anilco, who had notice of it, came to the general and disclosed everything to him. That on a certain day, which was near, all the caciques in detail would send persons to him; that each envoy would speak to him in such a way and make him such a present; that some would arrive in the morning, others about noon, and the last towards the evening; that this would last four entire days; that they would finish by assembling their troops, and that at the same time they would attack; that their design was to exterminate all the Spaniards, or at least to burn their vessels, in order that they might not be able to leave the country, and that they might put them wretchedly to death by degrees. He added that, in order to avoid that, he, on the part of his cacique, offered to them himself and eight thousand choice men, by the assistance of which they might easily resist their

enemies ; that even should they desire to retire upon his land, he would receive them there with pleasure ; that they would be there perfectly safe ; and, moreover, that they would not dare to come there to attack them ; that they might take their measures deliberately for to think maturely on the course they ought to pursue. Moscoso replied to the Indian captain, that he was obliged to his cacique for the offers which he made him ; but that, for fear that in the future he might be hated by his neighbors for having openly assisted him, he declined the assistance which he wished to give him ; that, besides, as he was upon the point of leaving for Mexico, he thanked him, with all his heart, for the retreat which he offered him ; that for this reason also he did not wish to engage in a battle, although he might expect everything from the Indians who would aid him, and especially from their commander whose valor was known to him ; that, moreover, neither he nor the other Spaniards would forget the obligations they owed to the cacique ; and that even the King of Spain, the first of Christian princes, to whom they would relate the good services which he had rendered them, would never forget it, and would recompense him for so many favors if some day the Spaniards should return to his country. Then the Indian captain took leave of Moscoso, who bravely prepared for everything that might happen.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONCERNING THE ENVOYS OF THE LEAGUE, AND THE PREPARATIONS OF THE SPANIARDS TO EMBARK.

At the beginning of June of the year 1543, the envoys of the hostile caciques came to the quarters at the same time, in the same order, and with the same presents as the captain of Anilco had indicated. Therefore they were arrested by the order of the general, who commanded them to be separated and to be interrogated upon the subject of the conspiracy. They frankly avowed what was taking place and the measures they were to take in order to accomplish their design. The general, upon their confession and without waiting until they all should have arrived, immediately caused to be cut off the right hand of thirty whom they held. These poor people endured their pains with so much patience that no sooner had one of them had his hand cut off than another presented his upon the block, which drew the compassion of everybody. This punishment broke the league. The enemy believed that the Spaniards, being informed of

the enterprise, would hold themselves upon their guard. Therefore, each cacique returned to his province, very sorry not to have executed their design. But as they were all resolved to endeavor to succeed by some other means, and as they found themselves stronger by water than by land, they agreed to assemble troops and boats in order to attack the Spaniards when they should descend the river. In the mean while, Moscoso and his officers, seeing that they were going to be continually harassed, hastened more and more their work, finished seven brigantines; but because they had not nails to fasten together the deck, they covered them only at the two ends, and put planks in the middle without fastening them, from where they had but to raise one of them in order to bail the brigantines. Then they collected provisions, and requested of Guachoia and Anilco corn, fruits, and other things of that sort. They killed some hogs of those which they preserved for food, and reserved only a dozen and a half of them in case they should settle at some place near the sea. They gave to each of the caciques, their friends, two of these animals, a male and a female. They salted those which they had killed for themselves, and made use of their fat, in the place of oil, to soften the rosin with which they calked their vessels. Besides that, they furnished themselves with small boats to carry thirty horses that remained. They had them tied two and two, in order that the horses might have their fore feet in one and their hind feet in the other. Each brigantine had also, at the stern, one of these boats which served for a tender. Carmona relates here, that of fifty horses which remained to the Spaniards, they tied to stakes about twenty of them that could no longer be of any service; that they opened their veins and let them bleed to death; that to preserve their flesh they dried it in the sun; that the day of Saint John the Baptist, they launched the brigantines, embarked the horses and equipage, and furnished their vessels with planks and skins to protect themselves from arrows; that then they appointed the captains who were to command the vessels, and concerned themselves no further except to embark after having taken leave of Guachoia and recommended him to live in peace with Anilco.

BOOK FOURTH.

CAPTAINS OF THE CARAVELS ; RAFTS OF THE INDIANS ; THEIR FIGHT UPON THE WATER ; DEATH OF SEVERAL SPANIARDS ; THEIR ARRIVAL AT THE SEA ; THEIR ADVENTURES AS FAR AS PANUCO AND THE RECEPTION WHICH WAS GIVEN THEM IN THE CITY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

THE CAPTAINS OF THE CARAVELS, AND THE EMBARKATION OF THE TROOPS.

Moscoso embarked in the first caravel ; Alvarado and Mosquera in the second ; Aniasco and Viedma in the third ; Gusman and Gaitan commanded the fourth ; Tinoco and Cardeniosa the fifth ; Calderon and Francisco Ozorio the sixth ; and Vega and Garcia the seventh. Each caravel had seven oars to the bench, and there were in each, two captains, in order that if one was obliged to land to oppose the enemy the other might remain in the vessel to give the necessary orders. There embarked under the directions of these famous captains about three hundred and fifty men of more than a thousand who had entered Florida, and some thirty Indians, men and women, of eight hundred whom they had led from the different countries, into the province of Herdsmen. As these poor people were far from their country, and as they had a singular attachment for the Spaniards, they would never quit them, showing that they would rather die with them than live away from the place of their birth. The Spaniards, therefore, took them with them in the belief that, after having derived very good service from them it would be ungrateful to abandon them. And they started with all their sails and oars the evening of the festival of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. But it was an unfortunate day for them, for, leaving Florida, they lost the fruits of all their labors. All rowed except the captains who took care to relieve them hourly, and coasted during a night and a day, all the province of Guachoa without the enemy having come to harass them ; so that they imagined that, in consideration of the cacique of this country who loved them, they had not attacked them ; or that the barbarians, judging of the success of their enterprise by the course of the moon, had observed that then they should

not fight. But the second day their fleet appeared in the morning. It consisted of more than a thousand boats, the largest and the best that had been seen in Florida. Therefore I shall say something of it after I have spoken of the boats and rafts which the Indians make use of to cross rivers.

CHAPTER II.

THE BOATS AND RAFTS OF THE INDIANS.

THE people of the New World, who live on islands or in places near the sea, make their boats large or small according to the convenience of the wood they have. They seek the largest trees that they can find; they hollow them in the form of a trough, and make their boats all of one piece; for they have not yet the faculty to fasten planks together with nails, nor to make sails. They also do not know how to forge, nor to calk; so that, in places where they do not find trees fit for boats, as on all the coast of Peru, the Indians make rafts of a very light wood which is found in the neighboring provinces of Quito, and which they bring from there on the most navigable rivers of the country. These rafts are composed of five beams, tied to each other, the longest of which is in the middle; the others gradually diminish, in order the better to cut the water. I remember to have passed, in the times of the incas, upon these kinds of rafts, which were then in use. The Indians make, also, others of them in this manner: They take a quantity of reeds, which they very firmly tie together, and which they raise in front in the form of a prow, the better to cut the water. Then they enlarge it by degrees, and in such a manner that they easily place in it a man or any other burden; and when they cross any rapid river they lay down in the raft the person whom they cross, and advise him to hold fast to the cords, and, above all things, not to open his eyes. I was yet very young when one day I passed, in this manner, an extremely rapid river; but when the Indian who managed the raft advised me to close my eyes, such a fright seized me that, had the heavens fallen or the earth opened, I could not have been more frightened. However, when I had a little recovered, and felt that we were very near the middle of the river, I could not resist the temptation to look. I therefore raised myself ever so little and looked at the water; but it seemed to me that I was falling from the clouds, because the rapidity of the water and the swiftness with which the raft cleaved the river had made my head

dizzy to such a degree that I closed my eyes and acknowledged that not without reason they had advised passengers not to open them. A single Indian governed the raft. He placed himself flat upon his belly at the end of the stern, with a leg on each side, and rowed with his hands and feet, and let himself go with the current even to the other side. The inhabitants of Peru, moreover, make rafts of a different construction from these. They tie together several gourds in a square from four to five feet long, more or less, according as they have business for them; and put in front of this assemblage a kind of poitrel, where, as soon as the boatman has put his head, he leaps into the water and swims with his charge to the other bank of the river or gulf which he crosses; also, if it is necessary, he has men who push behind. But when the rivers are full of rocks, when they have neither entry nor exit, and are so rapid that they cannot cross them with rafts, the Indians pass from one side of the river to the other a large cable, which they attach to rocks or to trees. This cable passes through a great basket, to which there is a wooden handle. This basket glides along the cable, and can easily hold three or four persons. It has a cord to each side, with which they draw it to either side. But because the cable is long and swags in the middle, they let the basket go gently as far as that; then, as the cable ascends gradually, they quickly draw it with all their strength. There are persons at the crossings of rivers who have orders for that; and the travellers themselves who get into the basket often take the cable with their own hands and assist themselves to cross. I remember, at the age of ten years, to have crossed a river two or three times in these sorts of baskets; and that they carried me along the road upon their shoulders. They cross in these baskets only persons and small animals; the large are too heavy. Besides, the places where these baskets are are not the passages of the highways; and, moreover, they do not cross rivers in this manner except in Peru; for in Florida, where are found very large trees, the inhabitants make very fine boats and easily cross the rivers.

CHAPTER III.

THE VESSELS OF THE FLEET OF THE ALLIED CACIQUES.

I RETURN to the fleet of the enemy. The size of some of these vessels surprised the Spaniards; for they saw some of them with twenty-five oars to the bench, which had each about thirty soldiers,

without counting many rowers, armed with arrows; so that, in some of the boats, there might be as many as seventy-five or eighty warriors; but in the others there were not so many people, because they always diminish in size. The least had fourteen oars to the bench, and all, whether great or small, were of a single piece. Their oars appeared very suitably made; they were about a fathom long, the most of which entered the water, and when one of these vessels went with all its force, a horse urged at full speed would hardly have overtaken it. But that which is somewhat remarkable, the enemy sang divers songs, which, according to the nature of the air, sad or gay, made them row together in very good order, slowly or swiftly, as at the time it was necessary. These songs contained the heroic actions of their ancestors; so that, animated by the remembrance of these things, they bore themselves courageously to battle, and thought only of winning the victory. And that which also deserves to be considered, the boats of the fleet were painted within and without, yellow, blue, white, green, red, or some other color, according to the fancy of him to whom the vessel belonged. Even the oars, and the plumes which the soldiers wore upon their heads, their caps, as well as their bows and arrows, were of the color of the vessel; so that, the river being very wide, the enemy could easily extend themselves, and there was nothing more beautiful to see than this fleet, because of the diversity of the colors of the boats and the order in which the Indians rowed. On the second day, about noon, they appeared in this state in the rear of the Spaniards, to show the power and the beauty of their army; and with their songs they encouraged themselves to battle. It was known, by the means of interpreters, that in these songs they called our men cowards, telling them that they fled in vain; that, since on land they had not been the prey of dogs, on water they should not fail to be devoured by sea monsters; that, finally, the people of the country would very soon be delivered from a troop of brigands, and such things; and at the end of the song they gave loud yells that made the whole neighborhood re-echo.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BATTLE WITH THE INDIANS UPON THE RIVER.

WHEN the enemy had been some time following us in order to reconnoitre, they separated their fleet into three divisions. The troops of Quigaltanqui put themselves at the head, but they could

not really learn whether he commanded them himself, although they often heard him mentioned in the songs of the barbarians. Afterwards, all the vessels of the fleet advanced to the right towards the bank of the river, and got the lead. Those of the first division immediately attacked our caravels, in crossing to the other side of the river, and covered them with arrows, so that there were several Spaniards wounded. The first division was no sooner on the left than it recrossed and came and recovered its place; nevertheless, always advancing beyond the brigantines. The second division, which crossed after having attacked with fury, returned to the right and placed itself at the head of the first. The third passed in the same manner, and having showered a quantity of arrows upon the soldiers, they rejoined those of their party and came and posted themselves in front of the second division. In the mean time, as our caravels did not cease rowing, they arrived at the position of the barbarians who had first attacked them, and who began to attack them in the same manner as before. The others also attacked, each in their order and their accustomed manner, and harassed the Spaniards all the day. Even during the night they tormented them, but not with so much persistency, for they made but two attacks, the first a little before sunset, and the other before daybreak. Our men, on their part, defended themselves very well on this occasion. They first placed soldiers in the boats where the horses were, in order that if the barbarians approached them, they might be able to repulse them and prevent the horses from being killed. But as the Indians fired from a distance, and as the Spaniards who were in these boats found themselves incommoded, they regained the caravels and abandoned the horses, which were under a shelter of wretched hides and some shields. Therefore, during ten days and ten nights of fighting, all these horses perished, except eight. And our men were all wounded, notwithstanding their shields and all the resistance they could make. They had then for arms to fight at a distance only crossbows; for of their muskets they had made nails. Besides they had not even the ability to make use of them, and since the battle of Mauvila, they lacked powder.

CHAPTER V.

ADVENTURES OF THE SPANIARDS.

AFTER ten days of fighting the enemy fell away from the caravels a little more than half a league. In the mean while the Spaniards continued to row, and discovered, at some three hundred paces from

the river, a village of about eighty houses. As then they believed that they had made two hundred leagues, and because the river turned to neither side, that therefore they were near the sea, they resolved that it was necessary to land and send to the village for provisions. The general therefore made a hundred men land under the conduct of Silvestre; and ordered them to go and fetch corn from the village, and to lead there the horses to recruit them in order to fight in case of necessity. These soldiers immediately landed, but no sooner did the inhabitants perceive them than they took to flight, scattered through the country, and, making everything echo with their cries, demanded assistance on all sides. In the mean time the party arrived at the village where they found a quantity of corn, dried fruits, many deer-skins diversely painted, cloaks of different skins very well prepared, and one piece of marten's skin about eight ells long by three wide. This piece was double, alike on both sides, and decorated in places with clusters of seed pearls. They believed that it was used as a standard by the Indians in their festivals; for according to appearances it could not be destined to any other use. Silvestre, who admired it, took it for himself, and his companions all loaded themselves, some with corn and fruits, and others with deer-skins. Then they returned speedily to the caravels, where the trumpets were calling them, because a part of the Indians of the fleet, attracted by the cries of the inhabitants of the village, had landed, joined them, and were all advancing with fury, together, to give battle. But whatever haste our men could make to regain the brigantines, they were obliged to abandon their horses, for the peril in which they saw themselves prevented them from embarking them. And without doubt, not a soldier of the party would have been able to save himself if the Indians had been advanced only a hundred paces farther. Therefore, all furious to see our men escape, they turned their rage against the horses. They pulled off their halters, unsaddled them, made them run through the field, and fired upon them until they had slain them all. Thus perished the remnant of three hundred and fifty horses which had entered Florida. The Spaniards were so much the more grieved at it as they saw them miserably perish. But considering that they could not protect them from the fury of the barbarians, and that Silvestre and his companions had fortunately escaped, they continued their voyage with all sail

CHAPTER VI.

A STRATAGEM OF THE INDIANS, AND THE RASHNESS OF A SPANIARD.

THE Indians, despairing of succeeding in their design, because the Spaniards rowed in good order, had recourse to stratagem. They, therefore, stopped and pretended to abandon the pursuit of the caravels. They believed that when our men no longer saw them in their rear, the vessels would fall away from one another; and that then they would fall upon them and put them to flight. The event happened in part as they had imagined. One of the caravels left the ranks, and remained some time behind the others. The Indians immediately advanced with fury, attacked this caravel, and endeavored to capture it. The other vessels which discovered the danger in which it was, ascended by rowing against the current to succor it. They found their people hard pressed, defending themselves with their swords, and that they had not been able to prevent some barbarians from leaping into the caravel. Many of the enemy were even already seizing it; but upon the arrival of help they retired, after losing thirty of their men, and carried off a boat in which were five hogs, which were reserved to breed from in case a settlement was made. The Spaniards thanked God that they had lost but this boat, which was at the stern of the brigantine; and afterwards they took care to go in very good order. In the mean time the Indians did not cease to follow them, always hoping that there would be some of them who would abandon their ranks. They were not disappointed in their expectations. Esteban Agnez, who had the appearance and strength of a coarse peasant, and who had fought in all the battles without having, through good luck for him, been wounded, wished, as he was rash, to undertake something that might make him conspicuous; for until then he had executed nothing of importance. He, therefore, descended from his caravel into a boat, which was at the stern, under pretext of going to speak to the general, who was proceeding at the head. Agnez was accompanied by five young Spaniards, whom he had won by the hope of acquiring glory by some bold deed. The natural son of Don Carlos Henriquez was of this number. He was about twenty years of age, very handsome, and very well formed; besides, so brave and so virtuous that one might easily have judged from whom he was sprung. When this cavalier and his companions were in the boat, they fell

away from their caravel, and rowed directly at the Indians, attacked them, calling out "let us fight, they fly." The general, who saw this rashness, made haste to sound the retreat, and to recall them with loud cries. But Agnez became more and more headstrong, and made signs that they might go on. Moscoso, irritated at this disobedience, commanded forty Spaniards to take boats and bring to him this foolhardy fellow. He had determined to hang him as soon as he should have him; but it had been much better not to have sent any person after him, and to have left him miserably to perish. As soon as the general had given these orders, forty Spaniards leaped into three boats, under the direction of Gusman, who was followed by Juan de Vega, brother of another of the same name, who commanded a caravel. These boats immediately rowed with all their might after that of Agnez. In the mean time, the Indians, who saw them advancing towards them in the rear of that of Agnez, retired slowly in order to draw them away from the caravels. Agnez, who saw the enemy recede, was encouraged, approached, and cried louder than before, "Let us attack, they flee." The other boats which heard him, hastened more and more to reach him, and to hinder him from destroying himself, or to succor him in case of necessity. When the Indians saw them near them they opened in the form of a crescent, and retired gradually to induce them to advance farther. And when they knew that these boats were sufficiently involved, they attacked them with fury, taking them in the flank and upsetting them all in the water; so that of the fifty-two Spaniards who were in them, there escaped but Moron, Nieto, Coles, and Terron; all the others were either drowned or knocked in the head with oars. Moron, who was a great swimmer, and very adroit in managing a vessel, fortunately regained his boat. Nearly at the same time he drew into it Nieto, who alone bravely defended it against the barbarians whilst Moron endeavored to direct it. But these brave soldiers, notwithstanding their valor and their skill, would have finally succumbed to the efforts of the enemy if the caravel of Gusman, which had advanced at the head of the others which came with assistance, had not snatched them from the rage of the barbarians. This same caravel saved Terron; but he was no sooner out of peril than he expired in the arms of those who had drawn him into the vessel. He had in his head, face, neck, and shoulders more than fifty arrows. Coles, from whom I have taken a part of this account, says that he escaped after having received two arrows; and that the Spaniards who perished on this occasion were, for the most part, gentlemen, and the most valiant of the

troops. Moscoso was also very sensibly grieved at it. Nevertheless, without desponding, he quickly reassembled his caravels and continued his voyage in very good order.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RETURN OF THE INDIANS TO THEIR COUNTRY, AND THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS AT THE SEA.

THE Indians, after this defeat, harassed the Spaniards the rest of the day and all the following night, and at sunrise, after having uttered loud cries and made everything echo with the noise of their instruments to thank the sun for the victory they had won, they abandoned the pursuit of the caravels and retired, full of joy, to their own country, for they were very far from it, and had followed our men four hundred leagues without giving them, day or night, a single moment of repose. During this long journey they always named Quigaltanqui in their songs, and did not speak of any other, their design being to make known to our men that it was this prince who made war upon them. Therefore when the Spaniards had arrived at Mexico, and Mendoza, who was viceroy of it, had learned the evils that Quigaltanqui had done them, he derided them for it, and praised this cacique with an air that showed that it was to joke them.

When our men observed that the Indians were no longer in their rear, they the more readily believed that they were approaching the sea as the Chucagua began to be about fifteen leagues wide, so that they could not discover land on either side. They saw, towards the borders of this river, only a number of reeds so high that it seemed that they might have been trees; and perhaps their vision did not deceive them. But they would no farther enlighten themselves on the subject for fear lest, quitting the current, they might strike upon some sand-bank; and besides, no one yet knew whether they were at sea, or really upon the Chucagua. In this uncertainty our men rowed three days, very successfully; and the fourth, in the morning, they plainly descried the sea, and saw to their left a multitude of trees heaped up one upon the other, which the river, at high water, bore to the sea. And this mass of wood appeared a great island. A half a league from there, there was a desert island like those which great rivers make at their mouth. Therefore the Spaniards no longer doubted they were upon the sea. But because they did not know how far they might be from Mexico, they resolved,

before going farther, to inspect their brigantines. When they saw that they had no need of calking nor of repairing, they killed ten hogs which they had remaining, and were three days recruiting themselves, for they were overcome by fatigue and loss of sleep on account of the continual alarms which the barbarians had given them every night. For this same reason also they did not know exactly the number of leagues the Spaniards had made in nineteen entire days and nights of navigation on the Chucagua until their arrival at the sea. In fact, when they conversed about it at Mexico, with persons capable of judging of it, some said that the Christians had made, in one day and night, twenty leagues; others, thirty, and several, forty, and some, more. But finally they agreed upon twenty-five leagues, both day and night; for the brigantines had had favorable winds, and went with sails and oars. Upon this basis they found that from their embarkment to the sea there were about five hundred leagues. Coles counts some seven hundred of them, but his opinion is single.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NUMBER OF LEAGUES WHICH THE SPANIARDS TRAVELED IN FLORIDA, AND A FIGHT WITH THE INDIANS OF THE COAST.

THE Spaniards penetrated into Florida as far as to the fountains where the Chucagua takes its source.* This river, to ascend from Aminoia, where was made the first embarkment, as far as these fountains, is three hundred leagues; and from this province to the sea five hundred. So that there extends altogether the distance of eight hundred leagues which our men travelled. (28)

During the three days that the Spaniards recruited themselves, they saw on the last day about noon, coming from a place full of reeds, seven boats which advanced towards them. There was, in the first, a very large and very black Indian of an aspect very different from those who inhabit the interior of the country. The barbarians of the coast are black in this manner, because the sun is there warmer than elsewhere, and because they are continually in the water, which is salt. For the land being dry and sterile they are obliged to fish in order to subsist. When the Indian had approached the caravel near enough, he placed himself on the prow of his vessel, and in a voice full of haughtiness told the Spaniards, according to

* The Chucagua is the Mississippi River; the Spaniards crossed it about one hundred miles, by the river, below Memphis.

what the interpreter asserted, that they were robbers; what did they come to seek upon the coast; and that they should leave it in haste, by one of the mouths of the Chucagua; otherwise he would burn their brigantines and put them all to a miserable death. This barbarian, without waiting for an answer, returned to whence he had come. In the mean while, the Spaniards, reflecting upon the threats of this Indian, and why they sent every little while boats to reconnoitre them, resolved to attack him, for fear that, by favor of the night, he might come to attack them and set fire to the caravels, in which he would more easily have succeeded than by day, because of the advantage which he had of being better acquainted with the sea than our men. Therefore a hundred men entered into five boats, under the conduct of Nieto and Silvestre, and went to seek the barbarians. They found a great number of them posted behind reeds, with good boats equipped with everything. Nevertheless, without being surprised, they surrounded them, fell upon them, wounded many, slew ten or twelve, and put the rest to flight. But the most of the Spaniards were maltreated, especially Nieto and Silvestre. There was also a soldier who had his thigh pierced through and through by a dart about one fathom long, which the Indians threw with so much force that they pierced through a man armed with a coat of mail. The Spanish soldier died of the stroke which he had received, because they made too great an incision to draw out the point of the dart, and he had nearly as much to complain of our men who dressed his wound as of the barbarians who had wounded him.

CHAPTER IX.

THE VOYAGE OF THE SPANIARDS AND THEIR ADVENTURES.

BEFORE coming to the details of the voyage of the Spaniards, it is necessary to tell the manner in which the Indians right their boats when they are capsized either in fishing or in battle. When these barbarians, who are very robust and very excellent swimmers, see one of their vessels upside down, they put ten or twelve, more or less, about righting it. But because it is full of water, they all together give it three or four jerks so adroitly, that at the last they entirely empty it and re-enter it. The Spaniards admired this promptitude of the Indians in getting the water out of their boats, and endeavored in vain to imitate them.

When our men who had been to attack the enemy had rejoined the caravels, they embarked for fear of some misfortune, and went

with all speed to the desert island which they had seen in the vicinity of the mouth of the Chucagua. When they reached it they landed, walked everywhere, and found nothing remarkable. Afterwards they retired to their caravels, where they passed the night, and the next day at daybreak they raised anchor. A cable broke, and the anchor was lost because it had no buoy; but in the necessity they had for this anchor, their best swimmers leaped into the water, where, notwithstanding whatever trouble they took, they did not find it until about three o'clock in the afternoon. Then they set sail, without daring to go into the open sea, for they knew neither the place where they were, nor even their course. Convinced, however, that if they kept along the coast towards the west they would safely arrive at Mexico, they sailed the remainder of the day, the following night, and the next day until about evening, and found during this journey the water fresh, being astonished that the Chucagua should go so far into the sea. Then Aniasco took the latitude; but because he had neither compass nor marine charts, he made a compass of a ruler and a marine chart of parchment, and they governed themselves by these as well as they could. The sailors, who knew that Aniasco had no great knowledge of sea affairs, ridiculed him, and through spite he threw the chart and compass into the sea. The brigantine which followed recovered them; they sailed still seven or eight days, until a storm forced them to gain a little cove. Afterwards, when the weather changed, our men sailed fifteen days, and supplied themselves with water five or six times, inasmuch as they had but small pitchers to put the water in.* On account of that also, and because they had not the things necessary for the navigation, they dared not cut across to the islands, nor go far from land. Besides, every three days they had to refresh themselves; and, as very often they found neither fountain nor river, they dug two feet into the earth, at ten or twelve steps from the sea, and found plenty of fresh water. Finally, at the end of these fifteen days, they arrived at five or six small islands, nearly filled with innumerable sea-birds, which made their nests on land. They loaded themselves with these birds and with their eggs, and returned to the caravels. But these birds were so fat, and tasted so of the sea, that they could not eat them. The next day they anchored at a strand, which was very pleasant on account of the great number of large trees at a distance from one

* The Elvas Narrative relates that a cooper "made for every brigantine two half hogsheds, which the mariners call quarterets, because four of them hold a pipe of water."

another, which made a very beautiful forest. At the same time some soldiers landed to go a fishing along the shore, and found many lumps of pitch which the sea had driven ashore,* and which weighed, some eight, others ten, and some from thirteen to fourteen pounds. The Spaniards rejoiced to find this pitch, because their caravels leaked; they repaired them all. Each day, by main force, they drew one of them on land, calked it, and replaced it in the sea in the evening. But in order that the pitch might flow more freely, they mixed it with hog's grease, preferring to employ it in this use to eating it, because their lives depended upon their vessels.

During eight days that the Spaniards recruited themselves on this shore, they were three times visited by Indians armed with bows and arrows, and each time they received from them corn. To requite them for this favor, our men made them a present of deer skins, and then left this shore without even inquiring the name of the country, so greatly were they engrossed with the design of reaching Mexico. They coasted during their voyage, for fear lest the north wind, which prevails on all this coast, should drive them into the open sea. However, some stopped sometimes two or three days to fish, because there remained nothing to subsist upon but corn, and others landed from their caravels and went to seek provisions. They managed in this way thirteen days, and made many leagues without being able to say positively the number; for they had not reflected on it, and had thought only of reaching the river of Palms, which they believed they were not very far from. This thought of itself encouraged them to endure their hardships.

CHAPTER X.

THE ADVENTURE OF TWO CARAVELS.

THE Spaniards had been thirty days at sea when about evening there arose a north wind, which forced five caravels to approach nearer to shore. In the mean while, the sky became overcast, the wind increased, and there arose a furious storm. The caravel of Gaitan and that of Alvarado and Mosquera, which had kept too far to sea, were dreadfully battered by the tempest, and like to have perished, especially the brigantine of Gaitan came nearer being

* Clavigero in his History of Mexico says that the gulf throws up bitumen on the Mexican coast, and that the Indians in parts of Mexico paid a tribute in bitumen.

wrecked by a flaw which sprung the mast; so that these two vessels were in a deplorable condition during the whole night, and also nearly the whole of the following day; for about noon they came near being submerged; and then, perceiving the five caravels, which had gained the mouth of a river, which they ascended, they endeavored three whole hours to reach them; but their efforts were in vain, the wind was too impetuous, and the danger increased every moment. Therefore, without persisting further, they went close to the wind along the coast towards the west, in the hope of extricating themselves from the danger which threatened them. As they were nearly all naked, and the waves entered the brigantines, they were in great peril of losing their lives. They, therefore, labored with energy to save themselves. Some folded the sails, others bailed and managed the caravels, and all that without eating or resting, so eminent the fear of death appeared to them. Finally, after having been twenty-six hours agitated in this way, they discovered, yet a little before night, two coasts: the one white, to their right; the other very dark, to their left. Then a young man of the brigantine of Alvarado said that he had sailed to that black coast, but that he did not know the name of it; that it was covered with flint, and extended as far as the vicinity of Vera Cruz; that, if they turned their vessel towards this coast, they would all inevitably perish; that the white coast was of sand, soft and level, and that before dark they must land there, for if the wind cast them upon the black coast, they must expect nothing less than death. Alvarado, at the same time, commanded them to warn the caravel of Gaitan not to run upon the black coast. But the waves rose so high that the brigantines could scarcely see one another, and they had difficulty to execute this order. However, as at times the vessels saw one another, the caravel of Alvarado made so many signs and so many shouts that Gaitan conceived what they wished to make known, and the soldiers upon both sides agreed to land upon the white coast. Gaitan opposed this design in his caravel, but those who accompanied him stoutly opposed him, some even with abuse, and told him that they would never suffer that fifty men should perish through his obstinacy. Thereupon, some laid their hands upon their swords, and others upon the helm, and bore the prow of the vessel towards the white coast, where, after much labor, they struck before sunset. As soon as Gaitan knew that the vessel had touched ground, he leaped from the stern into the water, believing that on occasions of this kind it was the safest; but when he rose to the surface of the water he badly hurt his shoulders against the rudder. His soldiers did not leave the caravel when the first

shock of the wave drove it to land. Afterwards, the wave retiring, left the vessel aground, and at its return it struck it in such a way that it placed it upon its side. Then the soldiers leaped into the water, one party lightened the vessel, some took hold of one side, and others of the other, and they all did their duty so well that, by the assistance of the waves, they drew it upon the beach. Alvarado and Mosquera, who had stranded theirs at the distance of two musket-shots further off, also labored with energy to draw their brigantine ashore, and they fortunately succeeded. The two caravels each immediately sent to seek the other; but as their men met half way, they told to each other their adventures, returned and informed their comrades of them, who, after having thanked God for having delivered them from peril, dispatched in haste to get intelligence of Moscoso, concerning whom they were in very great trouble.

CHAPTER XI.

THEY SEND TO SEEK THE GENERAL, AND TO EXPLORE THE COUNTRY.

THE Spaniards of the two caravels, being assembled a little before night, agreed to send to Moscoso to inform him of their adventures, and also to get intelligence of him, and learn the condition of the five brigantines that accompanied him. But when they reflected that for twenty-six hours they had not rested, and that in order to go to the general, thirteen or fourteen leagues must be travelled that night through a country unknown, and perhaps full of enemies, they became doubtful about sending any of their comrades there. Quadrado Charamilla, full of courage and zeal, seeing this irresolution offered himself to go there, because he was devotedly attached to Moscoso, and promised that he would either be with him the next day or die; that if any one would accompany him well and good, if not, he would go alone. Francisco Mugnos, animated by this example, said that he was ready to follow Quadrado, and that he would sooner lose his life than abandon him. The captains of the caravels, rejoiced to see the courage of these soldiers, immediately supplied them with provisions; and these two brave Spaniards, taking each his sword and shield, left at one o'clock at night. But as they did not know the road which they ought to take, they followed, at all hazards, the borders of the sea, in the belief that it was the surest route. In the mean time their companions returned each to his brigantine, where, after having posted sentinels, and rested all the night, they assembled the next morning,

and chose for captains of companies Silvestre, Antonio de Porras, and Alonzo Caluete. They sent them each with twenty men, one towards the south, the other towards the west, and the third towards the north, with orders to try to discover in what country they were, and not to go too far, in order that they might be able to succor them in case of necessity. The captains who took the routes to the north and the south returned to the caravels after having marched about a league and a half; one with the half of a dish made of the white clay of Talavera, the other with an earthen porringer, painted as they paint them at Malassa. Therefore, they were certain that the places of the country which they had discovered, were inhabited by Spaniards, and that the porringer and dish which they had brought were sure signs of it. The party of Silvestre, which struck towards the west, on its return completely confirmed this news, as shall now be seen. Silvestre and his company, being about half a league distant from the sea, and advanced beyond a small eminence, discovered a pond of fresh water more than a league long. As they saw on this pond four boats of Indians who were fishing, they crept along the water a quarter of a league under the cover of some trees; and in the progress, glancing here and there, they saw, at about three hundred steps, two Indians who were collecting fruit under a tree which they call guajac [guava]. Immediately they cast themselves upon the ground, some on one side and others on the other, and dragged themselves so adroitly upon their bellies that they surrounded the two barbarians without being discovered. Then they arose and ran at them. But notwithstanding all their speed one of them escaped, who leaped into the water. The Spaniards, rejoiced to have the other, returned in haste to the quarters, for fear lest the inhabitants of the country should assemble and make them release the booty they had taken. For besides the Indian prisoner, they brought away two baskets of the fruit of the guajac, corn, a Mexican turkey-cock, two Spanish hens, and a little of the juice of the stalk of the maguey. This tree puts forth stems nearly like cardoons, and which are very good to eat when they have been exposed to the sun. The maguey serves the Indians of New Spain to make hemp, wine, honey, vinegar; they also make jelly of it by means of a liquor, very sweet, which the leaves throw out at a certain season of the year, and when they fall from the tree. They employ the trunk of the maguey to build, but only in extreme necessity, and when they find no other tree.

To return to our men. When they heard that their prisoner spoke but the word "Brecos," and as they did not understand this word, they asked him by signs and otherwise the name of the country

where they were. The Indian, who understood them by the means of their gestures, but who could not answer them, repeated in vain "Brecos," in hope of making them understand that he belonged to a Spaniard; whose name was Christobal de Brecos. The poor Indian troubled himself in vain, since omitting the word Christobal he was intelligible neither to Silvestre nor to his companions; so that through vexation, being some time provoked even to abusing him, they hastened their march in order to rejoin the caravels, where they deferred to interrogate him quite at their leisure, and where they safely returned.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SPANIARDS KNOW THAT THEY ARE IN MEXICO.

SILVESTRE and his men found, at their return, their companions in ecstasy on account of the things which the two other parties had brought back from their exploration. But the joy increased at the sight of the booty of Silvestre's soldiers. There were in the caravels nothing but caperings and songs. Each was transported with joy: especially when the surgeon of the troops, who understood the Mexican language and even spoke it a little, showing a pair of scissors to the Indian prisoner and asking him to tell him what they were; the barbarian replied, "tiselas" for "tixeras." Our men, who heard how this Indian tried to speak Spanish, no longer doubted that they had reached Mexico. So that they all began again to rejoice. Some embraced the prisoner, and others, Silvestre and his comrades. They hugged and kissed them, raised them in their arms, and made everything echo with their applause. But after the first transports, they asked the barbarian, through the surgeon, the name of the country where they were; and what they called the river which the general, with the five brigantines, had ascended? He replied that the country appertained to Panuco, to which it was ten leagues by land; that the general had entered the river which bears the name of this town, situated twelve leagues from its mouth; and that twelve from the place where they were, this river entered the sea; that, as for himself, he belonged to Christobal de Brecos, living at Panuco; that at a little more than a league from the quarters there was a cacique who knew how to read and write, having been raised by a clergyman, who taught the Indians the principles of the Christian doctrine; that if they desired it he would go for this cacique, who would speedily come and inform them of everything.

The Spaniards, rejoiced at this, increased their attentions to the Indian; and, after having made him some presents, sent him for the cacique, with orders to pay their compliments to him, and to bring back paper and ink. The barbarian, pleased with the Spaniards, hastened so much that he returned to the caravels in less than four hours. The cacique, informed of what had happened upon the coast of his province, came himself to see our men, followed by eight of his subjects loaded with Spanish chickens, corn bread, fruit, and fish. He took care also to fetch ink and paper; for he prided himself principally upon knowing how to read and write, and he believed that a great advantage. As soon as he reached the Spaniards he presented them the things which his eight vassals had, and offered them his hospitality and his services. Our men, to show him their gratitude, gave him some deer skins. Then they dispatched an Indian to the general, with letters in which they related their adventures, and requested him to send them his orders. In the mean time the cacique remained with them to inquire the particulars of their discovery. He took especial pleasure in learning them. He was really astonished to see our men emaciated, hideous, and wearied in a pitiable manner; which showed that during the voyage they had suffered terribly. Then, when night approached, he very politely took leave, and returned home. But the next day he returned; and during five more days that they refreshed themselves upon his lands, he repaired each day to the quarters; and brought, every time, wherewith to sufficiently feast the Spaniards.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS AT PANUCO AND THEIR DISSENSIONS.

WHILE these things were passing, Quadrado and Mugnos travelled all night and arrived, late in the morning, at the mouth of the Panuco, where they learned that the general and the brigantines were ascending this river. They were so rejoiced at this news that without resting they continued their journey, and speedily repaired to the general, who apprehended that the two caravels had been wrecked. But the arrival of Quadrado dispelled his fear; and the next day the Indian, whom they had dispatched to him, delivered to him the letters with which he was charged. They gave him much pleasure, and he replied to what they wrote to him. He sent orders to the two brigantines to meet him at Panuco, where they went in haste to join him, and where they, as well as their com-

panions, were received with great demonstrations of friendship. They amounted in all to some three hundred men; but they were in a deplorable condition, overcome with fatigue, sun-burnt, emaciated, hideous, and covered only with the skins of cows, lions, or bears, so that they might have almost as soon been taken for beasts as for men. When they had arrived, the governor of Panuco informed the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, who held his court in the city of Mexico, sixty leagues from Panuco. Mendoza immediately ordered them to be furnished with provisions, and to be conducted to him when they should be recruited. In the mean time he sent them, through the Mexican Society of Charity, shirts and shoes; and medicines and comfits, in case there should be sick among them. The Spaniards, praising God for this blessing, remained ten or twelve days at Panuco. But when the greater part had learned that the inhabitants subsisted upon only the things which the land produced; that many were employed only in planting Spanish mulberry trees in the expectation of making silk; that the best off raised but a few horses to sell to merchants from abroad; that they were all poor, badly lodged, and the country wretched, they began to regret having abandoned Florida; of which the land was very fertile, produced very fine trees, and where they had seen a very great quantity of furs of martens and many other animals. Their discontent still increased when they remembered the multitude of pearls which they had seen, and the hope with which they all had flattered themselves that each one of them would gain a great province in Florida. Thereupon they detested their conduct,—that they were cowards not to have settled in that country, and to have come to basely beg their bread of wretches; that it would have been more profitable and more glorious to have died in Florida than to live like scoundrels in Mexico. The Spaniards who made these reflections had advised not to abandon Florida, when they deliberated about leaving it. Therefore, seeing themselves reduced to poverty by the faults of their captains who had induced the troops to come to Mexico, they were excited with rage against them, and against the others who had supported their sentiments. They pursued them with their swords, wounding some and killing a few; so that these officers and their companions dared not show themselves. The inhabitants of the town, grieved at so great a disorder, endeavored to appease it, but they could not succeed, and the discord increasing more and more, the governor informed Mendoza of it. He immediately ordered the Spaniards to be sent to Mexico by tens and twenties; and those to march together who were of the same party; which was strictly executed.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION OF THE SPANIARDS AT MEXICO.

THE report being spread that the Spaniards who came from Florida were going to Mexico, the inhabitants of the country, from every quarter, assembled upon their route. When they saw them in a deplorable condition, they kindly lodged and entertained them, even to Mexico. This city, which is one of the largest and best in the world, received them very well, and there was scarcely a gentleman who did not show them marks of kindness. Charamillo especially showed them much attention. He lodged in his house twenty of them, one of whom he found to be a relation of his. He even clothed the whole twenty, and furnished them with linen and other necessary things. The viceroy also gave them proofs of his kindness, for he would have them, indifferently, soldiers and officers, eat at his table; based on this, that all having equally shared the hardships of the expedition, it was but proper that they all should have a share in the favors which he did them. This prince did not content himself with feasting them. He took care to lodge them in one of his houses, and he had clothes distributed to those who had need of them; and, as a provost of Mexico had put two of them in prison because they had fought each other, he had it published, that henceforth no judge should have cognizance of their differences. He wished himself to terminate them, because he loved these poor soldiers. It displeased him that they should have recommenced their old quarrels. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his conduct, the quarrel broke out again, and there were some of them killed; for the greater part, enraged to see the value which they put upon the pearls and furs which they had brought from Florida, and that they had unfortunately left these things, pursued with their swords those who had persuaded them to abandon a country so rich. These furs, in fact, were very beautiful, and some of the inhabitants of Mexico, with pleasure, decked themselves with them, and lined their garments with them, after having taken out the pitch with which they were soiled in the vessels. Finally, as the mutineers became from day to day more and more insolent, the viceroy appeased them by the promise that he would undertake with them a voyage to Florida, since they were so much dissatisfied at having left it. Mendoça had, in reality, a design of going to these countries, on account of the description they had given him of the excel-

lent qualities of the soil. Therefore, in order to support a part of the officers and soldiers who had returned from Florida, he offered to some money, to others employment, whilst he should make his preparations to conquer it. Some accepted the offers of this prince, and others rejected them, resolved to leave speedily for Peru. One of the latter going one day through the city of Mexico dressed in very wretched skins, a citizen had pity on him, and told him that if he wished to serve him he would give him very good wages, and put him in one of his houses near Mexico, where he would pass an easy life. The Spaniard proudly replied to him that he made him the same offer; that he possessed many fine estates in Peru; that if he would accompany him there, he would give him one of them to superintend, when assuredly he would live happy. I relate this little circumstance to show that a part of the Spaniards thought only of going to Peru.

CHAPTER XV.

CONCERNING SOME PARTICULARS OF THE JOURNEY.

ON his return from Florida, Silvestre lodged in Mexico with Salazar. When he was relating to him the particulars of the expedition, the conversation fell upon the misfortune that like to have happened the first night that they had set sail. Salazar, who knew by the account of this adventure, that it was Silvestre who had ordered to fire upon his vessel, esteemed him very much for it; for he said that he had acted like a man proficient in war. Salazar really had so favorable an opinion of Silvestre that he wished to know what he had done during the journey; and he informed him with pleasure. The viceroy and his son Francisco de Mendoza also learned with much satisfaction the fertility of the soil of Florida, the customs of its inhabitants, their laws against adultery, the generosity of Mucoço, and the deeds of fortitude and courage of the Indians. They were astonished to hear of the riches of the temple of Talomeco and the quantity of pearls that was there. The conduct of the lady of Cofaciqui and the courtesy of the cacique Coça delighted them. They were surprised at the account of the battle of Mauvila, of the fidelity of the lieutenant-general of Anilco, and of the league of the ten caciques who had so bravely pursued our men. They heard, with much admiration, the great deeds which Hernando de Soto had achieved. But his death, at the time when he expected to accomplish his enterprise, sensibly moved them.

And when they learned that he had determined to send to ask assistance of them, they blamed Moscoso and his captains for not having continued his designs. They declared that they would have speedily assisted them, and that they would have led troops even to the mouth of the Chucagua; that also, if they would return to Florida, they were ready to go there with an army; but, as will be seen, those who had returned did not wish to accompany them there.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SPANIARDS DISBAND.

AFTER our men had recuperated in Mexico, they acted in this way: Aniasco, Gaitan, Gallego, Gardenioso, Tinoco, Calderon, and some others returned to Spain. They preferred leading a poor and peaceful life in their own country to being wealthy in America, where they saw themselves hated by many, where they had endured great hardships, and unfortunately lost their fortunes. Figueroa returned home to his father; many entered the monastic order, after the example of Quadrado Charamillo, who chose the order of St. Francis, where he died, illustrious by his actions of piety. Some settled in New Spain with Moscoso, who married in Mexico a lady of rank and of great wealth, who was his relation. Others returned to Peru, where they served Spain as brave soldiers in the war which she waged against Giron and Pizarro, and acquired there riches and reputation. But they could never obtain any district nor distribution of Indians, which they could easily have had in Florida.

CHAPTER XVII.

WHAT MALDONADO AND ARIAS DID TO GET INFORMATION CONCERNING DE SOTO.

To finish the History of Florida there remains only to speak of Maldonado, who, about the end of February of the year 1540, was sent to Havana to Bovadilla. Soto, on dispatching him there, ordered him to repair the next year to the port of Achussi with Arias; and to bring with him vessels loaded with provisions, munitions, and cattle; that he would be there at the time appointed. Maldonado punctually executed the orders of the general. He joined Arias at

Havana, where they together purchased three ships, and loaded them, as also a caravel and two brigantines, with everything necessary for a colony. Afterwards they set sail, and safely came to anchor in the port of Achussi; but because they did not meet the general there, the one sailed along the coast towards the west, and the other towards the east, to learn some news of him; always leaving, where they landed, letters in the hollows of trees, in which they expressed that they were seeking Soto. They did so until the bad weather approached, which caused them to return to Havana without having learned anything. Nevertheless they did not despair on account of that; they again put to sea in the spring. One sailed close along the coast of Mexico, and the other went as far as the lands of Bacallos. But as they could discover nothing, they returned to Havana, whence they departed about the spring of the year 1543, resolved to perish or to learn what had become of the general. With this design they, after much fatigue, arrived about the middle of October at Vera Cruz. There they learned the death of Soto, and that of the greater part of his companions; and immediately they returned to Havana, where they related to Isabella de Bovadilla the misfortune of her husband. She was so sensibly moved by it that she could not restrain her grief, and died a few days after this sorrowful news.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CHRISTIANS WHO HAVE DIED IN FLORIDA.

PONCE DE LEON equipped three large vessels in the year 1513, and landed with about a hundred men, upon the coast of Florida, where the Indians made way with them all. Aillon, followed by more than two hundred, had there the same misfortune as Ponce. Narbaez perished there with four hundred. Hernando de Soto also died there, and more than seven hundred of those who accompanied him. So that, counting from the beginning of the discovery to the arrival of Moscoso at Mexico, there died in Florida more than fourteen hundred Christians, without mentioning some clergymen and many monks; all men illustrious by their virtue. The names of those whom I have been able to learn, are Dionysio de Paris, Diego de Vagnuelos, Francisco de Rocha, Rodrigo de Gallego, Francisco Delposo, Juan de Torres, Juan Gallego, Louis de Soto, and Cancel Balbastro.

About sixteen years after the death of Balbastro, three Jesuits

went to Florida ; and, as at their arrival there was one of them slain, his companions hastily retired to Havana. Two years from that time eight other monks of the Society of Jesus undertook the same voyage, and took with them a cacique. But before saying anything of their adventures, I think it necessary to relate how this cacique had come to Spain. Pedro Melendez, from 1563 to 1568, went three times to the coast of Florida to drive from it the French corsairs, who hoped to get possession of it. The second time he brought with him from these countries seven Indians of their own accord, who were armed with bows and arrows. As soon as they had arrived in Spain, Melendez sent them on their way to Madrid, with the view of presenting them to Philippe II. In the mean time, he who gave me this account, living then in Castile, was informed that some Indians from Florida were on their way to the court, and he went in haste to meet them. At first, to show him that he had been in their country, he asked them, through their interpreter, if they were from Vitachuco, Apalache, or Mauvila ; and that he would like very much to have the news from these provinces. The barbarians, knowing that this Spaniard was one of those who had followed Soto, began to look fiercely at him, and replied that he mocked them by inquiring of those places which he and his companions had miserably desolated. They replied nothing more, and only said among themselves that they would much rather pierce him with their arrows than inform him of that which he desired. And thereupon two of these Indians fired into the air, and signified by that, that they would much rather have killed the Spaniard than have uselessly lost their shots. These Indians were baptized in Spain ; where, some time after, they all died except this cacique, who, sad for the death of his companions, asked to return home, promising to work for the conversion of the inhabitants of the country. The Jesuits, who wished to go to Florida, hearing him speak in this way, believed that he would serve powerfully to the design which they had. Therefore, they took him with them, and with much hardship arrived upon his territory. When he had been some time there, he left them under pretext of going to a neighboring town, which he named to them, to dispose the people there to hear the word of God ; promising them that, at the latest he would return in eight days. They awaited him fifteen days, then they dispatched two of their companions to him, whom he caused to be massacred. And the following day he himself came at the head of a troop of Indians, and fell upon the others. The good fathers, who saw them come all enraged with arms in their hands, threw themselves upon their knees, and were all killed.

The barbarians immediately began some to dance about, and others to break a box in which was the crucifix and some ornaments to say mass, and they insolently scoffed them. The names of the Jesuits who were killed by these Indians are, Bautista Segura, Louis de Quiros, Bautista Mendez, Grauiel de Solis, Antonio Cavallos, Cristoval Redondo, Grauiel Gomes, Pedro de Linares. These monks, as well as the others of whom I have spoken, lost their lives in Florida at the very time that they prepared to preach the Gospel there. Therefore their deaths demand vengeance of God, or rather mercy, in order that the people of these countries, who are in darkness, may be some day enlightened with the light of the Faith; and that their lands, sprinkled with the blood of Christians, may bear fruit worthy of the sanctity of blood so sacred.(29)

HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA.

VOLUME III.

HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA.

CHAPTER I.

EVENTS FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE EXPEDITION OF DE SOTO
TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH IN FLORIDA.

1543-1562.

GUIDO DE LAS BAZARES, with a large bark, galley, and shallop, manned with sixty seamen and soldiers, sailed from the port of San Juan de Ulua [Vera Cruz], New Spain, on the 3d of September, 1558, to explore the coast of Florida. On the 10th he arrived at Panuco, and from thence he departed, and arrived on the coast of Florida, in $27^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. Continuing along the coast he discovered a bay in $28^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, which he named St. Francisco, and from thence to the Alacranes; the coast of which extends from northwest to southeast; but contrary winds having prevented him from approaching the coast where he desired, he landed in $29^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and discovered an island which was, perhaps, four leagues from the mainland; he passed within this island and the mainland and other islands, and, after having explored all the coast, he observed that it was bordered by marshy grounds, and was not in a favorable situation to begin a colony, as it was liable to be submerged in many places; he gave it the name of Bay of Bas-Fonde. From thence he sailed ten leagues further to the east, where he discovered a bay which he named Filipina,* it being the largest and most commodious bay on the coast. The entrance is in $30^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude; and on entering the bay he passed the point of an island seven leagues long, and steered east-southeast [E. N. E. ?]. On the other side of the bay lies the mainland, which is, perhaps, half a league wide from point to point. Of all the discoveries made from east to west, there is no bay so accessible and so commodious as this. The bottom is of mud, and the harbor is

* The bay of Pensacola.

from four to five fathoms deep at low tide. The channel is from three to four fathoms deep, and at high water nearly one fathom more. The climate is very healthy and similar to that of Spain. It abounds in all kinds of fish and oysters. The pine forests are extensive. There are besides live-oak, cypress, ash, palmetto, laurel, cedar, and other trees, one of which yields a fruit resembling the chestnut.* All these trees commence to grow near the shore, and extend for many leagues into the interior of the country. Some rivulets of water fall into the bay, where there is a large opening, which appears to be the mouth of a great river.

While in this bay he went to examine the water on the north side, where the trees are not so dense, and where cavaliers might hold their tournaments and find grass for their horses. In the rear of this bay, in an easterly direction, are hills of a reddish clay, from which earthenware can be manufactured. Here at all times can be seen a great variety of wild game. On the shores of this bay he observed a large number of canoes, as well as huts surrounded with corn, beans, and pumpkins. This country is distant about two hundred and sixty leagues from San Juan de Lua (Vera Cruz).

Contrary winds now prevented him from advancing any farther, although he returned twice to the bay of Filipina, which he afterwards named Velasco. As the winter was now approaching, the pilots and sailors were of opinion the weather would not be favorable for further explorations of the coast. He accordingly left the coast on the 3d of December, and arrived at San Juan de Lua on the 14th.

The viceroy of New Spain fitted out an expedition which sailed from Vera Cruz in 1559, under the command of Don Tristan de Luna y Avellano, with fifteen hundred soldiers and a large number of friars [Franciscans], burning with zeal to convert the natives; and on the 14th of August they reached the bay of Santa Maria Filipina; and six days after he arrived a terrific gale wrecked a part of his fleet. He, however, dispatched four companies with two friars to penetrate the country as far as the province of Coça, and with the remainder of the expedition he established himself at the port [Filipina]. The expedition reached a town on the river which they named Santa Cruz Napienoca, where it was afterwards joined by Don Tristan de Luna, and from thence they proceeded on their march to other Indian towns on the banks of a river called Olibaka, where they procured a supply of provisions, and some days after they reached the famous province of Coça. There they remained some

* Chinquepin.

weeks, but the obstacles they encountered with the natives and the scarcity of provisions so discouraged them that they abandoned the expedition and returned to the bay of Santa Maria Filipina, and afterwards to Vera Cruz.

On the 27th of May, 1561, Don Angel de Villa Fane, governor and captain-general of the province of Florida, with two frigates and a caravel arrived at St. Helena and sailed up the river four or five leagues; but not discovering a convenient port, or land suitable for a colony, he returned to sea, and followed the coast in search of a port; and, having doubled Cape San Roman in 34° north latitude, he landed on the 2d of June, and ordered a ship to make soundings, and found the bottom good; and from thence he went into the interior until he came to a large river which discharged its waters near the cape, and called it Jordan, and proceeded to sea. On the 8th of June he returned and re-entered the Jordan with two frigates, but not finding a suitable harbor he again returned to sea, and was annoyed with the discovery that the frigate San Juan had fouled her anchor and lost it near Cape San Roman. He continued his exploration along the coast with two frigates, and sent the treasurer, Don Alonzo Velasquez, with one of them to the river of Canoes in $34^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, which he ascertained to be one and a half fathoms deep at one and a half leagues from its mouth. He afterwards rejoined the governor who continued to examine the coast until the 14th of June, when he reached Cape Trafalga in 35° north latitude. At ten o'clock at night a tempest arose, and the caravel was near being lost as well as both the frigates. They were surrounded with shoals and a submerged coast, and being far away from any port, the governor and pilots decided to proceed on their voyage until they reached the port of Monte Christo, in the island of Hispaniola, where the governor landed on the 9th of July 1561.

Don Gonzalo Perez, secretary of the Council of the Indies, at the same time he presented the above account of Don Angel's voyage, to the president, laid before him a memorandum from the king requesting the council to give him their definition of the rights of the king to Florida, and whether the French can take possession of that country and build forts there. The council informed the king that his title to the county of Florida is clear and indisputable, and founded on the gift of Pope Alexander VI., and the taking possession of that country by Governor-general Don Angel de Villafane, is the same country which the French have recently taken possession of and built a fort there called Carolin, and the same country

which Guido de las Bazaes took formal possession of in 1558, and which the fleets and ships of the king of Spain have at different times explored and taken possession of. Juan Ponce de Leon was the first to discover and take possession, and after him Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, and after him Pamfilo de Narvaez, and after Narvaez, Hernando de Soto, all of whom, and many others, were commissioned by your majesty to explore and take possession of Florida, and therefore the French have no right to interfere, as they might hereafter build forts, interrupt commerce, and capture the ships of your majesty coming from the Indies.*

* From the "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," by B. F. French.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF JEAN RIBAUT TO FLORIDA.

1562.

WHEREAS, in the year of our Lord 1562, it pleased God to move your lordship to choose and appoint me to discover and view a certain long coast of the West Indies, from the head of the land called Florida unto the head of Bretons, distant from the said head of Florida nine hundred leagues, or thereabouts, to the end that we might certify and make you a true report of the climate, fertility, ports, havens, rivers, and generally all the commodities that we have seen and found in that land, and also to learn what people were dwelling there.

When we had fulfilled your orders and made preparation, we departed on the 18th of February, 1562, with our two vessels out of the harbor of Havre de Grace, into the road of Caux, and the next day hoisted sail.

Thursday, the last of April, 1562, we discovered and approached a fair coast stretching a great length, covered with an infinite number of high and large trees, we being seven or eight leagues from the shore. The country seemed to us a plain without any appearance of hills; and arriving within four or five leagues of the land, we cast anchor in ten fathoms of water, the bottom of the sea being covered with osiers and fast hold on the south side, as far as a certain cape situated under latitude of nine and twenty degrees and a half, which we have named Cape Francois [in honor of France].

We could see neither river nor bay, wherefore we sent our boats, manned with men of experience, to sound the coast near the shore, who, returning to us about one o'clock in the afternoon, declared that they had found, among other things, eight fathoms of water at the hard bank of the sea, whereupon having weighed anchor, with a fair wind we sailed along the coast with unspeakable pleasure of the odorous perfume and beauty of the scene.

And because there appeared unto us no appearance of any port, about the setting of the sun we cast anchor again. Then perceiving towards the north a leaping and breaking of the water, as a stream

flowing into the sea, we hoisted sails again to double the same, while it was yet day, and as we passed beyond it, there appeared a wide entry of a fair river, which caused us to cast anchor again near to land, that the next day we might see what it was, and though the wind blew for a time boisterously to the shoreward, yet the hold and anchorage was so good, that one cable and one anchor held us fast without danger or sliding.

The next day in the morning, being the first of May, 1562, we set out with two barges and a boat well trimmed, to enter the river, where we entered a magnificent and great river, with thirty-six fathoms of water, which increased in depth and width. Having passed its mouth, we began to see a great many of the natives, who approached us without fear.

One of the Indians entered the river, approached our boats, and showed us the best place to land. Seeing this we landed [on the north side], and rewarded him, and afterwards he ran to his chief who forthwith sent me his girdle made of red leather, in token of friendship,* and I began to go toward him, when he came toward me with all his men, and received me kindly and modestly.

And after we had congratulated him, we fell to our knees a short distance from them and gave thanks to God, beseeching him to continue his goodness towards us, and bring to the knowledge of our Saviour Christ this poor people.

While we were thus praying, they sitting upon the ground, which was strewed with bay branches, they beheld and hearkened to us attentively without speaking or moving, and as I made a sign lifting up my arm and pointing with one finger to make them look heavenward, he likewise lifted up his arm towards heaven, putting forth two fingers, whereby it seemed that he wished to tell us that he worshipped the sun and moon for their gods, as afterwards we understood it to be so.

In the mean time their number increased, and being assembled they cut a great many bay boughs, and therewith dressed a place for us, distant two fathoms from theirs, for it is their manner to talk and bargain sitting, and their chief or king to be separated from the common people.

After we had tarried for the most part of the day on the north side of the river (which we called May because we discovered it the 1st of May), we made alliance and entered into amity with them. And they seemed sorry when we took our departure. But desiring to spend the rest of the day on the other side of the river, to be-

* Probably a wampum belt.

come acquainted with those Indians we saw, we went there without difficulty and landed among them, who received us kindly and gave us of their fruits. Soon after this came the king with his brethren and others. After we had entertained and presented them with like gifts, and clothed the king and his brethren with like robes, as we had given them on the other side, we entered and explored their country thereabouts, which is the fairest, fruitfulest, and pleasantest of all the world, abounding in honey, venison, wild game, forests, woods of all sorts, and vines with grapes. And the sight of the fair meadows is a pleasure inexpressible. The night approaching, it was necessary for us to return on shipboard; we accordingly took leave of them.

Very early the next morning we returned to land, accompanied by the captains, gentlemen, soldiers, and other persons, carrying with us a pillar or column of hard stone, with the king's arms engraven thereon, to plant and set the same at the entry of the port on some high place where it might easily be seen; and being come thither before the Indians had assembled, we discovered in the south side of the river, not far from its mouth, a place very suitable for the purpose upon a little sandy hill covered with cypress, bays, palms, and other trees, with sweet-smelling and pleasant shrubs, in the middle whereof we planted the first boundary or limit of his majesty.

When the Indians perceived our long stay on this side they ran to see what we had done in that place where we had set our limit. They viewed it a long time without touching it, or even speaking to us about it at any time afterwards. Howbeit we could scarcely part from them without great grief, and they continued to follow us along the river from all parts, presenting us with harts' skins painted and unpainted, meat, little cakes, fresh water, etc; also lead, turquoises, and great abundance of pearls, which they told us they took out of oysters along the river-side; and as fair pearls as are found in any country of the world; for we saw on one of their men as we entered our boats, a pearl hanging to a collar of gold about his neck, as large as an acorn. He was one of the best-looking of the whole company. The day being well gone, and desiring to employ the rest of the day with the Indians on the north side, whom we talked with the day before, we crossed the river to their shore, where we found them patiently waiting for us, with new paintings upon their faces, and feathers upon their heads. One of them had hanging about his neck a round plate of red copper, well polished, with a small one of silver hung in the middle of it; and in his ears a small plate of copper.

The night now approaching, we returned to our ships, for we durst not hazard our ship because of the bar of sand that was at the mouth of the river, notwithstanding, at full tide, there were at least two fathoms and a half of water, and it is but a leap over a surge to pass this bar, not exceeding two cables in length, and then afterwards there are six or seven fathoms of water everywhere; so that it made a very fair haven, and a ship from four to six hundred tons may enter therein at all tides, yea of a far greater burden if there were pilots. The situation is in thirty degrees north latitude, a good climate, healthful, good temperature, delightful, pleasant.

The next day, being the 3d of May, being desirous to find out harbors to anchor in, we sailed again, and after we had ranged the coast as near shore as we could, there appeared to us, about seven leagues on this side (north) of the river May, a great opening or bay of some river, whither we sent one of our boats, and there found an entry almost like the river May, and, within the same, of as great depth and as large; and dividing itself into great streams stretching towards the high lands, with many others of less size, which divide the country into beautiful and great lands, and small and fair meadows. Having entered about three leagues, we found a place commodious, strong, and pleasant of situation, and certain Indians who received us friendly. Nevertheless, as we approached so near their houses it seemed to offend them. We afterwards went to their houses, but none of the natives would accompany us.

It is a place of wonderful fertility, and similar and like unto the land we found upon the river May. Without coming into the sea this arm doth divide and make many other Isles of May, as also many great islands, by which we travelled from one island to another between land and land; and it seemed that men might sail without danger through all the country and never enter the great ocean. The people there live long, in great health and strength. We departed from them very friendly; but the night overtaking us, we were compelled to lie in our ship (boat?) all that night till it was day, floating upon this river, which we have called the *Seine*, because the entry of it is as broad as from Havre de Grace to Honfleur.

At break of day we espied out of the south side, one of the most pleasant meadow grounds that might be seen, into which we went, finding at the very entry a long, fair, and great lake, and an innumerable number of footsteps of great harts and hinds, their steps being fresh and new, and it seemeth that the people nourish them

like cattle, in great herds; for we saw the steps of Indians who followed them.*

The channel and depth of the river Seine is on that side of the meadow which is in the Isle of May.

After returning to our ships we continued to sail along the coast, as near the shore as we could, to know more and more of the coast. And, after we had sailed six or seven leagues more, there appeared unto us another bay, where we cast anchor and stopped all night; in the morning we went thither, and finding, by our sounding, at the entry, many banks, we durst not enter there with our great ship, having named the river Somme, which is eight, nine, ten, eleven fathoms deep, dividing itself into many great islands and small meadow grounds and pastures; and on the northwest side there is a great river that cometh from the country of great extent, and another on the east side which returneth into the sea, so that it is a country full of havens, rivers, and islands of the greatest fertility.†

From thence we sailed about six leagues, and discovered another river which, after we had viewed, was named by us *Loire*; and subsequently we discovered five others, whereof the first was named *Charente*; the second, *Garonne*; the third, *Gironde*; the fourth, *Belle*; the fifth, *Grande*; which being well discovered, with such things as were in them; by this time, in less than sixty leagues, we had found out many singularities along nine rivers.‡ Nevertheless, not fully satisfied, we sailed yet further towards the north, following the course that might bring us to the river Jordan, one of the fairest rivers of the north, and holding our wonted course, great fogs and tempests came upon us, which compelled us to leave the coast to bear toward the main sea, which was the cause that we lost sight of our pinnace a whole day and night, until the next day in the morning, which time the weather being fair, and the sea calm,

* When Virginia was first visited, the Indians raised and kept tame deers near their dwellings.

† Ribault's Narrative in "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," by B. F. French. What follows is from Laudonniere.

‡ The following, from a note to Ribault's Narrative, will give probably a correct idea of the rivers that now correspond with those discovered by Ribault, viz: "*May*, to the St. John's; *Seine*, the St. Mary's; *Somme*, the Santilla; *Loire*, the Altamaha; *Charante*, the Newport; *Garonne*, the Ogechee; *Gironde*, the Savannah; *Bellevoir*, the May in South Carolina; *Grande*, the Broad; *Port Royal*, the Port Royal." The Broad river is supposed by some to be the Jordan. Ribault was of that belief. But see Jacobo Le Moyne's map of Florida, opposite page 495.

we discovered a river, which we called *Bellevoyr*. After we had sailed three or four leagues, we began to espy our pinnaces which came straight toward us, and at their arrival they reported to the captain, that while the foul weather and fogs endured, they harbored themselves in a mighty river, which in bigness and beauty exceeded the former; wherewith the captain was exceedingly joyful, for his chief desire was to find a haven to harbor his ships, and there to refresh ourselves awhile. Thus making thitherward, we arrived athwart the same river (which, because of the fairness and the bigness thereof, we named *Port Royal*), struck our sails, and cast anchor in ten fathoms of water; for the depth is such that when the tide rises, the largest ships of France may enter there.

Having cast anchor, the captain with his soldiers went on shore. It was all covered over with mighty high oaks and infinite store of cedars, and with lentiskes growing underneath them, smelling so sweetly that the very fragrant odor only made the place to seem exceedingly pleasant.

The river, at the mouth thereof, from cape to cape, is not less than three French leagues broad; it is divided into two great arms, whereof one runneth toward the west, and the other toward the north, and I believe that the arm which stretcheth toward the north runneth up into the country as far as the river Jordan; the other arm runneth into the sea, as it was known by those of our company which were left behind to dwell in this place. These two arms are two great leagues broad, and in the midst of them there is an isle which is pointed towards the opening of the great river. Seeing the evening approach, and that the captain determined to return unto the ships, we prayed him to suffer us to pass the night in this place. In our absence the pilots and mariners advised the captain that it was needful to bring the ships further up within the river, to avoid the dangers of the winds which might annoy us by reason of our being so near the mouth of the river, and for this cause the captain sent for us. Being come to our ships, we sailed three leagues further up within the river, and there we cast anchor. A little while after, John Ribault, accompanied by a good number of soldiers, embarked himself, desirous to sail further up in the arm which runneth toward the west, and to search the commodities of the place. Having sailed at least twelve leagues, we perceived a troop of Indians, who, as soon as they espied the pinnaces, fled into the wood, leaving behind them a young lucerne which they were turning on a spit, for which cause the place was called Cape Lucerne. Proceeding on our way, we found another arm of the river which ran towards the east, by which the captain determined to

sail and to leave the great current. A little while after, they began to espy divers other Indians. At our coming on shore divers of them came to salute our general; some of them gave him deer-skins; some presented him with pearls, but no great number. Afterwards they went about to make an arbor to defend us from the parching heat of the sun. But we would not stay then; wherefore the captain thanked them, and gave them presents. They wished him to stay a little longer, showing him by signs that they desired to advise a great lord which had pearls in great abundance. Notwithstanding, we returned to our ships, where, after we had been but one night, the captain in the morning commanded to be put into the pinnace a pillar of hard stone fashioned like a column, whereon the arms of the king of France were engraven, to plant the same in the fairest place that we could find. This done, we embarked ourselves, and sailed three leagues towards the west, where we discovered a little river, up which we sailed so long that in the end we found that it returned into the great current, and, in its return, to make a little island, separated from the firm land, where we went ashore; and there, "on the 30th of May, on the south side, at the entrance of a *great* river, which we called Libourne, where there is a lake of fresh water, very good, and on the same side, a little lower down towards the entrance of the harbor, one of the fairest fountains that men may drink of, which rushes down to the river from a high bank out of a red sandy soil,"* we planted the pillar upon a hillock open round about to the view; on which island we saw two stags of exceeding bigness. Before our departure we named the *little* river that environed this isle the River of Libourne. Afterwards we embarked to search another isle not far distant from the former, wherein, after we had gone on land, we found nothing but tall cedars, the fairest that were seen in this country. For this cause we named it the Isle of Cedars; so we returned into our pinnace to go towards our ships.

A few days afterwards John Ribault determined to return once again towards the Indians who inhabited the arm of the river that runneth towards the west, and to take with him a good number of soldiers; for his design was to take two Indians of this place to carry them to France, as the queen had commanded him. With this intention we again took our former course so far north that at last we came to the selfsame place where at the first we found the Indians; from thence we took two Indians, by the permission of the king. As soon as we were come to our ships, every one thought to

* Ribault.

gratify these two Indians, that they might perceive the good desire and affection we had to remain their friends. Then we offered them meat to eat, but they refused. A few days after, they began to bear so good will towards me that, as I think, they would rather have perished with hunger and thirst than have taken their food at any man's hand but mine. Seeing this, I sought to learn some Indian words, and began to ask them questions, showing them the thing whereof I desired to know the name, how they called it. They were very glad to tell me; and knowing the desire I had to learn their language, they encouraged me, afterward, to ask them anything; so that putting down in writing the words and phrases of the Indian speech, I was able to understand the greatest part of their discourses. Every day they did nothing but speak to me of the desire they had to use me well, if we would return unto their houses, and cause me to receive all the pleasures they could devise, as well in hunting, as in seeing their very strange and superstitious ceremonies at a certain feast which they called *Toya*—which feast they observe as strictly as we observe the Sunday. They gave me to understand they would take me to see the greatest lord of this country whom they called Chigoula.* I began then to show them all parts of the heaven, to learn in which quarter he dwelt; and straightway one of them stretched out his hand toward the north, which makes me think that it was the river Jordan, and now I remember that in the reign of the emperor Charles V. certain Spaniards, inhabitants of St. Domingo, who made a voyage to get certain slaves, to work in their mines, stole away by subtlety the inhabitants of this river to the number of forty, thinking to carry them into their New Spain; but they lost their labor, for they all died, save one that was brought to the emperor, whom a little while after he caused to be baptized, and gave him his own name, and called him Charles of Chigoula, because he spoke so much of this lord of Chigoula, whose subject he was; also he continually reported that Chigoula made his abode within a very great inclosed city. Besides this proof, those who were left in the first voyage have certified to me that the Indians showed them by evident signs that further on within the land, towards the north, there was a great inclosure, or city, where Chigoula dwelt. After they had stayed awhile in our ships they began to be sorry, and still demanded of me when they should return. I made them understand that the captain's will

* This word resembles some words further west, as Bayagoula and Mongoulacha, on the Mississippi River (below Plaquemin), and Pascagoula, which may have been originally Chigoula (Indian) and Pass (English), making Paschigoula: for there are Pass Christian, Pass Manchac, and other passes.

was to send them home again. But seeing he would not give them license to leave, they resolved with themselves to steal away at night, and to get a little boat we had, and by the help of the tide to sail home, which they failed not to do. The captain cared not greatly for their departure, considering that they had not been used otherwise than well, and that, therefore, they would not estrange themselves from the Frenchmen.

Captain Ribault, knowing the singular fairness of this river, desired by all means to encourage some of his men to dwell there, well foreseeing that this thing might be of great importance to France. Therefore, with this intent he caused the anchors to be weighed, and to set things in order to return unto the opening of the river, to the end that, if the wind came fair, he might pass out to accomplish the rest of his intention. When, therefore, we were come to the mouth of the river, he made them cast anchor, whereupon we stayed all the rest of the day. The next day he commanded that all the men of his ship should come up on deck. They all came up, and immediately the captain began to speak unto them.

He had scarcely ended his oration but the greatest part of our soldiers replied: That a greater pleasure could never betide them. Therefore, they besought the captain, that before he departed out of the place, to begin to build them a fort, which they hoped afterwards to finish, and to leave them munitions necessary for their defence. Whereupon John Ribault determined, the next day, to search the most fit and convenient place to be inhabited. Wherefore he embarked himself very early in the morning, and commanded to follow him them that were desirous to inhabit there.

Having sailed up the great river, on the north side, in coasting an isle, which endeth with a sharp point towards the mouth of the river, having sailed awhile, he discovered a small river which entered into the island, which he would not fail to search out, which being done, and finding the same deep enough to harbor therein galleys and galiots in good number; proceeding further he found a very open place joining upon the brink thereof, where he went on land; and seeing the place fit to build a fortress on, and commodious for them that were willing to plant there, he resolved immediately to cause the bigness of the fortification to be measured out. And considering that there stayed but twenty-six* there, he caused the fort to

* We left there thirty gentlemen, soldiers, and marines; and having left Captain Albert de la Pierria, an officer of experience, the first that offered to establish a settlement . . . on the north side of an island, upon a place of strong situation, upon a river which we named Chenonceau, and named the fort Charlesfort.—RIBAUT.

be made, in length, but sixteen fathoms, and thirteen in breadth, with flanks according to the proportions thereof. The measure being taken by me and Captain Salles, we sent unto the ships for men, and to bring shovels, pick-axes, and other instruments necessary to make the fortification. We labored so diligently that in a short space the fort was made in some sort defensible; in which, meantime, John Ribault caused victuals and warlike munitions to be brought for the defence of the place. After he had furnished them with all such things as they had need of, he determined to take his leave of them; but before his departure he addressed Captain Albert, whom he left in this place.

Having ended his exhortation we took our leave of each of them, and sailed towards our ships, calling the fort Charles Fort, and the river we named Chenonceau.(30)

The next day [9th of June, 1562], we determined to depart from this place to discover perfectly the river Jordan. For this purpose we hoisted our sails about ten o'clock in the morning. After we were ready to depart Captain Ribault commanded to shoot off our ordnance to give a farewell to our Frenchmen, who failed not to do the same on their part. This being done, we sailed toward the north, and then we named this river Port Royal, because of the largeness and excellent fairness of the same. After we had sailed about fifteen leagues from thence we espied a river, whereupon we sent our pinnace thither to discover it. At their return they brought us word that they found not more than half a fathom of water in the mouth thereof, which when we understood, we continued on our way and called it *Bas* [*Shallow*] River. As we still went on sounding we found not more than five or six fathoms of water, although we were six good leagues from the shore. At length we found not more than three fathoms, which gave us occasion greatly to muse, and without making any further way, we struck our sails, partly because we wanted water, and partly because night approached. The morning being come, Captain Ribault proposed to all the company that every man should deliver his opinion what was best to be done, which thing being well and at large debated, we resolved to leave the coast, forsaking the north to take our way toward the east, which is the right way and course to our France, where we happily arrived the 20th of July, 1562.

WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF RIBAUT.

Our men after our departure never rested, but night and day did fortify themselves, being in good hope that after Charles Fort was

finished, they would begin to discover further up the river. It happened one day, as certain of them were cutting roots in the groves, that they espied an Indian, who followed them to the fort. Captain Albert asked him of his dwelling. The Indian replied that it was further up within the river, and that he was a vassal of king Audusta. Certain days after, the captain determined to sail towards Audusta, where being arrived, he was so well received that the king told him he should have the amity of four other kings, Wayon, Hoya, Touppa, and Stalame, and prayed him to vouchsafe to visit them. The captain willingly consented. Therefore they departed the next morning very early, and first arrived at the house of Touppa, and afterwards at the other kings' houses, except that of Stalame. After he had remained certain days with these strange kings, he determined to return to the house of Audusta, and having arrived there, he commanded all his men to go aboard their pinnaces, for he was a mind to go towards the country of king Stalame, who dwelt toward the north, the distance of fifteen leagues from Charles Fort. Therefore as they sailed up the river they entered a great current which they followed so far till they came at last to the house of Stalame. He immediately presented Captain Albert his bows and arrows, which is a sign and confirmation of alliance between them. The captain seeing the best part of the day past, took his leave and returned to Charles Fort, where he arrived the day following.

When the time drew near for celebrating the feast of Toya, Audusta sent ambassadors to our men to request them to be present; whereupon they consented most willingly. They embarked therefore and sailed towards the king's house, where he sought to entertain them the best he could. When the feast was finished, our men returned unto Charles Fort, where having remained a while, their victuals began to wax short, which forced them to have recourse to their neighbors, who gave them part of all the victuals which they had, and kept no more than would serve to sow their fields. They gave them counsel to go to the countries of king Conexis, but before they came to his territories, they were to repair to Oude, the brother of Conexis. Our men, perceiving the good relation which the Indians made of these two kings, resolved to go thither; wherefore, they put to sea, and sailed so far that they came into the country of Oude, which they found to be on the river Belle. Being there arrived, they perceived a company of Indians. As soon as they were come near them, their guides showed them by signs that Oude was in this company, wherefore our men went forward to salute him. He led them to his home, where he sought to treat them very courteously. His house was hung round with tapestry of

feathers of divers colors, the height of a pike ; moreover, the place where the king took his rest was covered with white coverlets embroidered with devices of very witty and fine workmanship, and fringed round about with a fringe dyed in the color of scarlet. This good Indian commanded his subjects to fill our pinnaces with corn and beans. Afterwards he caused them to bring him six pieces of his tapestry, made like little coverlets, and gave them to our men. This being done, our men took leave of the king, and sailed towards Charles Fort, which from this place might be some twenty-five leagues distant. But as soon as our men thought themselves at their ease, and free from the dangers whereunto they had exposed themselves night and day in gathering together victuals here and there ; lo ! even as they were asleep, the fire caught in their lodgings with such fury, being increased by the wind, that the room was consumed in an instant, without them being able to save anything except a little of their victuals. The next day by times in the morning, Audusta and Maccou came thither, accompanied with a very good company of Indians, who, knowing the misfortune, were very sorry for it, and every man began to exert himself in such sort, that in less than twelve hours they had begun and finished a house very near as great as the former, which being ended, they returned home, fully contented with a few cutting-hooks and hatchets which they received from our men.

Within a short time after this mischance, their victuals began to wax short ; and after our men had taken good deliberation, they found there was no better way for them, than to return to the king Oude, and Conexis his brother. Wherefore they resolved to send thither some of their company the next day following, who, with an Indian canoe, sailed up into the country about ten leagues. Afterwards they found a very fair and great river of fresh water, which they failed not to search out. They found therein a great number of crocodiles which in greatness surpass those of the river Nilus. Moreover all along the banks thereof, there grew mighty high cypresses. After they had staid a short while in this place, they followed their journey, helping themselves so well with the tides that without putting themselves in danger of the continual perils of the sea, they came to the country of Oude, by whom they were most courteously received. When they had related to him the occasion of their coming, and the misfortunes they had suffered, he sent messengers unto his brother Conexis, to request him to send him some of his corn and beans, which he did, and the next morning they were come again with victuals, which the king caused to be borne unto their canoe. Our men would now have taken their leave of him,

finding themselves more than satisfied with his liberality, but for that day he would not suffer them, and made them the best cheer he could devise. The next day, very early in the morning, he took them with him to show them the place where his corn grew, and said unto them they should not want as long as all that corn did last. After that he gave them a number of exceeding fair pearls and two stones of fine crystals, and certain silver ore. Our men forgot not to give him certain trifles in recompense for these presents, and inquired of him the place whence the silver ore and the crystal came. He answered it came ten days' journey from his habitation up within the country, and that the inhabitants of the country did dig the same at the foot of certain high mountains, where they found it in very good quantity. Being joyful to learn this good news, they took leave of the king and returned by the way they had come.

But misfortune would have it that those who could not be overcome by fire nor water should be undone by themselves. They entered into partialities and dissensions, which began about a soldier, who, as I was told, was very cruelly hanged by his own captain, and for a small fault; which captain, also, accustomed to threaten the rest of his soldiers which staid behind under his command was the cause why they fell into a mutiny, because that many times he put his threats into execution, whereupon they put him to death. And the principal occasion that moved them thereunto was because he degraded another soldier named Le Chere (whom he had banished) and because he had not performed his promise; for he had promised to send him victuals every eighth day, which he did not, but said, on the contrary, that he would be glad to hear of his death. He said, moreover, he would chastise others also. The soldiers, seeing his tyranny increase daily, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kill him. Having executed their purpose they went to seek the soldier that was banished, who was on a small island, distant from Charles Fort about three leagues, where they found him almost half dead from hunger. When they came home again, they assembled themselves together and chose Nicholas Barre to be governor over them.

During this time they began to build a pinnacle, with the hope of returning to France, if no succors came to them. After it was finished, they thought of nothing else, save how to furnish it with all things necessary to undertake the voyage. As they were in these perplexities, King Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with at least two hundred Indians, to whom they showed in what need of cordage they stood, who promised them to return within two

days and bring as much as should suffice to furnish the pinnace with tackling.

Our men, being pleased with these good news and promises, bestowed upon them certain cutting hooks and shirts. After their departure, our men sought all means to get rosin in the woods, wherein they cut the pine trees round about, and out of which they drew a sufficient quantity to pitch their vessel. Also they gathered a kind of moss which groweth on the trees of this country, to serve to calk the same withal. They now wanted nothing but sails, which they made of their own shirts and of their sheets. Within a few days after, the Indian king returned to Charles Fort with so good store of cordage that there was found sufficient for the tackling of the small pinnace. They, therefore, went forward to finish the brigantine, and a short time afterward they made it ready, furnished with all things. In the mean time the wind came so fit for their purpose, that they put to sea after they had put all things in order. But before they departed they embarked all their artillery and other munitions of war. They put themselves to sea with so slender victuals that the end of their enterprise became unfortunate. For, after they had sailed a third part of the way, they were surprised by calms, which did so much hinder them, that in three weeks they sailed not over twenty-five leagues. Their victuals failed them altogether at once, and they had nothing for their more assured refuge but their shoes and leather jerkins, which they did eat. Touching their beverage, some of them drink the sea-water, others did drink their own urine, and they remained in such desperate necessity a very long space, during which a part of them died of hunger. Besides this extreme famine they fell every minute out of all hope of ever seeing France again. And every day they fared worse and worse; for, after they had eaten up their boots and their leather jerkins, there arose so boisterous a wind, and so contrary to their course, that in the turning of a hand, the waves filled their vessel half full of water, and injured it upon one side.

One of them having a little stronger heart than the others declared unto them how little way they had to sail, assuring them that if the wind held they should see land within three days. This man did so encourage them that, after they had thrown the water out of the pinnace, they remained three days without eating or drinking, except it were the sea-water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled than ever, seeing that they could not descry any land; wherefore, in this extreme despair, some among them made this motion: that it was better that one man should die than that so many men should perish. They therefore agreed that one should

die to sustain the others ; which thing was executed in the person of Le Chere, of whom we have spoken heretofore, whose flesh was divided equally among his fellows.

After so long a time and tedious travel, God of his goodness, using his accustomed favor, changed their sorrows into joy and showed unto them the sight of land, whereof they were so exceeding glad that the pleasure caused them to remain a long time as men without sense, whereby they let the pinnace float this and that way without holding any right way or course. But a small English bark boarded the vessel, in which there was a Frenchman who had been in the first voyage into Florida,* who easily knew them, and spake unto them, and afterwards gave them meat and drink. Immediately they recovered their natural courage, and declared unto him, at large, all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long time what were best to be done ; and finally they resolved to put on land those who were most feeble, and to carry the rest unto the queen of England [Elizabeth], who proposed at that time to send into Florida. Thus, in brief, you see what happened unto them whom Captain John Ribault had left in Florida.

* That is, had returned to France with Ribault.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOYAGE OF RENE LAUDONNIERE TO FLORIDA.

1564.

AFTER our arrival at Dieppe from our first voyage, we found that civil war had begun, which was in part the cause why our men were not succored as Captain Ribault had promised them. After peace was made in France, my Lord Admiral de Chastillon [Coligny] showed unto the king that he had heard no news at all of the men whom Captain John Ribault had left in Florida, and that it were a pity to suffer them to perish. The king was content that he should cause three ships to be furnished, the one of one hundred and twenty tons, and the other of one hundred, and the third of sixty, to seek them out and to succor them.

My lord admiral, therefore, being well informed of the faithful services which I had done, as well unto his majesty as to his predecessors, kings of France, advised the king how able I was to do him service in this voyage, which was the cause that he made me [Réné Laudonniere] chief captain over these three ships, and charged me to depart with diligence to perform his commands.

I embarked at New Haven the 22d of April, 1564, arrived on the coast of Florida Thursday the 22d of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and landed at a little river which is in 30° north latitude, and thirty leagues north of Cape François, and about ten leagues south of the river of May.

After we had cast anchor athwart the river I determined to go on shore to discover the same. I embarked about three or four o'clock in the afternoon. And having arrived at the mouth of the river I caused the channel to be sounded, which was found to be very shallow, although further within the same the water was reasonably deep, which separated itself into two great arms, whereof one runneth toward the south and the other toward the north. Having thus searched the river I went on land to speak to the Indians who waited for us on shore. After they had made much of us, they showed us their *paracoussy* (king or governor) to whom I presented certain toys. Though they endeavored to make us tarry with them,

I would not stay on shore all night, but embarked and returned to my ships. Before my departure I named this river the *river of Dolphins*, because at my arrival I saw there a great number of dolphins, which were playing in the mouth thereof.*

The next day, the 23d of this month, because that toward the south I had not found any commodious place for us to inhabit and to build a fort, I weighed anchor and sailed towards the river May where we arrived two days after, and anchored. Afterwards going on shore with some gentlemen and soldiers, we espied the paracoussy of the country (the same that we saw in the voyage of Captain Ribault), who, having espied us, came to meet us. The paracoussy prayed me to go and see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of Captain Ribault. Having consented, and having come to the place where it was set up, we found the same crowned with wreaths of bay, and at the foot thereof many little baskets full of corn. Then, when they came thither, they kissed the same with great reverence, and besought us to do the like, which we would not deny them, that we might draw them to be more in friendship with us. After we had sojourned a certain space with them, we took our leave of them, because the night approached, and I then returned to lodge in our ships.

I failed not the next day to embark again, to return to the paracoussy of the river May, who waited for us in the same place where the day before we conferred with him. We found him under the shadow of an arbor, accompanied with eighty Indians. Then I informed the paracoussy Satouriousa that my desire was to discover further up the river, but that I would come again to him very speedily.

Departing from thence, I had not sailed *three leagues* up the river, still being followed by the Indians who coasted me along the river; but I discovered a *hill of mean height* near which I went on land. I rested myself in this place for some hours. Now as I determined to search out the qualities of this hill, I went right to the top thereof, where we found nothing else but cedar, palm, and bay trees. The trees were environed round about with vines, bearing grapes. Touching the pleasures of this place, *the sea may be seen plain and open from it; and more than six great leagues off near the river Belle*, a man may behold the meadows divided asunder into isles and islets interlacing one another.

* In Ribault's Voyage the latitude of Cape François is "about 30°," and here this "little river" is also 30°. "It had two great arms." It was very shallow at the entrance, but reasonably deep within." It was the harbor of St. Augustine.

After I had staid there a while, I embarked again to sail toward the mouth of the river, where we found the paracoussy, who, according to his promise, waited for us. We went on shore. Then he gave me a skin richly painted, and I recompensed him with some of our merchandise. I took my leave of him to return to our ships, where, after we had rested all the night following, we hoisted sail the next day very early in the morning, and sailed toward *the river Seine, distant from the river May about four leagues*, and there continuing our course towards the north, we arrived at the mouth of *the Somme which is not more than six leagues distant from the Seine*, where we cast anchor, and went on shore to discover that place, as we had done the rest. There we were courteously received by the paracoussy of the country. After that the paracoussy had received us, he commanded his wife to present us with a certain number of silver bullets. For his own part, he presented me with his bow and arrows, as he had done to Captain Ribault on our first voyage, which is a sign of perpetual amity and alliance with those whom they honor with such a present.

Then the paracoussy caused a corselet to be set up, and prayed me to make proof of our harquebuses and their bows. So soon as he knew that our harquebuses did easily pierce that which all the force of their bows could not hurt, he seemed to be sorry, musing with himself how this thing could be done. He prayed us very earnestly to stay with him that night in his house. Nevertheless, we could not consent, but took our leave to return to our ships, where soon after I caused all my company to be assembled together to consult together of the place whereof we should make choice to plant our habitation. I let them understand that the part which was towards Cape Florida was altogether a marshy country, and therefore unprofitable for our inhabitation. On the other side, if we passed further towards the north to seek out Port Royal, it would be neither profitable nor convenient, at least if we gave credit to the report of those who remained there a long time, although the haven was one of the fairest in the West Indies, but that in this case the question was not so much of the beauty of the place, as of things to sustain life, and that for our habitation, it was much more needful for us to settle in places plentiful in provisions, than in goodly havens. In consideration whereof, that I was of opinion, if it seemed good unto them, to seat ourselves about the river May, seeing also that in our first voyage we found only the same among all the rest to abound in corn. After I had proposed these things, every one gave his opinion thereof, and finally all resolved, namely, those who had been with me in the first voyage, that it was expedient to seat them-

selves rather on the river May, than on any other until they might hear news from France.

This point being thus agreed upon, we sailed toward that river, and used such diligence that with the favor of the winds we arrived there the morrow after, about the break of day, which was on Thursday, 29th of June. Having cast anchor I embarked all my stuff, and the soldiers of my company, to sail right toward the mouth of this river, wherein *we entered a good way up and found a creek of a reasonable bigness*, which invited us to refresh ourselves a little while we reposed there. Afterward *we went on shore to seek out a place*, plain without trees, *which we perceived from the creek*, but because we found it not very commodious for us to inhabit there, we determined to return unto the place which we had discovered before when we had sailed up the river.

This place is joining to a mount, and it seemed to us more fit and commodious to build a fortress than that where we were last. Therefore we took our way towards the forest, being guided by the young paracoussy. Afterwards we found a large plain covered with high pine trees; then we discovered a little hill adjoining a great vale, very green and flat, whereon were the fairest meadows. Moreover it is environed with a great number of brooks of fresh water, and high woods. After I had taken the view thereof at my ease, I named it the Vale of Laudonniere. Thus we went forward; anon having gone a little forward we met an Indian woman of tall stature, who also was a hermaphrodite, who came before us with a great vessel of water, wherewith she greatly refreshed us. Being therefore refreshed by this means, and marching, we came to the place where we had chosen to make our habitation, whereupon, at that instant, near the river's brink we strewed a number of boughs and leaves to take our rest on them the night following.

On the morrow, about daybreak, I commanded a trumpet to be sounded, that being assembled, we might give thanks to God for our favorable and happy arrival. Then we sang a psalm of thanksgiving to God, beseeching him that it would please him of his grace to continue his accustomed goodness towards us his poor servants, and aid us in our enterprise that all might turn to His glory.

Afterward having measured out a piece of ground in the form of a triangle, we all exerted ourselves, some to bring earth, some to cut fagots, and others to raise and make the rampart, for there was not a man that had not either a shovel, cutting hook, or hatchet, as well to clear the ground by cutting down the trees, as for building of the fort, which we did hasten in such cheerfulness that within a few days the effect of our diligence was apparent. In the mean

time the paracoussy Satourioua, our nearest neighbor, and on whose ground we built our fort, came usually accompanied by his two sons and a great number of Indians, to offer to do us all courtesy.

After that our fort was brought into form, I began to build a grange to retire my munitions and things necessary for the defence of our fort, praying the paracoussy to command his subjects to make us a covering of palm leaves, in order that I might unfreight my ships, and put under cover those things that were in them. The next day morning they dressed so great a number of palm leaves that the grange was covered in less than two days, so that business was finished, for in the space of these two days the Indians never ceased, some in fetching palm leaves, others in interlacing them.

Our fort was built in the form of a triangle; the side towards the west, which was toward the land, was inclosed with a little trench, and made with turns [towers?] made in the form of battlements, of nine feet high; the other side, which was toward the river, was inclosed with a palisade of planks of timber after the manner that gabions are made. On the south side there was a kind of bastion, in which I caused a house for the munitions to be built; it was all built of fagots and sand, save about two or three feet high of turf, whereof the battlements were made. In the midst I caused a great court to be made, of eighteen paces long and broad, in the midst whereof, on the side toward the south, I built a guard-house, and a house on the other side toward the north, which I caused to be raised somewhat too high; for within a short while after the wind beat it down; and experience taught me that we may not build with high stages in this country, because of the winds whereunto it is subject. One of the sides that inclosed my court, which I made very fair and large, reached unto the range of my munitions, and on the other side towards the river was my own lodging, roundabout which were galleries all covered. One principal door of my lodging was in the midst of the great place, and the other was toward the river. A good distance from the fort I built an oven to avoid the danger of fire, because the houses are of palm leaves. I named our fortress Caroline in honor of king Charles IX. After we had furnished it with that which was most necessary, I charged De Ottigni, a man worthy of all honor for his honesty and virtue, to search up within the river what this Thimogoa might be, whereof Satourioua had spoken to us so often on our coming on shore. For the execution thereof the paracoussy gave him two Indians for his guides.

Being embarked, and having sailed about twenty leagues, the Indians discovered three canoes, and immediately began to cry Thimogoa! Thimogoa! and spoke nothing else, but hastened forward

to fight with them. Nevertheless Ottigni would not let them do it, for while he deferred to board them, he gave them time to turn their prows towards the shore, and so to escape into the woods. Ottigni caused the bark to retire wherein were the two Indians, and went with his men toward the canoes, which were on the river side. Having come to them, he put certain trifles into them, and then retired a good way from them, which caused the Indians, who had fled away, to return to their boats. Wherefore being thus assured of us, they called to our men to come near unto them, which they did immediately, and landed, and spake freely unto them. Ottigni demanded of them by signs if they had any gold and silver among them; but they told him that if he would send one of his men with them they would bring him to a place where they might have some. Ottigni, seeing them so willing, delivered to them one of his men to undertake this journey; this fellow stayed with them until ten o'clock the next morning. The captain sailed ten great leagues further up the river; he went so far up that he espied the boat wherein his soldier was, who reported to him that the Indians would have carried him three great days' journey further, and told him that a king named Mayara, rich in gold and silver, dwelt in those quarters. Our men then returned towards our fort, after they had left the soldier with the Indians to inform himself more and more of such things as he might discover.

Fifteen days after this voyage to Thimogoa, I dispatched Capt. Vasseur, and my sergeant also, to return to this country to seek out the soldier that remained there. Having embarked, they sailed two whole days, and, before they came to the dwelling of the Indians, they found two of them on the river-side, who showed him by signs that the soldier was at that time in the house of king Molloua, who was vassal to another great king, named by them Olata Ouae Utina, and if the captain would sail thither he would reach there very quickly; whereupon he caused his men to row thither, and arrived at the lodging of Molloua after he had rowed not more than half a league.

While the king was entertaining Captain Vasseur and his men, the soldier came in with five or six pounds of silver. The good cheer being ended, my men embarked again, with the intention of returning to Fort Caroline; but, after they had sailed a very long while down the river, and had come within three leagues of us, the tide was so strong against them that they were compelled to go on land, and retire for the night to the dwelling of paracoussa Molona, who showed himself very glad at their arrival, and so satisfied that he could not devise how to gratify our men, whom he caused to come

into his house to feast there more honorably. They thanked the paracoussy for the good entertainment which they had received, and so setting sail they came to the fort.

On the 28th of July our ships departed to return to France. Within about two months after our arrival in Florida, Satourioua sent certain Indians to me to know whether I would stand to my promise which I had made him at my first arrival in that country; which was, that I would show myself a friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies; and also to accompany him with a good number of arquebuses, when he should find a fit occasion to go to war. I made him answer that it behooved me at the present time to make provisions for the defence of my fort; that my barks were not ready, and that this enterprise would require time; moreover, that he might hold himself ready to depart within two months, and that then I would think of fulfilling my promise to him.

The Indians carried this answer to their paracoussy, who was little pleased with it; but, because he could not defer the execution of his expedition, he embarked and used such diligence with his boats, that, the next day, two hours before sunset, he arrived on the territories of his enemies, about eight or ten leagues from their villages. Afterward, causing them all to go on land, he assembled his council, wherein it was agreed that five of the paracoussies should sail up the river with half of the troops, and by the break of day approach unto the dwellings of their enemies. For his own part, that he would take his journey through the woods as secretly as possible; and that when they came thither, as well they that went up by water as he who went by land, they should not fail by the break of day to enter into the village and cut them all in pieces, except the women and children, which was executed with as great fury as possible; and, when they had done, they took the heads of their enemies, which they had slain, and cut off their hair round about with a piece of their skulls; they took also twenty-four prisoners, which they led away, and retired immediately into their boats which waited for them. Having come thither they began to sing praises to the sun, to whom they attributed their victory. And afterwards they put the skins of these heads on the ends of their javelins, and went altogether towards the territories of Omoloa, who was in the company. Having come thither they divided their prisoners equally to each of the paracoussies, and left thirteen of them to Satourioua, who straightway dispatched an Indian to carry in advance the news of the victory to them that staid at home.

The next day Satourioua came home, who, before he entered into his lodgings, caused all the hair-skulls of his enemies to be set up

before his door. Straightway began lamentations and mourning, which, as soon as the night began, were turned into pleasures and dances.

After I was advised of these things, I sent a soldier to Satourioua praying him to send me two of his prisoners, which he denied me, saying he was nothing beholding unto me, and that I had broke my promise; which, when I understood, I commanded my sergeant to provide me twenty soldiers, and go with me to the house of Satourioua; where, after I had come and entered into the hall without any manner of salutation, I went and sat down by him, and staid a long while without speaking a word to him or showing him any sign of friendship, which thing put him deeply in his dumps; besides certain soldiers remained at the gate, to whom I had given express orders to suffer no Indian to go out. Having remained still about half an hour with this countenance, at length I demanded where the prisoners were, and commanded them immediately to be brought unto me; whereupon the paracoussy, angry at heart, and astonished wonderfully, remained a long while without making any answer; but at last he answered me very stoutly, that, being afraid to see us come thither in such warlike manner, they had fled into the woods, and, not knowing which way they were gone, they were not able by any means to bring them. Then I made as though I did not understand what he had said, and asked for his prisoners again, and for some of his principal allies. Then Satourioua commanded his *alliore* to seek out the prisoners and cause them to be brought into that place, which he did within an hour after.

I resolved to send back these prisoners to Olata Ouae Utina, whose subjects they were; but before I embarked them I gave them little knives or tablets of glass wherein the image of Charles IX. was drawn very lively, for which they gave me many thanks. After this they embarked with Captain Vasseur and with D'Arlac, my ensign, whom I sent on purpose to remain a certain time with Utina, hoping that the favor of this great paracoussy would serve my turn greatly to make any discoveries in time to come. I sent with him, also, one of my sergeants and six soldiers.

Captain Vasseur, having embarked, about the 10th of September, to carry back the prisoners to Utina, sailed so far up the river that they discovered a place called *Maquarqua*, distant from our fort about eighty leagues, where the Indians gave him a good entertainment. From this place they rowed to the dwelling of Utina, who, after he had feasted them, prayed Arlac and his soldiers to aid him in battle against Patanou, whereunto Arlac consented; Utina resolved to attack at daybreak. To do this, he made his men, about

two hundred, travel all the night. They prayed our French arquebusiers to go in front, that the noise of their pieces might astonish their enemies; notwithstanding they could not march so secretly but that those of the village of Patanou, distant twenty-five leagues from that of Utina, became aware of it; but finding themselves charged with shot, a thing wherewith they had never been acquainted, also beholding the captain of the band fall down dead, in the beginning of the skirmish, with the shot of an arquebuse which struck him in the forehead, they left the place; and the Indians of Utina got into the place, taking men, women, and children prisoners.

Eight or ten days after, I sent Captain Vasseur back with a bark to fetch home Arlac and his soldiers.

While I thus labored to purchase friends, certain soldiers of my company were secretly suborned by one Roquette, who put it into their heads that he was a great magician, and that by art-magic he had discovered a mine of gold and silver far up within the river whereby every soldier should receive in ready bullion the value of ten thousand crowns, besides fifteen hundred thousand which should be reserved for the king; wherefore they allied themselves with Roquette and another of his confederates, whose name was Le Geure, in whom I had great confidence. About the 20th of September, as I came home from the woods to finish the building of my fort, I chafed myself into such a grievous sickness that I thought I would have died, during which sickness I called Le Geure often unto me as one I trusted above all others. In the mean while, assembling his accomplices, he spoke unto them to choose another captain besides me, to the intent to put me to death; but, not being able by open force to execute his intention, he got in with my apothecary, praying him to mingle in my medicine, which I was to receive, some drug that should destroy me; or at least he would give me a little arsenic or quicksilver, which he himself would put into my drink. But the apothecary refused him, as did likewise the master of the fireworks. He, with certain others, resolved to hide a keg of gunpowder under my bed, and by a train to set it on fire.

Upon these practices, a gentleman whom I dispatched to France, being about to take leave of me, informed me that Le Geure had given him a book full of all kinds of lewd invectives and slanders against me, De Ottigni, and the principal of my company; upon which occasion I assembled all my soldiers, and Capt. Bourdet with his, which had arrived in the road on the 4th of September, and had come up the river. In their presence I caused the contents of the book to be read aloud, that they might bear record of the untruths that were therein written. Le Geure, who had fled into the woods

for fear of being taken (where he lived for a while after with the savages, with my permission), wrote to me often, and in several of his letters confessed to me that he had deserved death, condemning himself so far that he referred all to my mercy and pity.

On the 7th or 8th of November I sent La Roche Ferriere and another toward King Utina, to discover every day more and more of the country, where he was the space of six months, during which time he discovered many small villages, and, among others, one named Hostaque.

After these things, about the 10th of November, Captain Bourdet determined to leave me and return to France. Then I requested him to carry home with him some six or seven soldiers whom I could not trust, which he did. Three days after his departure thirteen mariners which I had brought out of France, suborned by certain other mariners which Captain Bourdet had left with me, put it into the heads of mine that if they had such barks as mine they might gain very much in the Antilles, and make an exceedingly profitable voyage. Thereupon they devised that when I should send them to the village of *Sarauahi*, distant about a league and a half from our fort, and situated upon an arm of the river; whither I sent them daily to seek clay to make brick and mortar for our houses, they would return no more, but would furnish themselves with victuals, and then embark all in one vessel, which they did. And that which was worse, two Flemish carpenters, whom Captain Bourdet had left me, stole away the other bark, and before their departure, cut the cables of a bark and of the ship's boat, that they might go away with the tide, that I might not pursue them, so that I remained without either bark or boat, which fell out very unluckily for us, for I was ready to embark myself with all speed, to discover as far up the river as I could by any means.

Now these mariners, as I afterwards learned, took, near the Isle of Cuba, a bark that was a *patache* of the Spaniards, wherein they found a certain quantity of gold and silver. And having this booty they lay awhile at sea, until their victuals began to fail them, which was the cause that they came into Havana, the principal town of the Isle of Cuba; *whereupon proceeded that mischief which hereafter I will disclose more at large.** When I saw my

* Laudonniere alludes to the capture of his fort and the hanging of his men by Pedro de Menendez de Aviles, who, for the piratical acts of these mutineers, treated all the French colonists in Florida as pirates, though France at that time was at peace with Spain; but besides, they were Lutherans, which in the faith of Menendez was deserving of outlawry.

barks returned not at their wonted hour, and suspecting that which fell out, I commanded my carpenters, with all diligence, to make a little boat with a flat bottom, to search those rivers for some news of these mariners. The boat finished, I sent men to seek them, but all in vain. Therefore I determined to cause two great barks to be built, each of which might be thirty-five or thirty-six feet long in the keel. And now when the work was very well forward, ambition and avarice took root in the hearts of four or five soldiers, who thenceforward began to tamper with the best of my troops, showing them that they had the best occasion in the world offered them to make themselves all rich, which was to arm the two barks which were in building, and to furnish them with good men, and then to sail to Peru and the isles of the Antilles, where every soldier might easily enrich himself.

This word riches sounded so well in the ears of my soldiers that finally, after they had oftentimes consulted of their affairs, they grew to the number of sixty-six. They caused a request to be presented to me, containing in sum a declaration of the small store of provisions that was left to sustain us until the time that ships might return from France; for remedy thereof they thought it necessary to send to New Spain, Peru, and all the adjoining isles, which they besought me to grant. But I made answer, that when the barks were finished, we would get victuals of the inhabitants of the country, seeing also that we had enough to serve us for four months to come; for I feared greatly that under pretence of searching for victuals, they would undertake something against the subjects of the king of Spain which in the future might justly be laid to my charge, considering that at our departure out of France the queen had charged me very expressly to do no kind of wrong to the king of Spain's subjects, nor anything whereof he might conceive any jealousy. They made as though they were content with this answer; but eight days after, as I continued working upon our fort and on my barks, I fell sick. Then my seditious companions openly avowed that they would seize the fort, and force me also unto their wicked desire. My lieutenant came and told me that he suspected some evil practice, and the next morning I was saluted at my gate by men in complete harness. The five chief authors of the sedition pressed into my room, saying that they would go to New Spain to seek their adventure. I warned them, but they replied that I must grant their request; that I should deliver them the armor which I had in my custody. I would not yield it, but they took all by force, and carried it out of my house; they laid hands on me, and carried me, sick as I was, prisoner into a ship which rode at anchor

in the midst of the river, wherein I was the space of fifteen days, attended upon by one man only, without permission of any of my servants to visit me, from every one of whom, as also from the rest that took my part, they took away their armor; and they sent me a passport to sign, telling me plainly, after I had denied them, that if I made any difficulty they would all come and cut my throat on the ship. Thus I was compelled to sign the passport, and to grant them certain mariners, with Trenchant, an honest and skilful pilot.

When the barks were finished, they armed them with as much as they needed. They compelled Captain Vasseur to deliver to them the flag of his ship. They sailed on the 8th of December; but because the greater part of them by this time repented them of their enterprise, and that they began to mutiny among themselves, when they came forth from the river the two barks separated; the one kept along the coast unto Cuba, to double the cape more easily, and the other went right forth to pass athwart the Lacaya Isles; wherefore they met not until five weeks after their departure. The bark which went along the coast, whereof Trenchant was pilot, near a place called Archaha took a brigantine laden with cassava and some little wine, which was not effected without some loss of their men; for in one assault that the inhabitants of Archaha made upon them two of their men were taken and two were slain. Yet they took the brigantine, wherein they put all their stuff that was in their own bark, because it was of greater burden and a better sailer than their own. Afterward they sailed right unto Cape Santa Maria, near to Leanguane, where they went on land to calk and pitch their ship, which had a great leak. Then they resolved to sail to Baracou, which is a village in the island of Jamaica, where, at their arrival, they found a caravel of fifty or sixty tons, which they took, without any body in it; and after they had made good cheer in the village during five or six days, they embarked in it, leaving their second ship. Then they returned to Cape Tiburon, where they met with a patache [a tender], which they took after a long conflict. In this patache the governor of Jamaica was taken, with great store of riches, as well of gold and silver as of merchandise and wine, and many other things, wherein our seditious companions, not contented, determined to seek more in their caravel. After they were come to Jamaica they missed another caravel, which saved itself in the harbor. The governor, seeing himself brought unto the place which he desired, obtained so much by fair words that they let him put two little boys, who were taken with him, into a cockboat, and send them into the village to his wife, to inform her that she should make provision of victuals to send to him. But instead

of writing to his wife, he told the boys secretly that with all speed she should send the vessels that were in the havens near that place to rescue him; which she did so cunningly, that on a morning about daybreak, as our mutineers were at the haven's mouth, which reached more than two leagues into the land, there came out of the haven a *malgualire*, which makes sail both forward and backward, and then two great ships, which might be of eighty or a hundred tons apiece, well armed and well manned; at whose coming the mutineers were surprised, not being able to see them when they came, as well because of the darkness of the weather, as also of the length of the haven, considering also they mistrusted nothing. True it is, twenty-five or twenty-six that were in the brigantine discovered these ships when they were near them, who, seeing themselves pressed for leisure to weigh anchor, cut their cable, and the trumpeter, who was in it, warned the rest; whereupon the Spaniards, seeing themselves descried, discharged a volley of cannon-shot against the Frenchmen, whom they followed the distance of three leagues, and recovered their own ships. The brigantine, which escaped, passed in sight of Cape des Aigrettes and Cape St. Anthony, in the island of Cuba, and thence passed within sight of Havana. But Trenchant, their pilot, and the trumpeter, and certain other mariners of this brigantine, who were led away by force in this voyage, desired nothing more than to return to me; wherefore these men agreed that if the wind served them well they would cross the channel of Bahama while the others were asleep, which they accomplished with such success that about the 25th of March, 1565, toward the break of day, they arrived upon the coast of Florida. Their sail was no sooner descried upon our coast, than the king of the place called *Patuca*, dwelling eight leagues distance from our fort, sent an Indian to inform me that he had descried a ship upon the coast. The brigantine, oppressed with famine, came to an anchor at the mouth of the river May. At first we thought they were ships come from France, which occasioned us great joy; but after I had caused her to be better viewed, I was informed that they were the mutineers that had returned. Therefore I sent them word by Captain Vasseur and my sergeant that they should bring up their brigantine before the fortress, which they promised to do. Now they were *not more than two leagues distance from the mouth of the river*, where they cast anchor, *to the fortress*. The next day I sent the same captain and sergeant with thirty soldiers, because I saw they delayed much their coming. Then they brought them. I waited for them at the river's mouth, where I caused my barks to be built, and commanded the sergeant to bring the four chief authors of the

mutiny on shore, whom I had immediately put in fetters. My council, expressly assembled for this purpose, had concluded that only these four should die, to serve as an example to the rest. I commanded that they should be hanged. The soldiers besought me not to hang them, but rather to let them be shot, and then afterward, if I thought proper, their bodies might be hanged upon certain gibbets along the haven's mouth, which I caused presently to be put in execution. So here was the end of my mutinous soldiers. I will now return to the matters from which I digressed, to declare that which fell out after their departure.

My lieutenant, Ottigni, and the sergeant of my band, came to seek me in the ship, where I was prisoner, and carried me thence in a bark as soon as our rebels were departed. After I had come into the fort, I caused all my company that remained to be assembled; and declared unto them the faults, which they who had forsaken us, had committed. Forthwith I ordered new captains to command the troops. They all promised with one accord to obey me, so that, after the departure of my mutinous companions, I was as well obeyed as ever was captain in the place where he commanded.

The next day after my return to the fort, I assembled my men together again, to declare unto them that our fort was not yet finished, and that it was needful that all of us should put thereunto our helping hands, to secure ourselves against the Indians; whereupon having willingly agreed with me, they raised it all with turf from the gate unto the river, which is on the west side. This done, I set my carpenters to work to make another boat of the same size that the others were, which was finished in eighteen days. Afterwards I made another less than the first; the better to discover up the river. Two Indians came unto me one day to salute me in behalf of their king, whose name was *Marracou*, dwelling from our fort about some forty leagues towards the south, and told me that there was one in the house of king Onathaqua, who was called Barbu, or the bearded man; and in the house of king Mathiaca another man whose name they knew not, who was not of their nation; whereupon I conceived these might be some Christians. Wherefore I sent to all the kings, my neighbors, to pray them, if there were any Christian dwelling in their countries, that he might be brought unto me, and that I would make them double recompense. They took so much pains that the two men whereof we have spoken were brought unto me to the fort. They were naked, wearing their hair long unto their hams, and were born Spaniards. After I had questioned them, I had them apparelled, and their hair cut, which they lapped up in a linen cloth, saying they would carry it to their country to show the miseries they had endured

in the Indies. In the hair of one of them was found a little gold hidden to the value of twenty-five crowns, which he gave unto me.

They told me that fifteen years past, three ships, in one of which they were, were cast away over against a place named Calos, upon the flats [shoals] which are called The Martyrs, and that the king of Calos* recovered the greater part of the riches which were in said ships; that the greatest part of the people were saved, and many women, among which number there were three or four married women, remaining there yet, and their children also, with this king Calos.

One of these two declared to me that he had served him a long time as a messenger, and that oftentimes by his command he had visited a king named Onathaqua, distant from Calos four or five days' journey, who always remained his faithful friend; that midway there was an island in a great lake of fresh water, named Sarope, about five leagues in bigness, abounding with many sorts of fruits, whereof they made a wonderful traffic, yet not so great as of a kind of root, whereof they made a kind of meal, so good to make bread of that none can be better; and that for fifteen leagues about all the country is fed therewith.

The Spaniard that made this relation told me that he had been with Onathaqua full eight years, even until the time that he was sent to me. The place of Calos is situated upon a river which is beyond the Cape of Florida, forty or fifty leagues towards the southwest; and the dwelling of Onathaqua is on this side of the cape toward the north, in a place which we call in the chart Canaveral, which is in the twenty-eighth degree.

As soon as our two barks were finished, I sent Capt. Vasseur to discover along the coast lying toward the north, and commanded him to sail unto a river, the king whereof was called Audusta, where those of the year 1562 inhabited. And the better to win him, I sent in the bark a soldier called Aimon, who was one of those who returned home in the first voyage, hoping that Audusta might remember him. But before they were embarked, I commanded them to make inquiry what was become of another called Rouffi, who remained alone in those parts when Nicholas Mason and those of the first voyage embarked to return to France.

They learned, at their arrival there, that a bark passing that way had carried away the same soldier; and afterwards I knew for a

* The Bay of Carlos, corrupted by the English to Charlotte Harbor. The Calos or Callos are anthropophagi and very cruel; they dwell in a bay which bears alike their name and that of Ponce de Leon.—From a note by B. F. FRENCH, quoting Brinton and Charlevoix.

certainly that they were Spaniards who had carried him to Havana. King Audusta sent my bark back full of corn, with a certain quantity of beans, two stags, some skins dressed, and certain pearls of small value, because they were burnt.

After Capt. Vasseur had returned, I caused the two barks to be furnished again with soldiers and marines, and sent them to carry a present to the widow of *Hiocaia*, whose dwelling was distant from our fort about twelve leagues northward. She courteously received our men, and sent me back my bark full of corn and acorns, with certain baskets full of the leaves of cassine wherewith they make their drink.

Now while I thought I was furnished with victuals until the time that our ships might come out of France, for fear of keeping my people idle, I sent my two barks to discover along the river and up toward the head thereof, which went so far up that they were thirty leagues good beyond a place named Mathiaqua, and there they discovered the entrance of a lake, upon the one side whereof no land could be seen. According to the report of the Indians, who had oftentimes climbed on the highest tree in the country to see land, and notwithstanding could not, which was the cause that my men went no further, but returned back, and in coming home went to see the island of Edelano, situated in the midst of the river, as fair a place as any that may be seen through the world, for, in the space of some three leagues (that it may contain in length and breadth), a man may see an exceedingly rich country, and marvellously peopled. At the coming out of the village of Edelano to go unto the river-side, a man may pass through an alley about three hundred paces long and fifty paces broad, on both sides whereof great trees are planted, the boughs whereof are tied together like an arch, and meet together so artificially, that a man would think it were an arbor made on purpose, as fair I say, as any in all Christendom, although it be all natural.

Our men, departing from this place, rowed to Eneguape, then to Chilily, from thence to Patica, and lastly they came unto Coya, where, leaving their boats in a little creek of the river with men to guard them, they went to visit Utina, who received them very courteously, and when they departed from his house he entreated them so earnestly, that six of my men remained with him, of which number was a gentleman named Groutald, who, after he had abode there about two months and taken great pains to discover the country with another whom I had left a great while there for that purpose, came to me at the fort, and told me that he never saw a fairer country. Among other things he reported to me that he had seen a

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place named Hostagua, and that the king thereof knew the passages to the mountains of Apalatei, where the enemy of Hostagua abode. The king sent me a plate of metal that came out of this mountain, out of the foot whereof there runneth a stream of gold or copper (as the savages think), out of which they dig up the sand with a hollow and dry cane until the cane is full. Then they shake it, and find there are many small grains of copper and silver among this sand, which gives them to understand that some rich mine must needs be in the mountain, and because the mountain was not more than five or six days' journey from our fort, lying toward the northwest, I determined as soon as our supply should come from France, to remove our habitation unto some river more toward the north, that I might be nearer thereunto.*

Utina sent, certain days afterward, to pray me to lend him a dozen or fifteen of my arquebusiers to invade his enemy Potanou. I doubted lest the small number which he demanded might incur some danger, wherefore I sent him thirty under the charge of Lieutenant Ottigni, who staid not more than two days with Utina while he prepared victuals for his voyage, which ordinarily and according to the custom of the country are carried by women and young boys and by hermaphrodites. Utina, setting forward with three hundred warriors, caused the thirty arquebusiers to be placed in front, and made them march all day until, the night approaching and having got not more than half way, they were forced to lie all night in the woods near a great lake. As soon as day came, they marched within three leagues of the village of Potanou. There Utina asked the lieutenant for four or five of his men to go and discover the country, who departed, and had not gone far when they perceived, upon a lake distant about three leagues from the village of Potanou, three Indians who fished in a canoe. Now the custom is that when they fish in this lake, they have always a company of watchmen armed with bows and arrows to guard the fishers. Our men, being informed thereof, durst not pass any further for fear of falling into some ambush, wherefore they returned to Utina, who suddenly sent them back with a great company to surprise the fishers before they could give notice to their king of the coming of his enemies, which they could not execute so promptly but that two of them escaped. Utina, fearing lest Potanou, warned by the fishers which were escaped, should put himself in arms to oppose him, asked counsel of his *lawa* (magician) whether it were best to go any further. Then

* These gold mines were probably the same as those of which Soto was informed. Both this account and that of Soto indicate this gold region to be in the north of Georgia, where now are the gold fields of Georgia.

this magician made certain signs hideous and fearful to behold, and used certain words, which being ended, he said unto his king that it was not best to pass any further, and that Potanou accompanied by four thousand Indians staid in such a place for him, to bide him battle.

This relation caused Utina to be unwilling to pass any further, whereupon my lieutenant said unto him, that he would never think well of him, nor of his people, if he would not hazard himself; and that if he would not do it, at least that he would give him a guide to conduct him and his small company to the place where the enemy were. Thereupon Utina was ashamed, and determined to go forward, and he failed not to find his enemy in the very place which the magician had named, where the skirmish began, which lasted three long hours, wherein without doubt Utina had been defeated, unless our arquebusiers had borne the brunt of the battle and slain a great number of the soldiers of Potanou, upon which occasion they were put to flight, whereupon Utina caused his people to return home. After he was come home to his house he sent messengers to eighteen or twenty villages of other kings, his vassals, and summoned them to be present at the feast and dances which he proposed to celebrate because of his victory. In the mean time M. de Ottigni refreshed himself for two days, and then, leaving Utina twelve of his men, set out to come unto me, unto our fort, where he told me how everything had passed.

The Indians are wont to leave their houses and to retire into the woods the space of three months, to wit: January, February, and March, during which time by no means can a man see an Indian; for when they go a hunting they make little cottages in the woods, whereunto they retire, living upon that which they take in hunting. This was the cause that during this time we could get no victuals by their means. The month of May approaching and no succor coming from France, we fell into extreme want of victuals; constrained to eat roots and certain sorrel, with nothing but certain fish, without which assuredly we had perished with famine. This famine held us from the beginning of May to the middle of June, during which time the men became as feeble as might be, and, not being able to work, did nothing but go one after another unto *the cliff of a hill, situated very near unto the fort*, to see if they might discover any French ship. In fine, frustrated of their hope, they assembled and came to beseech me to take some measures that they might return to France. Thereupon it was consulted and resolved by all the company that the bark Breton should be fitted up. But because it was not large enough to receive us all, some thought

good to build the brigantine, which our mutineers had brought back, two decks higher, and that twenty-five men should hazard themselves to pass therein to France; the rest, being better advised, said that it would be far better to build a fair ship upon the keel of the galiot which I had caused to be made. Then I inquired of my shipwrights in what time they could make this ship ready. They assured the whole company that, being furnished with all things necessary, they would make it ready by the 8th of August. I immediately disposed of the time to work upon it, and charged my lieutenant to cause timber necessary for the finishing of both the vessels to be brought. There remained now but to collect victuals to sustain us while our work endured. To this end I embarked, making up the thirtieth, in my great bark to make a voyage of forty or fifty leagues. During our voyage we lived on nothing but a certain round grain, little and black, and the roots of palmettos, which we got by the river-sides; wherein after we had sailed a long time in vain, I was compelled to return unto the fort where the soldiers, weary of working, because of the extreme famine, assembled and declared unto me, it was expedient, for the saving of their lives, to seize one of the kings of the county, assuring themselves that one being taken, his subjects would not suffer our men to want victuals.

Therefore, after I had resolved with them to seize Utina, who was most able to help us to collect victuals, I departed with fifty of my best soldiers in two barks, and arrived in the dominions of Utina, *distant from our fort about forty or fifty leagues*, and going ashore we drew near *his village situated six great leagues from the river*, where we took him prisoner. They, therefore, brought me fish in their little boats, and their meal of mast; they, also, made their drink, which they call cassine, which they sent to Utina and me.

Now, although I held their king prisoner, yet I could not get any great quantity of victuals for the present. In the mean time I was not able, with the same store of victuals which I had, so well to proportion out the work upon the ships which we built to return to France, but that in the end we were constrained to endure extreme famine, which continued among us all the month of May.

We had almost passed through the month of May when two subjects of Utina came to me, who showed me that by this time the corn was ripe in the greatest part of their quarters. Wherefore I caused the two barks to be forthwith made ready, wherein I sailed to *Patuca*, a place distant from his village eight or nine leagues, where I found nobody. His father-in-law and his wife came presently towards our barks, and brought bread, which they gave my soldiers. They held me there three days, and in the mean while did all they could to

take me, which I discovered and stood upon my guard. Wherefore they sent to inform me, that as yet they could not help me to victuals, and that the corn was not yet ripe. Thus I was constrained to return and carry back Utina to the fort, where I had much ado to save him from the rage of my soldiers.

I went to divers places and continued so doing fifteen days, when Utina again besought me to send him to his village, assuring me that his subjects would give me victuals. I undertook this voyage with the two barks furnished as before. At our coming unto the little river we found his subjects there with some quantity of bread, beans, and fish to give my soldiers. But, returning to their former practice, they sought all means to entrap me; but after they saw the little means they had to annoy me they returned to entreaties, and offered that, if I would give them their king with certain of my soldiers, they would conduct them unto the village, and that the subjects seeing him would be more willing to give us victuals; which, however, I would not do until they had first given me two men in pledge, with charge that by the next day they should bring me victuals.

Four days were spent in these conferences. My lieutenant then departed with his troop and came to *the small river whereinto we were accustomed to enter, to approach as near as we could unto the village of Utina, being six leagues from thence.* There he went on shore, and drew towards the great house that was the king's, where the chief men of the country were assembled, who caused very great store of victuals to be brought; in doing whereof they spent three or four days, in which time they gathered men together to attack us in our retreat. And that which much more increased the suspicion of war was that, as my messengers departed from Utina, they heard the voice of one of my men, who during the voyage had always been among the Indians. This poor fellow cried out amain, because two Indians would have carried him into the woods to cut his throat, whereupon he was rescued.

These admonitions being well understood, after mature deliberation, M. de Ottigni resolved to retire the 27th of July, wherefore he set his men in order and delivered to each of them a sack full of corn, and then marched towards his boats. There is at the coming forth of the village a great alley, about three or four hundred paces long, which is covered on both sides with great trees; my lieutenant disposed his men in this alley, and set them in such order as they desired to march; for he was well assured that if there were any ambush it would be at the coming out of the trees. Therefore he caused M. de Arlac, my ensign, to march in advance with eight arquebusiers, to discover if there were any danger; be-

sides he commanded one of my sergeants and corporals to march on the outside of the alley with four arquebusiers, while he conducted the rest of his company through it. Now as he suspected, so it fell out; for Arlac met with two or three hundred Indians at the end of the alley, who saluted us with an infinite number of arrows. Howbeit they were so well sustained in the first assault which my ensign gave them, that those who fell down dead did somewhat abate the choler of those who remained alive. This done my lieutenant hastened to gain ground.

After he had marched about four hundred paces he was charged afresh by a new troop of savages, who were in number about three hundred, which assailed him before, while the rest of the former set upon him behind. This second assault was so valiantly sustained, that I may justly say that M. Ottigni discharged his duty as well as it was possible for a good captain to do; for he had to deal with such kind of men as knew well how to fight. Their manner in this fight was, that when two hundred had shot, they retired and gave place to the rest that were behind. This conflict lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until night. And if Ottigni had not bethought himself to cause his men to break the arrows which they found in the way, and so deprive the Indians of the means to begin again, without all doubt he would have had very much more to do; for by this means, deprived of arrows, they were obliged to retire. My lieutenant having come unto his boats, reviewed his company and found two men missing, who were killed. He moreover found twenty-two of them wounded, whom with much ado he caused to be brought into the boats. All the corn that he found among his company amounted to but two men's burden; for as soon as the conflict began every man was obliged to leave his sack to use his weapons.

Afterward I thought upon new means to obtain victuals, as well for our return to France as for the time until our embarking. I was informed by certain men of our company who usually went out hunting into the woods, that in *the village of Saraurahi, situated on the other side of the river and two leagues distant from the fort*, and in the village of Emola there were fields wherein the corn was very forward, and in great abundance. Wherefore I caused my boats to be made ready, and sent my sergeant thither with certain soldiers, who used such diligence that (soon) we had good store of corn. I sent also to the river which the Indians call *Iracana*, named by Captain Ribault *Somme*, where Captain Vasseur and my sergeant arrived with two boats, and found a great assembly of the lords of the country, who were there assembled to make merry; be-

cause that in this place are the fairest maids and women of the villages. Whereupon, after they had made our men good cheer, the boats were forthwith laden with corn.

Now finding ourselves by this means sufficiently furnished with victuals, we each, in his place, began to work with such diligence as the desire to see our native country might move us, but because two of our carpenters were killed by the Indians, the master carpenter, John de Hais, a very worthy man in his vocation, came and told me that on account of the want of men he was not able to finish the ship in the time he promised me, which declaration made such a mutiny among my soldiers, that he hardly escaped being killed. Howbeit, I appeased them as well as I could, and determined to work no more upon the ship, but to content myself with repairing the brigantine which I had. So we began to beat down all the houses that were without the fort, and caused coal to be made of the timber thereof; likewise the soldiers beat down the palisade which was toward the river-side, nor was I ever able to keep them from doing it. In the mean while there was none of us to whom it was not an extreme grief to leave a country where we had endured such great travails to discover that which we were obliged to forsake through the default of our own countrymen. As each of us was much tormented in mind with these and such like reflections, the third of August as I walked upon a little hill I descried four sails at sea. I immediately sent one of the men that were with me, to inform those of the fort thereof, who were so glad at this news that one would have thought them out of their wits, to see them laugh and leap for joy.

After these ships had anchored, we descried that they sent one of their boats to land, whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed, with diligence, to send to meet them, and to ascertain who they were. In the mean time, fearing lest they were Spaniards, I put my soldiers in order, awaiting the return of Captain Vasseur and my lieutenant, who were gone to meet them. They brought me word that they were Englishmen; and they had in their company a man whose name was Martinez Antinas, of Dieppe, who at that time was in their service, and who on behalf of their general, John Hawkins, came to request me that I would suffer them to take fresh water, whereof they stood in need, signifying unto me that they had been more than fifteen days on the coast to get some. He brought unto me from the general two flagons of wine and bread made of wheat; for seven months I had never tasted wine; nevertheless, it was all divided among the greatest part of my soldiers. This Antinas had guided the Englishmen

unto our coast wherewith he was acquainted ; for in the year 1562 he came thither with me, and therefore the general sent him to me. After I had granted his request, the general the next day caused one of his small ships to enter the river, and came to see me in a great ship-boat, accompanied by gentlemen honorably apparalled, yet unarmed. He sent for great stores of bread and wine to distribute thereof to every one. On my part I made him the best cheer I could, and caused certain sheep and poultry to be killed, which until this time I had carefully preserved, hoping to store the country withal ; for notwithstanding all the necessities and sickness that happened unto me, I would not suffer so much as one chicken to be killed, by which means in a short time I had gathered together about a hundred pullets. Near three days passed while the English general remained with me, during which time the Indians came in to me from all parts, and asked me whether he were my brother. I told them he was, and signified to them that he had come to see me, and aid me with so great store of victuals that thenceforth I should have no need to take anything of them.

The general immediately understood the desire and urgent occasion I had to return to France, whereupon he offered to transport me and all my company home, whereunto, notwithstanding I would not agree, being in doubt upon what occasion he made so large an offer, for I knew not how the case stood between the French and the English, and although he promised me on his faith to put me on land in France before he would touch England, yet I stood in doubt, lest he would attempt something in Florida in the name of his queen, wherefore I flatly refused his offer ; whereupon there arose a great mutiny among my soldiers, who said that I sought to destroy them all, and that the brigantine, whereof I spoke before, was not sufficient to transport them. The bruit and mutiny increased more and more, for after that the general had returned to his ships, he told certain gentlemen and soldiers who went to see him, partly to make good cheer with him, that he greatly doubted that we should be able to pass safely in those vessels which he had, and that in case we should undertake the same, we should, no doubt, be in great jeopardy ; notwithstanding, if I were so contented, he would transport part of my men in his ships, and that he would leave me a small ship to transport the rest.* The soldiers were no sooner come home but they made known the offer to their companions, who

* Laudonniere had his brigantine nearly ready, but this was not sufficient to transport them all, though, with the vessel to be left by the admiral, it might be sufficient to transport those that did not leave on the English fleet.

agreed that in case I would not accept the same, they would embark with him, and forsake me. They therefore came to my chamber and signified their intention, whereunto I promised to answer within an hour after. Meanwhile I assembled the principal members of my company, who, after I had disclosed the business to them, answered with one voice that I ought not to refuse this offer. After sundry debates I gave my advice that we ought to deliver him the price of the ship which he was to leave us, and that for my part I was content to give him the silver which I had gathered in the country. Whereupon it was determined that I should keep the silver for fear lest the queen of England (Elizabeth), seeing the same, should the rather be encouraged to set footing there, as before she had desired, and that seeing we were resolved to depart, it was far better to give him our artillery. This point being thus concluded, I went to the English general, accompanied by my lieutenant, Capt. Verdier, Trenchant the pilot, and my sergeant, all men of experience in such affairs, and knowing sufficiently how to make such a bargain. We therefore took a view of the ship which the general would sell, who was content to abide by my own men's judgment, who esteemed it worth seven hundred crowns, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I delivered him in earnest of the sum, two bastards, two minions, one thousand of iron, and one thousand of powder. This bargain thus made, he considered the need wherein we were, having for all our sustenance but corn and water, and being moved with pity, he offered to relieve me with twenty barrels of meal, six pipes of beans, one hogshead of salt, and a hundred of wax to make candles. Moreover, forasmuch as he saw my soldiers go barefoot, he offered me, besides fifty pairs of shoes which I accepted, and agreed on the price with him, and gave a bill of mine hand for the same, for which until this present I am indebted to him. He did more than this; for particularly, he bestowed upon myself a great jar of oil, a jar of vinegar, a barrel of olives, and a great quantity of rice, and a barrel of white biscuit; besides he gave divers presents to the principal officers of my company according to their qualities, so that I may say we received as many courtesies of the general as it was possible to receive of any man living, wherein doubtless he hath won the reputation of a good and charitable man, deserving to be esteemed as much of us all as if he had saved all our lives. Immediately after his departure, I spared no pains to hasten my men to make biscuits of the flour which he had left me, and to hoop my casks to take in water needful for our voyage. The 15th of August, 1565, the biscuit, the greatest part of the water, and all the soldiers' stuff were brought

aboard, so that from that day forward we did nothing but stay for a good wind to drive us unto France.

On the 28th of August the tide and wind served well to start, at which time Captain Vasseur, who commanded one of the ships, and Captain Verdier, who was chief of the other, now ready to go forth, began to descry certain sails at sea, whereof they informed me with diligence; whereupon I commanded a boat to be armed, to go forth in good order, to descry and learn what they were. I sent also to the *sentinels whom I caused to be kept on a small knoll*, to cause certain men to climb up to the top of the highest trees, the better to discover them. They descried the great boat of the ships, which as yet they could not perfectly discern, which, as far as they could judge, seemed to chase my boat, which by this time had passed the bar of the river, so that we could not possibly judge whether they were enemies who would have carried her away with them; for it was too great a view to judge the truth thereof. My boat come unto its ship about two o'clock in the afternoon, and sent me no news all that day. The next morning about eight or nine o'clock I saw seven boats, among which my own was one, full of soldiers, enter the river, every man having his arquebuse in his hand, and a morion on his head, who moved in order of battle *along the cliffs where my sentinels were*, to whom they would make no kind of answer notwithstanding all the demands that were made them, insomuch that one of my soldiers was constrained to shoot at them, without, however, doing them any hurt by reason of the distance. The report thereof being made to me, I placed each of my men in his quarter, with full deliberation to defend ourselves if they had been enemies, likewise I caused two small field-pieces which I had left me to be trimmed in such sort that, if approaching the fort, they had not cried out that it was Captain Ribault, I had not failed to discharge the same upon them.

Afterward I understood that the cause why they entered in this manner proceeded from the false reports that had been made to my lord admiral by those who had returned to France in the first ships; for they had put it into his head that I had played the lord and the king, and that I would hardly suffer that any other should enter there to govern.

Being therefore informed that it was Captain Ribault, I went forth to meet him. I caused him to be welcomed with the artillery and musketry, whereunto he answered with his. Afterward, having come ashore, I took him to my lodging, rejoicing not a little, because in his company I knew a good number of my friends, whom I entertained in the best manner that I was able. Howbeit I mar-

velled not a little when they began to utter unto me: "My captain, we praise God that we have found you alive, and chiefly because we know that the reports which have been made of you are false." These speeches moved me so that I would needs know more; wherefore having accosted Captain Ribault, and both of us going aside out of the fort, he signified to me the charge which he had, praying me not to return to France, but stay with him, myself and my company. Whereupon I replied I could not nor ought to accept his offer; that I could not receive a greater comfort than the news which he brought me to return to France. I prayed him very heartily to deliver me the letters which my lord admiral* had written to me, which he performed. The contents of these letters were these:—

"Captain Laudonnière, because some of those who have returned from Florida speak indifferently of the country, the king desireth your presence, to the end that according to your trial he may resolve to bestow great cost thereon or wholly to leave it; and therefore I send Captain John Ribault to be governor there, to whom you shall deliver whatsoever you have in charge, and inform him of all things you have discovered."

And in a postscript of the letter was this: "Think not that whereas I send for you it is for any evil opinion or mistrust that I have of you, but that it is for your good and for your credit; and assure yourself that during my life you shall find me your good master."

Now, after I had a long discourse with Captain Ribault, Captain La Grange accosted me, and told me of an infinite number of false reports which had been made of me to my great hindrance.

The next day the Indians came in from all parts to know what people these were; to whom I signified that this was he who in the year 1562 arrived in this country and erected *the pillar which stood at the entry of the river*. Some of them knew him; for in truth he was easy to be known by reason of the great beard which he wore. He received many presents of those who were of the villages near adjoining, among whom there were some whom he had not yet forgotten. I advised them that he was sent thither by the king of France to remain in my place, and that I was sent for.

About the time of these conferences, comings, and goings, of the kings of the country, being weakened by my former travel, and fallen into melancholy upon the false reports that had been made of me, I fell into a great continual fever, which held me eight or nine

* Gaspard de Coligny, of Chastillon, Admiral of France, assassinated on the day of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572.

days, during which time Capt. Ribault caused his victuals to be brought on shore, and stowed the most part thereof in the house which my lieutenant had built about two hundred paces without the fort; which he did that they might be the better defended from the weather, and likewise that the flour might be nearer the bake-house, which I had built in that place the better to avoid the danger of fire.

After Capt. Ribault had brought up three of his small ships into the river, which was the 4th of September (1565), six great Spanish ships arrived in the road, where four of our great ships remained, which cast anchor, assuring our men of good amity. They asked how the chief captains of the enterprise did, and called them all by their names and surnames. It could not be otherwise than that these men, before they left Spain, must have been informed of the expedition, and of those who were to execute the same. About the break of day they began to move toward our men; but our men, who trusted them never a bit, had hoisted their sails by night, cut their cables, left their anchors, and set sail. The Spaniards seeing themselves discovered sent them certain volleys of their great ordnance, made sail after them, and chased them all day long, but our men got away from them toward the sea. And the Spaniards, seeing they could not reach them, because the French ships were better sailers than theirs, and also because they would not leave the coast, turned back and went on shore in the river *Seloy*, which we call *the river of Dolphins*,* *eight or ten leagues distant from the place where we were*. Our men, therefore, finding themselves better of sail than they were, followed them to see what they did, which, after they had done, they returned to the river May, where Capt. Ribault, having descried them, embarked himself in a great boat to learn what news they had. Being at the entrance of the river he met with the boat of Capt. Consel's ship, wherein was a good number of men, who related to him all the Spaniard's doings; and how the great ship, the *Trinity*, had kept the sea, and that she had not returned with them. They told him, moreover, that they had seen three Spanish ships enter into the river of Dolphins, and the other three remained in the road; further, that they had put their soldiers, victuals, and munitions on land.

After he learned this news, he returned to the fortress, and came to my room, where I was sick, and there in the presence of Captains La Grange, St. Marie, Ottigni, Visty, Yonouille, and other gentlemen, he propounded to me that it was necessary for the king's service to embark himself with all his force, and with the three ships that were in the road to seek the Spanish fleet; whereupon he asked

* The harbor of St. Augustine.

our advice. I first replied, and among other things informing him of the perilous flaws of wind that rise on this coast; and that if it chanced that he were driven from the shore, it would be very hard for him to recover it again, and that in the mean while they who should stay in the fort would be in fear and danger. The Captains St. Marie and La Grange declared unto him further, that they thought it not good to put any such enterprise into execution; that it was far better to keep the land, and do their best endeavors to fortify themselves;* and that, after the *Trinity* (which was the principal ship) returned, there would be much more likelihood to undertake this voyage. Notwithstanding, Capt. Ribault resolved to undertake it, and much more so when he understood from King Enola, one of our neighbors who arrived during this discussion, that the Spaniards in great numbers had gone on shore and taken possession of the houses of *Seloy*, in the most of which they had placed their negroes, which they had brought to labor, and also lodged themselves, and had cast divers trenches about them. Thus doubting not that the Spaniards would encamp there to molest us, and in the end to drive us out of the country, he caused a proclamation to be made, that all the soldiers that were under his charge should immediately, with their weapons, embark, and that his two ensigns should go, which was put in execution.

He came into my chamber and prayed me to lend him my lieutenant, ensign, and sergeant, and to let all the good soldiers that I had go with him, which I denied him; because, myself being sick, there was no man to stay in the fort. Thereupon he answered that I need not doubt at all, that he would return the next morrow; that in the mean while M. De Lys should remain behind to see to all things. Then I showed to him that he was chief in this country, and that I, for my part, had no further authority; that, therefore, he should take good counsel what he did, lest some inconvenience might ensue. Then he told me he could do no less than continue the enterprise; and that in the letter which he had received from my lord admiral there was a postscript, which he showed me, written in these words:—

“Captain John Ribault, as I was inclosing this letter, I received a certain advice that Don Pedro Melendez departeth from Spain to go to the coast of New France. See you that you suffer him not

* It must be remembered that the fort had been dismantled, and a part of it demolished when Laudonniere prepared to leave, and purchased a vessel of Admiral Hawkins for that purpose. Laudonniere is particular in giving the names of the members of the council, and his opinion on the subject of the enterprise. So it was no after-thought, based on known results, but the judgment of a brave, discreet, and able officer.

to encroach upon you, no more than he would that you should encroach upon him."

You see, said he, the charge that I have; and I leave it unto yourself to judge if I could do any less in this case, considering the certain information that we have that they are already on land and will invade us.

This silenced me. Thus, therefore, confirmed, or rather obstinate in his enterprise, and having regard rather unto his particular opinion than unto the counsel which I had given him, and the inconveniences of the time whereof I had forewarned him, he embarked the 8th of September [1565], and took my ensign and thirty-eight of my men away with him. I refer to those who know what wars mean, if, when an ensign marcheth, any soldier that hath any courage in him will stay behind to forsake his ensign. Thus no men of any command remained behind with me, for each one followed him as chief, in whose name straight after his arrival all cries and proclamations were made. Captain La Grange, who liked not this enterprise, was with me unto the 10th of the month, and would not have gone abroad if it had not been for the instant requests of Captain Ribault, who staid two days in the road awaiting until La Grange had come to him, when they sailed together, and from that time forward I never saw them any more.

The very day that he departed, which was the 10th of September, there arose so great a tempest, accompanied with such storms, that the Indians themselves assured me it was the worst weather that ever was seen on that coast; wherefore, two or three days after, fearing lest our ships might be in some distress, I sent for De Lys, to assemble the rest of our people, to declare unto them what need we had to fortify ourselves, which was done accordingly; and then I gave them to understand the necessities and inconveniences whereinto we were like to fall, as well by the absence of our ships, as by the nearness of the Spaniards, from whom we could look for nothing less than an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing that they had landed and fortified themselves so near to us; and if any misfortune had befallen our men who were at sea, we ought to make a full account with ourselves, that we were to endure many miseries, being in so small number, and so many ways afflicted as we were.

We began therefore to fortify ourselves, and to repair that which was broken down, principally toward the river-side, where I caused sixty feet of trees to be planted, to repair the palisade with planks, which I caused to be taken off the ship which I had built. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all our diligence and labor, we were never able fully to repair it, because of the storms, which did so greatly

annoy us that we could not finish our inclosure. Perceiving ourselves in such extremity I took muster of the men which Captain Ribault had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapons; I found nine or ten of them, whereof not more than two or three had ever drawn sword out of scabbard, as I think. Of the nine, there were four young striplings who served Captain Ribault and kept his dogs, the fifth was a cook; among those that were without the fort, and which were of the aforesaid company of Captain Ribault, there were a carpenter of threescore years old, one beer brewer, one old crossbow-maker, two shoemakers, and four or five men that had their wives, a player on the virginals, four servants, and about eighty-five or eighty-six in all, including lackeys, women, and children.

Those that were left me of my own company were about sixteen or seventeen that could bear arms, and all of them poor and lean; the rest were sick and maimed in the conflict which my lieutenant had with Utina. This view being thus taken we set our sentinels, whereof we made two watches, that the soldiers might have one night free. Then we bethought ourselves of those who might be most sufficient, among whom we chose two, St. Cler and De la Vigne, to whom we delivered candles and lanterns, to go round about the fort to view the watch, because of the foul and foggy weather. I delivered them also a sand-glass, that the sentinels might not be troubled more one than another. In the mean while I ceased not, for all the foul weather nor my sickness, to oversee the guard-house. The night between the 19th and 20th of September, La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he used all energy, although it rained without ceasing. When, therefore, the day had come, and he saw that it still rained worse than it did before, he pitied the sentinels so moiled and wet, and thinking that the Spaniards would not come in such a strange time, he let them depart, and, to say the truth, he went himself unto his lodging. In the mean while, one who had something to do without the fort, and my trumpeter, who went up unto the rampart, perceived a troop of Spaniards that came down from a little knoll, whereupon immediately they began to cry alarm, which as soon as ever I understood, forthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in hand, and got into the middle of the court, where I began to cry unto my soldiers. Some of them, who were of the forward sort, went toward the breach which was on the south side, and where the munitions of the artillery lay, where they were repulsed and slain. By the selfsame place two ensigns entered, which were immediately planted on the walls. Two other ensigns also entered on the other side towards the west where

there was another breach, and those who lodged in this quarter and who showed themselves were likewise defeated. As I went to succor those who were defending the breach on the southwest side, I encountered, by chance, a great company of Spaniards who had already repulsed our men, and had now entered, who drove me back into the court of the fort. Being there, I espied with them one Francis Jean, who was one of the mariners who stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spaniards thither. As soon as he saw me, he said: "That is the Captain." This troop was led by a captain whose name, as I think, was Don Pedro Melendes. These made some pushes at me with their pikes, which lighted on my target. But, perceiving that I could not withstand so great a company, and that the court was already won and their ensigns planted on the ramparts, and that I had not a man about me, except one whose name was Bartholomew, I entered into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me, and had it not been for a tent that was set up, I had been taken; but the Spaniards who followed me were occupied in cutting off the cords of the tent; and in the mean while I saved myself by the breach which was on the west side, near to my lieutenant's lodging and the gateway, into the woods, where I found some of my men who had escaped, of which number there were three or four who were badly hurt. Then I spake unto them thus: "Sirs, we must needs take the pains to get over the marshes into the ships, which are at the mouth of the river."

Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods, the others followed me through the cane into the water, where not being able to go further on account of my sickness, I sent two of my men that were with me, who could swim well, unto the ships, to inform them of that which had happened, and to send them word to come and help me. They were not able that day to get to the ships, therefore I was constrained to stand in the water up to my shoulders all that night along with one of my men who would never forsake me. The next morning being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betook me to my prayers with the soldier that was with me, whose name was John du Chemin, for I felt myself so feeble that I was afraid I should die suddenly; and in truth if he had not embraced me in both his arms, and so held me up, it had not been possible to save me.

After we had made an end of our prayers, I heard a voice which in my judgment was that of one of those whom I had sent, who were over against the ships and called for the ship's boat, which was so in need; and because those on the ships had been informed of the taking of the fort, by one John de Hais, master carpenter,

who fled to them in a shallop, they had set sail to run along the coast to see if they might save any. They went straight to the place where the two men were whom I had sent and who called them. As soon as they had received them and understood where I was, they came and found me in a pitiful condition. Five or six of them took me and carried me into the shallop; some of the mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them to me, and would have carried me immediately to their ships to give me a little *aqua vitæ*. Howbeit I would not go thither until I had first gone along the reeds to seek out the poor souls that were scattered abroad, where we gathered up eighteen or twenty of them. The last that I took in was the nephew of the treasurer, Le Beau. After we all had come to the ships, I comforted them as well as I could and sent back the boat again with speed to see if they could yet find any more.

Upon her return the mariners told me how that Captain James Ribault,* who was in his ship about two musket-shots from the fort, had parlied with the Spaniards, and that Francis Jean came unto his ship where he staid a long time, whereat they greatly marvelled, considering that he (Jean) was the cause of this enterprise, how he should let him escape. After I had come into the ship called the Greyhound, Captains Ribault and Valust came to see me, and there we concluded to return to France.

Now, forasmuch as I found the ship unfurnished of captain, pilot, master, and master's mate, I gave advice to choose out one of the most able men among all the mariners (for captain), and that by their own votes. I took also five men out of another small ship which we had sunk because it needed ballast, and could not be saved. Thus I increased the furniture of the ship wherein I myself was embarked, and made one who had been master's mate in the said small ship master of mine. And because I lacked a pilot I prayed James Ribault that he would give me one of the four men that he had in his ship, which I should name to him, to serve me for a pilot. He promised to do so, but did not. I was constrained to leave behind me the ship which I had bought of the English captain, because I needed men to bring her away; for Captain James Ribault had taken away her furniture; I took away her ordnance only, which was all dismounted, whereof I gave nine pieces to James Ribault to take to France; the other five I put into my ship.

The 25th of September (1565), we set sail to return to France,

* Captain Jean Ribault was the commander-in-chief. James may have been his brother.

and Captain James Ribault and I kept company all that day and the next until three or four o'clock in the afternoon, but because his ship was better at bowline than mine, he kept to the wind, and left us the same day. The 28th of October, in the morning at daybreak, we descried the Island of Flores, one of the Azores. About the 10th or 11th of November, after we had sailed a long time, and supposing we were not very far from land, I caused my men to sound, when they found about seventy-five fathoms of water. We then continued on our way; but, as we had borne too much to the northeast, we entered into St. George's Channel. We sailed all the night supposing we were in the narrow sea between England and France, and by the next day to reach Dieppe, but, about two or three o'clock after midnight, as I walked upon deck, I descried land round about me, whereat we were astonished. I immediately caused them to strike sail and to sound; we found we had not under us more than eight fathoms of water, whereupon I commanded them to stay till daybreak, which having come, and seeing my mariners told me that they knew not this land, I commanded them to approach it. Being near thereunto I cast anchor and sent the boat ashore to learn in what country we were. Word was brought that we were in Wales. I went immediately on land. In the mean while I caused the ship to be brought into the bay of Swansea, where I found a merchant of St. Malo, who lent me money wherewith I made some apparel for myself, and part for my company that was with me. I bought two *wren* (oxen?) and salted them, and a tun of beer, which I delivered unto him who had charge of the ship, praying him to carry it to France, which he promised to do. For my own part I proposed, with my men to pass by land, and after I had taken leave of my mariners I departed from Swansea, and came that night with my company to a place called Morgan, where the lord of the place, understanding who I was, detained me with him for the space of six or seven days, and at my departure moved with pity to see me go on foot, especially being so weak as I was, he gave me a little hackney.

Thus I passed on my journey, first to Bristol and then to London; from thence I passed to Calais, afterwards to Paris.

For my own part, I will not accuse nor excuse any; it sufficeth me to have followed the truth of the history whereof many who were there present are able to bear witness. I will plainly say one thing: that the long delay that Captain John Ribault used in his embarking, and the fifteen days that he spent in roving along the coast of Florida before he came to our fort, were the cause of the loss we sustained; for he discovered the coast on the 14th of Au-

gust, and spent the time in going from river to river, which had been sufficient for him to have discharged his ships in, and for me to have embarked to return to France. I note well, that all that he did was upon a good intent; yet, in my opinion, he should have had more regard unto his charge than to the devices of his own brain, which sometimes he printed in his head so deeply that it was very hard to put them out, which also turned to his utter undoing; for he was no sooner departed from us but a tempest took him, which in fine wrecked him upon the coast, where all his ships were cast away, and he, with much ado, escaped drowning to fall into their hands, who cruelly massacred him and all his company.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VOYAGE OF PEDRO MENENDEZ DE AVILES.

1565.

ON Wednesday, July 5th, 1565, we reached the Canary Islands, which are two hundred and fifty leagues from Cadiz, where we stopped three days to lay in wood and water. The following Sunday, July the 8th, our fleet, consisting of eight ships, left the Canary Islands, and proceeded to the island of Dominica. Unfortunately the very evening we set sail our first galley and a patache* became separated from us. For two days we coasted up and down, hoping to rejoin them, but without success; and our admiral then gave orders for us to sail directly to Dominica, where we were to await them in case they had not arrived before us. During this voyage a shallop sprung a leak; the captain and a soldier had recourse to their swords to oblige the pilot to return to port, being fearful lest they should all be drowned. The pilot declared himself unable to do this, on account of the rough weather; so they decided to make for the cape on the southwest, in order to reach the land as soon as possible. Thus it happened that we were obliged to leave them. The five vessels which remained of our fleet continued their voyage the rest of the way. Up to Friday, the 20th, we had very fine weather; but by ten o'clock that day a violent wind arose, which by two in the afternoon had become the most frightful hurricane one can imagine. Our suspense during Saturday was no less than that of the preceding night; light itself was a consolation, but when night found us again in the same dangerous situation, we thought we must surely perish. Sunday morning came, and your lordship† can fancy how we rejoiced to see daylight once more, although the storm continued unabated all day and until noon of the following Monday.

When the tempest arose, our five vessels were sailing in company; but during the night the hurricane was so violent that they

* A tender or dispatch boat.

† In the account from which this was taken, it does not appear to whom it was addressed.

were driven in different directions, and we lost sight of one another for three days. Finally one morning we saw a ship approaching, which we recognized as one of our fleet.

We were all so tired, and our minds so confused, by what we had suffered, that the pilots lost all calculations of reckoning as to what was our proper course; but they directed the men to steer west-southwest, and we came in sight of the island of Desirade.

On Sunday, August 5th, just as we were approaching the island, we were assailed by a heavy swell and a westerly gale, which drove us back to the island of Dominica, where we entered the harbor about nine o'clock in the evening. On Tuesday morning the admiral fitted out the boat in which the sailors were to go in search of wood and water, and told me if I wished I might accompany them. I had about a hundred Peru jars filled up with fresh water, and a large quantity of wood gathered, and about four o'clock we returned to the ship. Just then so fresh a breeze sprung up that at daylight on Wednesday we found ourselves at the island of Montserrat, thirty-five leagues from there. Further on are a great many other islands, which bear the names of different saints, Guadeloupe, and the Virgin Islands. This group appears to be about two hundred leagues in circumference, but the ground is very stony and uninhabitable. It is said that from the Canary Islands to Dominica there are about eight hundred leagues sailing.

On Thursday, August 9th, about noon, we came in sight of Porto Rico, but at nightfall the pilot, being fearful lest we should run aground on the sand-banks which surround the island and its harbor, ordered all the sails to be brailed up. Next morning, however, the breeze having stiffened a little, we again set sail, and entered the port on Friday about three in the afternoon. On entering the port we discovered our first galley anchored there, with the San Pelayo which had become separated from us in the storm.

On Wednesday, the 15th, about ten o'clock, more than thirty men deserted, and concealed themselves around the harbor. Among them were three of the seven priests who accompanied the expedition. It was impossible to find them dead or alive, which distressed the general very much.

In the port of St. Johns, of Porto Rico, the general purchased twenty-four horses, and a ship to transport fifty men whom the king had commanded to be taken from this island. The very day we set sail, this ship sprung a leak, and the danger of foundering was so imminent that, in order to save the men, it became necessary to lighten her by throwing overboard a large quantity of merchandise. Seeing that this produced but little effect, it became necessary also

to throw over the horses. Twenty-three were either lost in this way or died during the voyage, so that but one arrived in Florida. The same day the general sent a large ship to St. Domingo with orders to take on board the four hundred men who had been assembled there and have them join us in all haste.

Before our fleet left Spain, three caravels had been sent out by his majesty's directions, as dispatch boats, each at a different time, to transmit to St. Domingo, and to Havana, his majesty's orders in regard to what should be done on our arrival at these places. The second of these caravels took with her a great many sealed dispatches concerning arrangements to be made, and a great many valuable objects. When she arrived off Mona Island, which forms already a part St. Domingo, she was attacked and compelled to surrender to a French vessel, one of those which were in our neighborhood.* The enemy boarded her, possessed themselves of all her papers, read the plans for the conquest of Florida, took off all other things they saw fit to take, and then told the ship's company to go as fast as they could to St. Domingo to notify their countrymen, but that they hoped to be there as soon as the caravel, and with this they left them.

On Friday, August 17th, about four in the afternoon, we arrived in sight of St. Domingo. Our general instantly ordered the admiral's ship to proceed northward and pass through a very dangerous channel, which no navigator had as yet explored.†

Your lordship will remember that when the fleet was in preparation, in Spain, I went to see the captain-general at the harbor of St. Mary, and, as I told you, he showed me a letter from his royal highness Philip II., signed with his name. In this letter his majesty told him that on May 20th some ships had left France, carrying seven hundred men and two hundred women. As I have stated, we learned at St. Johns, of Porto Rico, that our dispatch boat had been captured. This fact joined to the reflection that our fleet was much injured by the storm, and that of the ten vessels which left Cadiz, only four remained, besides the one bought at the last port to transport the horses and troops,—all this made it evident to our captain-general, that the French would likely be waiting for him near the harbors a little further on; that is, off Monte Christi,

* Captured by the vessel that the mutineers took from Laudonniere. It is probable they made no use of the dispatches, and that they never communicated them to Laudonniere when they returned to Fort Caroline.

† The pilot Aliminos, with Ponce de Leon, was the first that ever passed through this Bahama Channel.

Havana, and the Cape of Las Canas,* which lie on the same side, and precisely in our route to Florida. This was all the more to be expected, since the French had come in possession of our plan to unite our forces at Havana. Not wishing to encounter the French, the general decided to take a northerly course and pursue a new route through the Bahama Channel, leaving the enemy to the windward.

On Sunday the 20th of August, we saw two islands, called the Bahama Islands. The shoals that lie between them are so extensive that the billows are felt far out at sea. The ship purchased at Porto Rico got aground that day in two and a half fathoms of water, but she soon got off. Our galley, one of the best ships afloat, found herself all day in the same position, when suddenly her keel struck three times violently against the bottom. The sailors gave themselves up for lost, and the water commenced to pour into her hold. *But as we had a mission to fulfil for Jesus Christ and his blessed mother*, two heavy waves which struck her abaft set her afloat again, and soon after we found her in deep water, and at midnight we entered the Bahama Channel.

On Monday, August 27, [1565] while we were near the entrance of the Bahama Channel, God showed us a *miracle from heaven*. About nine o'clock in the evening a comet† appeared, which showed itself directly above us, a little eastward, giving so much light that it might have been taken for the sun. It went toward the west, that is, towards Florida, and its brightness lasted long enough to repeat two *credos*. According to the sailors, this was a good omen.

On Tuesday the 28th we had a calm more dead than anything we had yet experienced while at sea. *One thing happened which I regard as miraculous*. While we were becalmed none of the pilots knew where we were; some pretending we were as much as a hundred leagues from Florida. However, thanks to God, and the prayers of the Blessed Virgin, we soon had the pleasure of seeing land. We steered in that direction, anchored near a point of land, and found ourselves actually in Florida, and not very far distant from the enemy. That very evening our general assembled the pilots on the galley to discuss what was to be done.

Next day, the 29th (August), at daylight the fleet weighed an-

* Ribault at this time was examining the harbors on the coast of South Carolina and Georgia, while Laudonniere was preparing to leave Fort Caroline for France.

† It was a meteor, and a better token, for this good priest, for being special; a comet would have been a *good* or a *bad* omen (just as people might take it), in too many places.

chor, and coasted along in search of the enemy, or a harbor favorable for embarking. On Monday, August 30th, we were assailed by bad weather, and obliged to anchor. For four days contrary winds continued to blow, or else it was so calm we could not move; during all of which time we remained at anchor about a league and a half from shore. The captain-general, seeing that neither the pilot nor the two Frenchmen we had taken prisoners, and who belonged to the French colony,* could give us any information in regard to the port, and the coast being so flat that we could recognize only a few objects, decided to send ashore fifty arquebusiers with some captains. They built fires in order to excite the curiosity of the natives, and attract them, but none came to see us. Our people then decided to penetrate the interior, and after having gone four leagues they arrived at a village of Indians, who kindly received them. The Frenchmen whom we had with us told us they had been in communication with them for a long time. As soon as the general had learned the news, he resolved to disembark on Saturday morning, September 1st, and go among these Indians to get some information as to where the French were. One of the Frenchmen of whom I have spoken understood their language. They told us we had left the French about five leagues behind us—precisely at the same spot to which God had conducted us when we arrived in sight of land; but could not then find them because we had not sent any one ashore.

On Tuesday, the 4th, the fleet left the place of which I have been speaking, and took a northerly course, keeping all the time close to the coast. On Wednesday, the 5th, two hours before sunset, we saw four French ships at the mouth of a river. When we were two leagues from them, the first galley (Spanish) joined the rest of the fleet, which was composed of four other vessels. The general concerted a plan with the captains and pilots, and ordered the flagship, the *San Pelayo*, and a shallop to attack the French flagship, the *Trinity*, while the first galley and another shallop would attack the French galley, both of which vessels were very large and powerful. All the ships of our fleet put themselves in good position. They followed the galley, but our general did not fire nor seek to make any attack on the enemy. He went straight to the French galley and cast anchor about eight paces from her. The other vessels went to the windward, and very near the enemy. During the manœuvres,

* Where the two Frenchmen, who belonged to the colony, were captured, this account does not state, but they were some of the deserters from Fort Caroline, who had stolen the boats.

which lasted until about two hours after sunset, not a word was said on either side. Never in my life have I known such stillness. Our general inquired of the French galley, which was the vessel nearest to him, "Whence does this fleet come?" They answered, "From France." "What are you doing here?" asked the general. "This is the territory of King Philip II. I order you to leave directly; for I neither know who you are nor what you want here." The French commander then replied, "I am bringing soldiers and supplies to the fort of the King of France." He then asked the name of the general of our fleet, and was told "Pedro Menendez de Aviles, Captain-General of the King of Spain, who have come to hang all Lutherans I find here." Our general then asked him the name of his commander, and he replied, "Lord Gasto." While this was going on, a longboat was sent from the galley to the flagship. The person charged with this errand managed to do it so secretly that we could not hear what was said; but we understood the reply of the French to be, "I am the admiral;"* which made us think he wished to surrender, as they were in such small force. Scarcely had the French made this reply, when they slipped their cables, spread their sails, and passed through our midst.† Our admiral, seeing this, followed the French commander, and called upon him to lower his sails in the name of King Philip; to which he received an impertinent answer. Immediately our general ordered to be discharged a small culverin, the ball from which struck the vessel amidship, and I thought she was going to founder. We gave chase, and some time after he again called on them to lower their sails. "I would sooner die first than surrender," replied the French commander.‡ The order was given to fire a second shot, which carried off five or six men; but as *these miserable devils* are very good sailors, they manœuvred so well that we could not take one of them; and notwithstanding all the guns we fired at them we did not sink one of their ships. We only got possession of one of their large boats, which was of great service to us afterwards. During the whole night our flagship and the galley chased the French flagship and galley.

Wednesday morning, September 5th, at sunrise, so great a storm arose that we feared we should be shipwrecked, and as our vessels

* This account does not conform with that of Laudonniere, nor appear consistent with the conduct and preparation of the Spanish general.

† This took place at dawn: the French had prepared during the night to do this.

‡ Both Laudonniere and Ribault, who had just succeeded him, were, at this time, in Fort Caroline, so it was some brave French officer who made this reply, if it was made at all.

were small we did not dare to remain on the open sea, so we regained the shore; that is three of our vessels anchored about a league and a half from it. We had double moorings, but the wind was so strong that one of them broke loose. As our galley was a large vessel, and busy following up the enemy, she could not come to our assistance; so we felt ourselves in danger of being attacked. The same evening about sunset, we perceived a sail afar off, which we supposed was one of our galleys; but as the ship approached we discovered it was the French flagship which we had fired at the night before. At first we thought she was going to attack us, but she anchored between us and the shore, about a league from us. That night the pilots of our other ships came on board to consult with the admiral as to what was to be done. The next morning, fully persuaded that the storm had made a wreck of our galley, or at least that she had been driven a hundred leagues out to sea, we decided that so soon as daylight came we would weigh anchor and withdraw in good order to a river which was below the French colony, and there disembark and construct a fort, which we would defend until assistance came to us.

On Thursday, just as day appeared, we sailed toward the vessel at anchor, and passed very close to her, when we saw another vessel appear in the open sea. We perceived it was the French galley of which we had been in pursuit. Finding ourselves between these two vessels, we decided to direct ourselves toward the galley, for the sake of deceiving them, and preventing them from attacking us. This bold manner having succeeded, we sought the river *Seloy* (river of Dolphins) and port, where we had the good fortune to find our galley and another vessel. Two companies of infantry now disembarked; they were well received by the Indians, who gave them a large house belonging to a chief, and situated near the shore of the river. Immediately, Captain Patino and Captain San Vincente, both men of talent and energy, ordered an entrenchment to be built around this house, with a slope of earth and fascines, these being the only means of defence possible in that country where stones are nowhere to be found.

Up to to-day we have disembarked twenty-four pieces of bronze guns, of different calibres, of which the least weighed fifteen hundred weight. Our fort is at a distance of about fifteen leagues from that of the enemy. When the general disembarked he was quite surprised at what had been done.

On Saturday, the 8th, the general landed with many banners spread, to the sound of trumpets and salutes of artillery. The same day the general took formal possession of the country, and all the

captains took the oath of allegiance to him as their general and governor of the country. When this ceremony was ended he offered to do everything in his power for them, especially to Captain Patino for his talents and assiduity in constructing a fort in which to defend ourselves until the arrival of help from St. Domingo and Havana.

The day after our general came unto the fort, he was very much annoyed that his galley and another vessel were anchored about a league out at sea, and were not able to enter the harbor on account of the sand-banks. He felt uneasy and feared the French would capture or ill-treat them. As soon as this idea took possession of him, he left to go on board another galley. He gave the order for three of the boats of the ships, which were anchored in the river, to go and get the food and troops from on board the galley.

The next day our ship went to sea, loaded with provisions and one hundred men besides, and when about half a league from the bar it became so calm that it could not advance at all, so they cast anchor and passed the night in that place. The next morning, as the tide rose, they weighed anchor, and as daylight advanced they found themselves astern of two French vessels that had been watching them. The enemy prepared immediately to attack us; they were already quite close upon us, when the wind freshened, blowing directly towards the channel, so that our galley could take refuge. The French soon followed us, but as the water is very shallow on the bar, their large ships could not pass over, and our provisions and people got safely into port.

On the same evening, after we had landed our troops and provisions, the two vessels sailed away at midnight, without being seen by the enemy. One went to Spain and the other to Havana. The next day a great hurricane came up, and was so severe that I think almost all the French vessels must have been lost, for they were assailed on the most dangerous part of the coast. Our general, who was very bold in all military matters, and a great enemy of the French, immediately assembled his captains and planned an expedition to attack the French settlement and fort on the river. Accordingly, on Monday, September the 17th, he set out with five hundred men, well provided with firearms and pikes, each soldier carrying with him a sack of bread and a supply of wine for the journey. They also took with them, to serve as guides, two Indian chiefs, who were the implacable enemies of the French.

Since the departure of the troops we have suffered the worst weather and the most horrible tempests that I ever saw. Yesterday evening, Wednesday 19th, we sent from the fort twenty men laden

with provisions—bread, wine, and cheese—but the rain has fallen in such abundance that I am not sure they have been able to join the general and his army. I hope God, however, will do all he can for us, which will enable us *to propagate his religion and destroy the heretics.*

In a letter received from the general to-day, the 19th, he wrote: that the very shallowest of the streams that they forded reached up to the knees, and that he has passed through very dense forrests, and to-morrow, the 20th, he hoped to attack the enemy's fort at day-break.

On *Saturday* morning, the 22d, the admiral, at our request, sent some soldiers *to fish*, that we priests might have something to eat, it being a *fast day*. Just as they arrived at the place for fishing and were going to throw out their nets, they perceived a man advancing toward them. He unfurled a white flag, which is a sign of peace, when our men surrounded and captured him. He proved to be a Frenchman, one of our enemies, so they brought him to our admiral*. The man, thinking we were going to hang him, shed tears and appeared to be in great distress. I asked him if he were a Catholic, and he told me he was, and recited some prayers; so I consoled him and told him not to fear anything, but to answer with frankness all questions put to him, which he promised to do. He said there were about seven hundred men in the fort, of which one-third were Lutherans, and two priests who preached the Lutheran doctrines; and in camp eight or ten Spaniards, three of whom were found among the Indians, quite naked and painted like the natives, who had been wrecked on the coast, and as no vessel had come into the country for a long time, they had remained with the Indians, some of whom had joined the French whose fleet had arrived twenty days before.

On Monday, September 24th, about nine o'clock in the morning, the admiral came into port with his frigate. An hour after he arrived we saw a man approaching with loud cries: "Victory! victory! the French fort is ours." As the enterprise we are engaged in is for the cause of Jesus Christ and His blessed mother, the Holy Spirit has enlightened the understanding of our chief, so that everything has turned to our advantage and resulted in a great victory. As previously stated, the general set out on Monday, the 17th of September. They marched until Tuesday evening, when they arrived within a quarter of a league of the enemy's fort, where

* Menendez was the general and chief in command; then there was also an admiral. Menendez had gone to attack Fort Caroline, and the admiral remained probably with the fleet at Seloy.

they remained all night, up to their waists in water. When daylight came, Captains Lopez, Patino, and Martin Ochoa had already been to examine the fort, but when they went to attack the fort a greater part of the soldiers were so confused they scarcely knew what they were about.*

On Thursday morning the general went to inspect the fort.

It appears the enemy did not perceive their approach until the very moment of the attack, as it was very early in the morning and had rained in torrents. The greater part of the soldiers were still in bed. Some arose in their shirts, and others, quite naked, begged for quarter; *but in spite of that*, more than one hundred and forty were killed. A great Lutheran cosmographer and magician was found among the dead.† The rest, numbering about three hundred, scaled the walls, and took refuge either in the forest or on their ships floating on the river, laden with treasures; so that in an hour's time the fort was in our possession, without our having lost a single man or even had one wounded. There were six vessels on the river at the time. They took one brig and an unfinished galley, and another vessel, which had just been discharged of a load of rich merchandise and sunk. These vessels were placed at the entrance to the bar, to blockade the harbor, as they expected we would come by sea. Another laden with wine and merchandise was near the port. She refused to surrender and spread her sails, when they fired on her from the fort and sunk her in a place where neither the vessel nor the cargo will be lost. The taking of this fort gained us many valuable objects, viz.: two hundred pikes, a hundred and twenty helmets, a quantity of arquebuses and shields, a quantity of clothing, linen, fine cloths, two hundred tons of flour, a good many barrels of biscuit, two hundred bushels of wheat, three horses, four asses and two she-asses, hogs, tallow, books, furnace, flour-mill, and many other things of little value. But the greatest advantage is certainly *the triumph which our Lord has granted us* which will be the means of the holy Gospel being introduced into this country, a thing necessary to prevent the loss of many souls.

On Monday, the 24th of September, 1565, at vesper hour, our general arrived with fifty foot soldiers. He was very tired as well as those who accompanied him. Our general's zeal for Christianity

* This confusion may have been occasioned by fog, obscurity, or ignorance of the way, through woods and marshes, but it is left to conjecture.

† This was La Roguette, who by his art had produced defection among Laudonniere's soldiers.

is so great that all his troubles are but repose for his mind. I am sure that no merely human strength could have supported all that he has suffered, but *the ardent desire which he has to serve our Lord in destroying the Lutheran heretics*, the enemies of our holy Catholic religion, causes him to be less sensible to the ills he endured.

On the 28th, after the arrival of the adelantado at Seloy, some Indians came to him to inform him that towards the south there was a French vessel wrecked, and that there were a great many Christians four leagues distant, who could not pass the river or arm of the sea. Immediately our general directed the admiral to arm a boat, take fifty men, and go down the river to the sea to find out what was the matter. About two o'clock the general sent for me, and told me in a very decided tone that he wished to set out, and that he commanded me and the captains who remained at the fort to accompany him. He said there should be in all twelve men to go in the boat, and two of them Indians who would serve as guides. We set off immediately and descended the river to the sea in search of the enemy; and to get there we had to march more than two leagues through plains covered with brush, often up to our knees in water, our brave general always leading the march. When we reached the sea we went about three leagues along the coast in search of our comrades. It was about ten o'clock at night when we met them. Not far off we saw the camp fires of our enemies, and our general ordered two of our soldiers to go and reconnoitre them, concealing themselves in the bushes, and to observe well the ground where they were encamped, so as to know what could be done. About two o'clock the men returned, saying the enemy was on the other side of the river, and that we could not get at them. Immediately the general ordered two soldiers and four sailors to return to where we had left the boats and bring them down the river so that we might pass over to where the enemy was; then he marched his troops forward to the river, and we arrived before daylight. We concealed ourselves in a hollow between the sand hills with the Indians who were with us, and after hiding his soldiers among the bushes and trees and when it became light [he surveyed the country from the top of a tree and saw many people on the opposite side of the river, with banners flying; and thinking how he should prevent them from crossing over he drew so near them that he could count them] go down to the river to get shell-fish for food, and soon after we saw a flag hoisted. Our general, who was observing all that, said to us: "I intend to change these clothes for those of a sailor, and take a Frenchman with me (one of those

whom we had brought with us from Spain) and we will go and talk with these Frenchmen. Perhaps they are without supplies and would be glad to surrender without fighting." He had scarcely finished speaking before he put his plan into execution. As soon as he had called to them one of them swam towards and spoke to him; told him of their having been shipwrecked (in a hurricane) and the distress they were in, that they had not eaten bread for eight or ten days.* The general asked him how many men were on the opposite side. He replied, "About two hundred followers of Captain Ribault, viceroy and captain-general of Florida for the king of France [Charles IX.]."

He again asked him, "Are they Roman Catholics or Lutherans?" He replied: "They are all Lutherans," of which the general had been previously informed by the women and children whom he had recently captured at Fort Caroline, together with six cases of Lutheran books which were afterwards burned. The general then asked him if he wished to return to his people. He answered, "Yes." "You may then go back and report to Capt. Ribault that I am captain-general for Philip II., king of Spain, and came to find out what your people are doing here." The Frenchman went back the same day with the message to Captain Ribault,† who sent him back asking an interview for himself and four officers, and requesting that a boat might be sent for them, which the general granted, and guaranteed on his honor that they should not be molested going or coming, and at the same time ordered a boat to be sent for them. On the boat returning they were cordially received by the general and his men, who afterwards were ordered to retire at some distance to the rear and scatter themselves among the bushes so as not to be seen by the French. One of the Frenchmen said that he was a captain, and that four galleons had been lost in the recent storm, together with several smaller vessels belonging to the king of France; and some of the people who had escaped wished to be assisted with boats to take them to a fort twenty leagues distant. The general then asked him, "Are they Catholics or Lutherans?" He replied, "We are all Lutherans." He then said, "Gentlemen, your fort has been taken, and all the people

* Grajales, except the three lines in brackets, which is from Solis de las Meras.

† In this account of Solis de las Meras, he mentions two parties: the first of 208 men, all of whom surrendered; the second of 350, of whom only 150 would surrender, of which latter number Captain Ribault is mentioned as one. The chaplain, Grajales, mentions only the first surrender, in which were the ten or twelve Catholics that he saved, but he does not give the number that surrendered.

in it put to death except the women and children under fifteen years of age; and if you wish to be certain of it, there are some soldiers here who can tell you all about the capture. I have two French soldiers Roman Catholics who were captured at the fort, and will send for them if you will take a seat here, and you can question them." They replied, "We are satisfied with your statement," and begged as a favor that he would give them some ships to take them back to France. The general said that he had no ships to spare, but he would do so willingly if he had some to spare if they were Catholics; that he had recently sent one to Fort St. Matteo (Fort Caroline) to bring the artillery, one to St. Domingo with the women and children he had captured, and one with dispatches to Spain. The Frenchman then begged the general to let his people remain with him until he could furnish them with ships and provisions to take them back to France, as there was then no war between the two nations, and the kings of France and Spain were friends and brothers. The general replied that this was true, but that as they were Lutherans he looked upon them as enemies, and would wage war against them "with fire and sword, whether on sea or land, for the king, as I have come here to establish the Holy Roman Catholic faith in Florida. But if you will surrender yourselves and arms and trust to my mercy, you may do so, and I will act towards you as God may prompt me; otherwise do as you please, for I will not make any terms or treaties with you." One of the Frenchmen then said he would go back and consult with his people what was best to be done, and that within two hours he would return with an answer. The general then said, "You can do as you please, and I will remain here until you return." In two hours he returned and said there were many noblemen among them who would give him fifty thousand ducats if he would spare their lives. He replied, "I am a poor man, but I would not be guilty of such weakness, nor do I wish to be thought avaricious, and when I wish to be liberal and merciful, it must be without reward, nor will I offer any other terms." Thereupon the Frenchman returned to his people, and in less than an hour after, he came back and said to the general, that all the Frenchmen would trust to his mercy and surrender on his terms, and brought back in his boat all their flags, arquebuses, pistols, swords, bucklers, helmets, and breastplates.*

* There was but a page left of the chaplain's account, where I terminated it, and as the remainder of it gives a somewhat different account of this surrender, I here insert it. "Immediately the general sent him back to his countrymen, to say they must surrender, and give up their arms, or he would put them all

The general then ordered twenty soldiers into the boats to bring over the river ten at a time, and not to treat them ill; he then withdrew from the banks of the river, to some bushes behind the sand-hills, where he could not be seen from the boat that was to bring them over, and when they landed he said to the French captain and the other Frenchmen with him: "Gentlemen, I have but few men, and they are not well known to me, and as you are many and are at liberty, it will be easy for you to revenge yourselves upon me for the people I have put to death when we took your fort; it is, therefore, necessary that you should march with your hands tied behind your backs, four leagues, where I have my camp;" to which they consented, and as they crossed over the Spaniards tied their hands behind their backs, and marched them off in squads of ten until they amounted to two hundred and eight Frenchmen; when the general asked if there were any Roman Catholics among them. Eight of them said they were Roman Catholics, and he had them put into a boat and sent to St. Augustine, but the remainder, who were Lutherans, he ordered, after giving them something to eat, to be marched to St. Augustine to be put to death.

A few days after the general returned to St. Augustine, the same Indians came to inform him that more Christians had arrived on the same side of the river where they found the others. He then began to surmise that they must be Captain Ribault's party whom they called the French king's viceroy of Florida; and Menendez set out with one hundred and fifty soldiers well equipped, and halted at the same place as before. He scattered his soldiers along the river bank and behind the sand-hills and bushes; and as day dawned he saw a crowd of men with a lighter for the purpose of carrying over

to death. A French gentleman, who was a sergeant, brought back the reply that they would surrender on condition their lives should be spared. After having parleyed a long time, our brave captain-general answered that he would make no promises; that they must surrender unconditionally, and lay down their arms; because if he spared their lives, he wanted them to be grateful for it, and if he put them to death that there should be no cause for complaint. Seeing that there was nothing else left for them to do, the sergeant returned to the camp, and soon after he brought all their arms and flags, and gave them up to the general, and surrendered unconditionally. Finding they were all Lutherans, he ordered them all to be put to death, but as I was a priest, and had bowels of mercy,(!) I begged him to grant me the favor of sparing those whom we might find to be Christians. He granted it, and I made investigations, and found ten or twelve of the men Roman Catholics, whom we brought back. All the others we executed because they were Lutherans and enemies of our Holy Catholic faith. All this took place on Saturday (St. Michael's Day), Sept. 29th, 1565." Thus ends the chaplain's story.

the men to the other side of the river. But on seeing the Spaniards they sounded their drums and trumpets and unfurled the royal standard together with two campaign flags, and upon playing their fifes and drums showed battle to the Spaniards. The general ordered his men to sit down and take their breakfasts, whilst he walked up and down the shore with his admiral and two other captains, taking no notice of the French. Afterwards the French hoisted a white flag, to which the general replied, and sounded his bugle, which he always carried with him, and taking a white handkerchief he waved it in sign of peace. A Frenchman then entered a canoe and called out to the Spaniards to cross over, but he was answered that he must come where the general was. He replied that it was difficult to cross over the river, as the current was strong. A French sailor then swam across the river and spoke to the general, who ordered him back to inform Captain Ribault that if he wished anything he must write to him. The sailor returned and shortly after brought back with him an officer with a message from Captain Ribault, viceroy of the king of France, that his fleet had been wrecked in a storm at sea, and that he had with him about three hundred and fifty men who were marching to the French fort, about twenty leagues distant, with a request to furnish him with two boats to cross the river. The general sent him back a message that he had captured the French fort on the river May and put all the garrison to death. The officer, making no demonstration of sorrow at what he said, asked the privilege of sending back one of the gentlemen with him to Captain Ribault, so as to treat for a surrender, with a guarantee of safe return. The French gentlemen departed immediately with this message, and returned within an hour with the message of Captain Ribault to the general accepting his guarantee of safety. He then crossed over with eight gentlemen, whom the general received cordially, for they were all distinguished persons, and he offered them refreshments with wine and preserves. Captain Ribault said that he was grateful for so kind a reception, but their hearts were so sorrowful, on account of hearing of the death of their companions, that they could not partake of their hospitality, except to take some wine and preserves. He then said to the general he might some day find himself in the same situation that he was in, and hoped that he would treat with him in a friendly and magnanimous spirit, and furnish him with ships and provisions to return to France; and urged upon the general the reasonableness of his request. He replied that he would not change his mind. Captain Ribault then passed to the other side of the river to consult with his people, among whom were many noblemen. After several

hours had elapsed, he returned and said to the general, that his people were of different opinions about the terms of surrender, but that one-half would surrender, on the terms of his being merciful, and pay a ransom of a hundred thousand ducats; and the other half would pay still more. The general replied: that, as much as it grieved him that such a large ransom was offered, which he stood in need of to effect a settlement in Florida and establish the Holy Catholic religion there, which had been intrusted to him by the king of Spain, still he must refuse their offer. Captain Ribault then, as night was advancing, returned once more to consult with his people, and in the morning he returned among the Spaniards, and delivered to the general two royal standards of the king of France, and the banners of the companies, also a sword, dagger, pistol, gilt helmet, and a seal, which the admiral Coligny, of France, had given him to seal dispatches and writs which might be passed. At the same time he said, that out of three hundred and fifty persons only one hundred and fifty were willing to surrender on the terms of being mercifully treated, and the remainder departed that night in another direction. Thereupon the general ordered Captain Diego Flores de Valdez, admiral of the fleet, to bring them over in boats, ten at a time, and distributed them among the bushes behind the sand-hills, with their hands tied behind their backs, and afterward marched them four leagues by land at night, taking with them Captain Ribault and his officers, with their hands tied behind their backs. Before they set out for St. Augustine the general asked Captain Ribault if they were Lutherans or Roman Catholics, and he replied they were Lutherans, and commenced to sing a psalm: "Domine memento mei," and after they finished it, he remarked that "they were made of earth and to earth they must return, and that twenty years, more or less, were of no consequence." Then the general ordered all of them to be put to death, except the fifers, drummers, trumpeters, and four others, who were Catholics, making in all sixteen persons; and the same night the general returned to St. Augustine, where some taunted him with being cruel, and others that he had done right, as they would have died of starvation, by reason of the scarcity of provisions at the fort, or the French, being more numerous, *would have put the Spaniards to death for their cruelty.**

* Solis de las Meras, brother-in-law of Menendez. Pope Pius V. addressed a complimentary letter to Pedro Menendez de Aviles, on this occasion, in which the Holy Father says: "We greatly rejoice that our much beloved dear son in Christ, Philip II., the most Catholic king, had appointed and honored you by the government of Florida, making you adelantado of the country; for we had

Menendez changed the name of Fort Caroline to San Mateo, and the name of the river May to San Matcõ. Subsequently he undertook a voyage to the north, along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina, and is supposed to have sailed as far north as Chesapeake Bay. At St. Helena he built a fort, and afterwards set out on an expedition to South Florida, and visited the Indian tribes of the southern provinces.

In 1567 he sent two missionaries, Rogel and Villareal, to the Caloosas, and in the following year ten other missionaries arrived. The majority worked to little profit in the southern provinces, but Sedeno settled in the island of Guale, sometimes called St. Mary's, now Amelia. At this period the Spanish settlements consisted of three colonies: St. Augustine, built south of where it now stands on St. Nicholas Creek; San Mateo, on the St. John's River; and San Felipe, in the province of Orista or St. Helena, now South Carolina.

In addition to these there were two missionary stations at Carlos and Tocobago, on the western coast; one at its southern extremity, Tegesta; one in the province of Ais or St. Lucia; and a fifth founded by Pardo one hundred and fifty leagues inland at Aixacan, at the foot of the mountains [Georgia].*

In 1592 twelve Franciscans were sent to Florida, and in less than two years twenty missionary houses were established. In addition, in 1612 thirty-two Franciscans were sent out under Geronimo de Ore by Philip II.

received such accounts of your person, and the excellence of your virtues, your worth, and dignity were so satisfactorily spoken of, that we believed, without doubt, that you would not only fulfil faithfully, and with care and diligence, the *orders and instructions* which had been delivered to you by so Catholic a king, but we also fully trusted that you would, with discretion, do all that was requisite, and see carried forward the extension of our Holy Catholic faith, and the gaining of souls to God. . . . Well understand, most noble man, that I declare to you that a great opportunity is offered to you in the carrying out of these matters, which shall redound, on the one hand, to the service of God, and on the other, to the increase of the dignity of your king, esteemed of men as well as loved and rewarded by God. Wherefore we give you our paternal and Apostolic benediction." This letter is dated August 1, 1569.

On the 22d of August, 1572, was the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which 70,000 Protestants perished; so that the massacre of the Huguenots or Lutherans in Florida on the 29th of September, 1565, was but a prelude to that "scheme, the most bloody and the most destructive to the repose of mankind that had ever been suggested by superstition to the human heart."

* From a note to Grajales's Memoir in "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," by B. F. French.

The colony of Pensacola or Santa Maria de Galve on the west, and St. Augustine, San Mateo, Santa Cruce, and San Marco were described as scrupulous in their observance of the rites of the Catholic religion. The Franciscans built school-houses and gave instruction to the children of the natives; but at the close of the seventeenth century the Indian tribes and the English of the north drove out the colonies, broke up and demolished the work of two centuries, which accounts for the remains of edifices now to be seen along the old Spanish highways from St. Augustine to Pensacola.

CHAPTER 'V.

THE EXPEDITION OF DOMINIQUE DE GOURGUE TO FLORIDA.

1567.

THE news of this cruel massacre* having reached France, the French were exceedingly exasperated at such base treachery and such horrible cruelty, and especially when they learned that these traitors and murderers, instead of being censured and punished in Spain, were there praised and honored with the greatest estates and dignities. All the French expected that such an insult to the king and to the whole French nation would be very soon avenged by the public authority; but this expectation having been disappointed for the space of three years, they hoped that there might be found some private person who would undertake this enterprise, so necessary for the honor and reputation of France. There were not wanting those who would have greatly desired to have the praise of achieving such an exploit; but there were so many and such great difficulties, that the severity of these disappointed each one of the pleasure of this glory; the deed could not be done without a great expense, both for the construction and equipment of the ships and for the arms, provisions, and payment of the soldiers and sailors that would be necessary for it; few could, and still less would, make so great an expense; moreover, the result of it, for many considerations, was very uncertain, hazardous, and perilous; and what is worse, they saw that this enterprise, though even conducted and executed wisely and successfully, could not be exempt of some calumny. So it was very difficult to find one who would risk this calumny with the loss of his property and with innumerable other inconveniences and dangers. However, Captain Gourgue, a Gascon gentleman, incited by the zeal which he always had for the service of his king, in which he had been continually employed from his youth, as well in France as in Scotland, Piedmont, and Italy, according as affairs presented themselves, whether on sea or on land, disregarding all these difficulties, which he plainly foresaw, undertook to execute this just vengeance, or die in the attempt.

* The massacre of the French in Florida by Menendez.

Captain Gourgue then, at the beginning of the year 1567, seeing that his services were not required on this side, the kingdom being at peace within and without, and there not being even any appearance of the civil wars which were renewed nine months later, resolved to go to Florida, and try if he could avenge the insult done to the king and to all France. And, although he began to make his preparations at the beginning of the year, nevertheless he was not ready to leave until the month of August. It was an execution which required not only courage and experience, but, as we have said, also great expense, for which the income of a plain gentleman was not sufficient, and least of all of him who all his life had studied more to acquire honor and fame than to amass the riches of fortune. Wherefore, finding himself short of this expense, he sold his property and borrowed of his friends enough to build, arm, and equip two small vessels in the shape of a roberge, and a tender in the fashion of a Levant frigate, which, on lack of wind, might be navigated with oars, and would be suitable to enter the mouths of great rivers, as also to purchase the supply of provisions for one year, and other things necessary for the soldiers and sailors whom he intended to take with him. And having done all these things and well provided for everything, he embarked at Bordeaux August 2d, 1567, with the permission of M. de Montluc, lieutenant for the king in Guyenne [however his passport makes no mention of going to Florida, but of going to the coast of Benin in Africa, to make war upon the negroes], and descended the river to Royan, twenty leagues from Bordeaux, where he made his armament both of soldiers and of sailors. There were a hundred arquebusiers, all having arquebuses, and morions on their heads, of whom many were gentlemen, and eighty mariners, who at need knew how to perform the duty of soldiers; he also had arms fit for them, as crossbows, pikes, and all sorts of spears. After the armament was made, Captain Gourgue appointed the rendezvous customary in such expeditions. But as soon as he was ready to leave, there arose such a contrary wind that he was compelled to remain eight days at Royan. This wind having abated a little, he put to sea, but very soon afterwards he was driven back to Rochelle, and could not even enter the road of Rochelle on account of the violence of the weather; he was compelled to retire to the mouth of the Charente, and to remain there eight days, which he greatly regretted on account of the consumption of provisions, and because he feared that his men might take this delay for a bad omen, and lose the cheerfulness which they had at the beginning.

The 22d of August [1567] the wind having ceased, and the heavens giving signs of milder weather for the future, he put to sea

and sailed; the weather was scarcely more propitious for him, and with great difficulty he arrived at Cape Finis Terre, where suddenly he was assailed by a west wind, which blew for eight days, during which time he was in great danger of shipwreck, and in the greatest trouble on account of his people who begged him immediately to return. The ship in which was his lieutenant went astray, and for fifteen days they knew not whether it was lost or not. Finally it reached the place of rendezvous, which was at the river of Lor, in Barbary, where Capt. Gourgue was waiting for him, who made his men rest and refresh themselves here; they were so worked and so tired out that they could do nothing more; he consoled and comforted them in every way that he could conceive, and when he had well restored and encouraged them, he weighed anchor, and coasting a part of Africa, he observed the country in passing that he might be better able to do service for his king if an opportunity should present itself. And as he sojourned some time at Cape Blanco to accustom his men to the climate, and by that means preserve their health, three negro kings (instigated by the Portuguese, who had a fort ten leagues from there, and who dared not come themselves) came to attack him. These negroes were twice so well received that they would not return a third time, and abandoned the port to Capt. Gourgue, who, however, very soon afterward left there, and still coasting Africa came and landed at Cape Verd; thence taking the route to the Indies he sailed on the high sea, and having crossed the North Sea, the first place where he landed was at the island called Dominica, inhabited by savages only, where he remained eight days on account of the fresh water that is found there.

After which time, pursuing his wanderings, he came to another island called St. Germain de Porto Rico, which the Spaniards hold. Leaving there they came to Mona, an island inhabited only by savages, very fertile and fruitful, where, among other fruits, they found the finest and best oranges, citrons, and melons, that they ever ate. The inhabitants are very plain, good people; their king came to see the ships of Capt. Gourgue, and passed two nights there; then he took him on shore to see his gardens, and his houses made in the form of a cavern, and his fountain, which he called paradise, in the very deep hollow of a rock, where they descended by steps, and he said that the water of this spring cured fevers. On leaving this island the king gave to Capt. Gourgue a great quantity of fruit in exchange for some linen to make shirts, which Capt. Gourgue had given him, and of which he had no further use.

On leaving there, he went to coast the main land towards Cape Belle to discover the country, but the contrary winds drove him

back, and cast them upon the island of Hispaniola, otherwise called St. Domingo, which is at present inhabited only by Spaniards, after they have put to death all the Indian natives whom they found there, who were more than a million. That is how they have converted the Indians to the Christian faith, of which they boast so much. In this island, which is also held by the Spaniards, Capt. Gourgue was not permitted to take even water; but he took it by force. He found himself there in very great danger, the sea being agitated by a terrible storm, and the land being to him a still greater enemy; for the Spaniards are enraged as soon as they see a Frenchman in the Indies, although a hundred Spains could not furnish sufficient men to hold the hundredth part of a land so extensive and spacious; nevertheless the Spaniards conceive that this new world was created solely for them, and that it becomes no man living to tread, or even to breathe there except themselves alone; however, Capt. Gourgue was forced to remain there until the storm had abated, being confident that he could more easily defend himself against the Spaniards than the winds and tempests.

The sea having become calm, Capt. Gourgue left there and went to land at Cape St. Nicolas, where he calked his ship, which had sprung a leak in the storm, by which there happened the loss of all the bread within, because it was wet, and the rest that was in this ship, with the ship itself, like to have been lost. But it arrived in season at Cape St. Nicolas, where it was so well repaired that no defect ever afterward happened to it. This loss of bread was to Capt. Gourgue and his company an inestimable injury, for it was necessary to retrench the provisions one-half, and he who before ate two biscuits per day now took but one. The isles by which they were obliged to pass afterwards were held by the Spaniards; as the island of Cuba, which they found the first after having left St. Nicolas, in which the Spaniards would never give provisions for the linens of Rouen, nor for anything else, which Capt. Gourgue had brought for this purpose in case his provisions should fail him. They would not even permit him to take in water, but he took it in spite of them. About this island there arose the most violent and impetuous wind that they had yet experienced, but it lasted only six hours. But had it lasted longer all would have been over with him, for it would have cast them upon the coast, where their ships would have perished together with themselves.

The cape St. Anthony, at the end of the island of Cuba, where they landed very soon after the tempest had passed, is about two hundred leagues from Florida. Here Capt. Gourgue, having assembled all his men, declared to them what till then he had kept to him-

self, how he had undertaken this voyage to go to Florida to avenge upon the Spaniards the insult which they had given to the king and to all France; he excused himself that he had not communicated his enterprise to them sooner; he disclosed to them the means by which he hoped to succeed in his designs; he exhorted and begged them to follow them with as good courage as he had hoped of them when he chose them from among many as the most fit for such an execution. He put before them the treachery and cruelty of those who had massacred the French, and the disgrace that such a wicked and base deed should have remained so long unpunished. He suggested to them the honor and happiness that would redound to them from so brilliant a deed; in brief, he animated them so well that, although at the commencement they might have found the thing almost impossible, on account of the few men that he had, and this coast being the most dangerous of all the Indies; nevertheless they promised not to abandon him, and to die with him; the soldiers became so ardent that they could not even wait for the full moon to cross the Bahama Channel, which is very dangerous; and the pilots and sailors, who were cool at the commencement, were very soon inspired with this ardor of the soldiers. The moon then being full, they entered the Bahama Channel, and very soon after discovered Florida.*

When the Spaniards who were in the forts [at the mouth of the river St. John] saw the ships of Captain Gourgue, they saluted them with the discharge of two cannons, thinking they were Spaniards. Captain Gourgue, to keep them in their error, returned the salute, and pretending to go elsewhere passed beyond them until night came, and he had lost sight of Florida. When night had come he changed his course, and came and landed at fifteen leagues from the fort, where the Spaniards could discover nothing, in front of a river which the savages call Tacatacourou, which is also the name of the king of the country; the French had given it the name of Seine, because it resembled our Seine.

As soon as day came, Captain Gourgue beheld the beach covered with savages, armed with their bows and arrows to hinder him from landing, thinking that he was a Spaniard. Captain Gourgue, who had easily anticipated this, had also bethought himself to act in such a way that he should be assisted by them, and therefore he made every sign of friendship, and sent to them his trumpeter,

* The achievement of Gourgue could not be duly appreciated without a knowledge of the obstacles he had to overcome to accomplish it, while the whole discloses the chivalric and heroic character of the man.

who was well known to them, and knew how to speak their language well, having conversed with them when the French were there when they built the fort there. As soon as they recognized the trumpeter they began to dance, which is the ordinary sign of joy among them, and asked him wherefore he had delayed so long to return to them. He replied that he had not had time to return sooner; "but I have now arrived in safety," he said, "and there are the French, who have come here to renew their friendship with you, and have brought you the things from France that you most need, and which you like the best." They then began to dance more than before, and their greatest king, named Satorioua, sent with the trumpeter one of his people to Captain Gourgue to present him a buck and to inquire further into the cause of his coming. Captain Gourgue replied to the messenger that he thanked King Satorioua, and assured him that what the trumpeter had told him was true, that he had come there but to associate with him and the other kings, and to give them some beautiful things that were made in France, of which moreover they had need. He would say nothing more of his expedition, until he had seen whether there were any Spaniards among them, and ascertained the disposition of the savages and learn how all would turn out. The savages, after having heard this reply, took to dancing more than before, and soon after sent to Captain Gourgue to say to him that they were going away to inform all the kings of it, the relations and allies of Satorioua; that they would be with them the next day at that place to associate with the French, in which they would not fail; so they went away for that day. Now, during all this coming and going, Captain Gourgue sent his pilot to sound the entrance of the river, and learned that it was easy, wherefore he entered the river to treat more conveniently with the Indians.

The next day he saw at the same place the great King Satorioua, the kings Tacatacourou, Halimacani, Atore, Harpaha, Helmacape, Helicopile, Monloua, and others; all relations and allies of Satorioua. When they had arrived they sent to request Captain Gourgue to land, which he did, accompanied by his soldiers bearing their arquebuses. When the kings saw the French coming armed, they were somewhat frightened, and sent to Captain Gourgue to inquire why he came to them armed, seeing that they wished to associate with him. He replied that he saw them with their arms, and that he brought his. Immediately they commanded their subjects to lay aside their bows and arrows, to make them into large bundles and take them home; and Captain Gourgue made his men lay aside their arquebuses and retain their swords, and thus he went to

visit Satorioua, who came to meet him and made him sit at his right hand, upon a wooden seat covered with moss, which he had made for him like to his own. When they both were seated, two of the most ancient among them came and pulled up the brambles and every herb that was before them; and after having well cleaned the place, they all sat upon the ground round about. And when Captain Gourgue wished to speak, the king Satorioua (who is not fashioned to the civility on this side) preceded him, saying to him that, since the Spaniards had taken the fort built by the French, Florida had never had one happy day; and that the Spaniards had made war upon them continually, had chased them from their houses, cut their corn, violated their women, ravished their daughters, slain their children; and yet he and the other kings had suffered these evils because of the friendship they had contracted for the French, by whom the land had first been inhabited; however, they had never ceased to love the French for the good treatment they had received from them when they commanded here. That after the massacre which the Spaniards had made of the French, they had found a boy that had fled away into woods, which he had ever since nourished as his own child; that the Spaniards had done everything possible to slay him, but that he had always kept him to restore him some day to the French when they should return to Florida, "and since you are here (he said to Captain Gourgue), take him. I give him to you."

Captain Gourgue, rejoiced to find the Indians so well disposed to execute his design, and also that Satorioua himself was the first to enter into the affair of the Spaniards, thanked him very kindly for the great affection he had for the French, and particularly for having preserved the young man, begged him always to persevere in this kind regard, suggesting to him the greatness and goodness of the king of France. As to the Spaniards, that the time was approaching when they would be punished for the injuries they had committed, as well against the Indians as against the French, and if the kings and their subjects had been maltreated through hate of the French, that they also would be avenged by the French themselves. "How!" said Satorioua, starting with joy, "would you really make war upon the Spaniards?" "And what do you think of it?" said Captain Gourgue, concealing his feelings and his enterprise, in order to elicit Satorioua's in regard to himself. "It is time now to avenge the injuries they have done to our nation; but I had proposed for the present only to renew our friendship with you, and to see what is passing on this side, in order to return immediately afterwards against them with such forces as I should

find necessary; however, when I learn the great evils they have done you and do you every day, I have compassion on you, and the inclination moves me to attack them without waiting longer, in order to deliver you from their oppression rather now than hereafter." "Oh!" said Satorioua, "the great blessing you would do us! how happy we should be!" All the others cried out the same. "I think," said Captain Gourgue, "you would willingly be of the party, and would not wish that the French should have all the honor of delivering you from the tyranny of the Spaniards." "Yes," said Satorioua, "we and all our subjects will go with you, and will die together with you if it is necessary." The other kings also made a similar reply.

Captain Gourgue, who had found what he was seeking, praised and thanked them greatly, and to strike while the iron was hot* he said: "But consider, if we would make war upon them, it should be done immediately. In what time could you have your people assembled ready to march?" "In three days," said Satorioua, "we and our people can come here to leave with you." "In the mean time," said Captain Gourgue, "you will give orders that all shall be kept secret, so that the Spaniards may not get wind of it." "Do not concern yourself about that," said the king, "we owe them a greater grudge than you." Captain Gourgue, seeing that the foundation of his enterprise was sufficiently well and fortunately laid, thought that he ought not longer to withhold from these kind people that which he wished to give them; and began to divide among them what he had brought expressly for this purpose, as knives, daggers, hatchets, scissors, pins, needles, purses, mirrors, little bells, and beads, and other like things. And, after he had distributed them to all, according as he judged of the rank and merit of each one, he said to Satorioua and the other kings, "Tell me if there is anything else that you wish, do not withhold it." They, although more than content with what they already had, however, seeing the good intentions of Captain Gourgue, replied that they would each like to have one of his shirts, which they requested, not to dress themselves with, except sometimes through great oddity, but to have them interred with them at their death, as they do all the fine things they have been able to collect during their lives. Captain Gourgue immediately gave one to each of the kings, and added also, all that he happened to have which he thought might be agreeable to them. King Satorioua, who had two strings of grains of gold about his neck, gave one of them to Captain Gourgue. The other kings gave him deer-skins dressed in the manner of the country.

* So this phrase was in use in France in 1568.

While the savages amused themselves with these presents, Captain Gourgue, who thought of nothing else than accomplishing his enterprise, and was not willing to lose a minute of time, interrogated the young Frenchman that Satorioua had given him, and learned from him that the Spaniards might be about four hundred in number and that they had built *two small forts at the entrance of the river May, besides the great fort which the French had built on the same river a league above.* This young man was a native of Havre-de-Grace, sixteen years of age, and named Pierre Debre, who, by his intelligence, and his familiarity with the two languages, was very useful to Captain Gourgue on this voyage, on the return from which he was restored to his parents.

Captain Gourgue, deliberating about sending to reconnoitre the forts, said to Satorioua; "In three days, as you tell me, you will have returned here with your subjects. In the same time can also return those whom I shall send to reconnoitre the enemy, but to guide them some one of your faithful and reliable men is needed." Satorioua immediately gave him his nephew named Olotoraca, a strong, valiant, and loyal man, under the guidance of whom a gentleman named Estampes, with two others, left to reconnoitre the forts. After that, Captain Gourgue asked hostages of Satorioua for those whom he was about to send away, which were delivered to him as soon as demanded. "I will let you have my only son," said Satorioua, "and of my wives the one I love the most, in order that you may know that we are neither liars nor traitors, as are those Spaniards, who always deceive us, and never do what they promise us." Captain Gourgue was very glad that his affairs progressed so well, and to send away the savages so that they might return the sooner, he said to them, "These miscreants have done much evil to you, but we will call them to an account this time, and in order that we may be the better able to capture them, I beg you not to delay more than three days, as you have told me, and carefully to keep the affair secret;" which Satorioua and all the others promised to do, and upon that they went away to their homes, dancing and leaping with joy, and Captain Gourgue retired to his ships with his hostages. The son of the king was entirely naked, as all the other men are. The wife of the king was dressed with moss, and about eighteen years of age. They were three days on the vessels of Captain Gourgue, awaiting until the men should return from reconnoitring the forts; and, in three days from that time, nearly at the same hour, there were on the one side M. Estampes, who made his report of what he had seen, and on the other the kings with a great number of their subjects well armed with bows and arrows, all ready to march.

Before leaving there the savages made a beverage called by them *cassive*, which they are accustomed to take at all times, and when they go to fight in places where there is danger. This beverage, made of a certain plant, and drank quite hot, keeps them from being hungry and thirsty for twenty-four hours. They presented it first to Captain Gourgue, who pretended to drink it and swallowed none of it; then Satorioua partook of it, and after him all the others, each one according to his rank. That done with many ceremonies, they all, raising their hands, swore they would do their duty and fight bravely, and would never abandon Captain Gourgue.

Before this was finished the greater part of the day had passed, nevertheless they did not fail to leave the same day; and the savages said that they would travel all night, asking Captain Gourgue to have them put on the other side of the river Tacatacourou, with his vessels: for the place where the Spaniards were was on that side of the river.*

Captain Gourgue, seeing them thus resolved, appointed a place, according to what he could judge from the report they had made him, for all to meet together; which was at the mouth of a river named by them Halimacani, and by the French, who had inhabited the country, Somme; then he had them all put on the other side of the river, except Olotoraca, the nephew of the king, whom he retained with him for a guide, and who never afterwards abandoned him. And, because his bow had never been brought back to him after it was carried to the village with the others, he asked for arms, when he was given a pike, which he well knew how to make use of against the Spaniards. When the savages had crossed the river, Captain Gourgue began to exhort his men, representing to them the good disposition of the savages, and the ardor with which they marched against the Spaniards, assuring himself that they would do so much the better, as their training and education and their government and religion were better than those of these poor savages; and when he wished to proceed they began to cry out: "Let us go! let us go!" as those who would have wished to be there already, and who were all determined to die there. Then Captain Gourgue, with all his soldiers and sixty sailors, departed by sea in two boats, which he had besides the three ships, the keeping of which, with the rest of the ships, he left with François Lague Bourdelois, the owner and master of his ship, a man as fully experienced in marine affairs as any of this time, recommending him to have them well calked, and to have the whole ready for them to return in as soon as God should

* But fifteen leagues away on the river May: nine leagues from Tacatacourou or Seine to Halimacani or Somme; four from Somme to Sarabay, and two from Sarabay to the river May.

give them success ; " and, if God wills (said he) that I should die in so righteous a pursuit, I leave you all that I have here, and beseech you to conduct and take back my soldiers to France, as I confide in you," and, saying that, he delivered to him the keys of his trunks and all that he had there. This affected very much the hearts of all, and especially of the sailors who remained to guard the vessels, who could not restrain their tears ; and this departure was full of tenderness to hear so many adieus on both sides, and so many charges and recommendations, on the part of those who were going away, to their parents and friends, and to their wives and relations, in case they should not return. On leaving their country they did not think of going to Florida, as has been said, and yet in the midst of all that, you would have admired the joy of these men ; who, although they expected to go to an almost certain death, nevertheless had no fear, except that they might not arrive there in sufficient time for the honor which they hoped to have as the only reward for so glorious a deed.

When they reached the mouth of the river Halimacani, where the savages awaited them, which was about the break of day, the wind from the northeast began to blow so strong, that they came near being lost ; and that caused such a delay that the savages could not cross the river that day ; however, about eight o'clock in the morning, Captain Gourgue crossed it, with great difficulty, and, leaving one of his boats to assist them in crossing, took his route by land to go and await them at the river Sarabay, which was four leagues from there. But the route was found so bad, there was so much water, and so many marshes to cross, as well as forests to traverse, that they were from eight o'clock in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon in making these four leagues : Captain Gourgue having always his main armor upon his back, and they found nothing to eat all day, except some roots of the wild palm tree, by which means they were so tired and hungry that they could do nothing more.

When they arrived at the river Sarabay they found there waiting for them three Indian chiefs, who each led a hundred men. Now from this river Sarabay to the place where the first two forts were might be about two leagues. Captain Gourgue, who saw that the success of his plan depended upon diligence and celerity, although he had nothing to eat the whole day, for the sailors had not yet brought the boat in which they had put the provisions on leaving the river Tacatacourou, nevertheless he left with ten of his arquebusiers and his guide to go and reconnoitre the first fort, in order to attack it the next morning ; the route was found as bad and as

difficult as the other, the night was cloudy and dark; a little river that was adjoining the fort, swollen, because the tide began to rise, could not be crossed, so that Captain Gourgue was obliged to return to the river Sarabay to his people, tired with travelling, and more sad for not having accomplished anything. One of the kings, named Hilicopile, seeing them return all pensive, asked the interpreter: "What is the matter with your king?" The interpreter replied that he was grieved that he had not been able to reconnoitre the fort. Hilicopile said to him: "I will lead him along the sea where he will find neither mud nor marsh, but the route is longer." Captain Gourgue, learning this, resolved that he would go there immediately by this way, accompanied by Hilicopile; he left with all his men, and sent the two other chiefs through the woods to be in the morning at the crossing of *the little river adjoining the first fort*, which he had not been able to cross; he hastened his men, and marched with great speed, in order to be there at the break of day, before they should be discovered. And thus, as the day began to break, he arrived at this river, which was enlarged and high, because the tide had risen; nevertheless he had the ford sounded by some of his sailors, who found that it could not be forded; at which he was very much grieved, for the time had already arrived to surprise the Spaniards, who were still sleeping; however, he determined to retire into the woods close adjoining the river, and there await until the tide should fall, and then all go immediately to attack them. Scarcely were they yet in the woods when it began to rain so hard that they were thoroughly wet, and the soldiers had great difficulty to keep their fire. Day having broke, Captain Gourgue examined the fort at his leisure from where he was, and having looked well at both sides he understood the whole; he noticed that there was only the commencement of a ditch; however he was confirmed in the resolution he had made on entering the woods, to assault it as soon as he could cross the river. In the mean time he saw the Spaniards who were working in the fort, which made him doubt somewhat whether his arrival had been discovered, but the event showed that they suspected nothing; for, after the taking of the fort, they saw that it was a well on which they were working.

About ten o'clock, the tide being low, he went to cross the river a little higher up, where he saw a little woods between the river and the fort, which served to screen him from being seen, as well while crossing the river as while putting his men in order, and because the water reached higher than the waist, he commanded the soldiers to fasten their powder-flasks to their morions, to take their arquebuse and match in one hand, and their sword in the other.

In crossing the river there was so great a quantity of oysters that the shoes of the soldiers were cut, and the most of them wounded in the feet; for the oysters were the largest, and their shells the sharpest, considering those we ordinarily see on this side. However, they were no sooner on the other side of the river than they resumed their arms, and of themselves prepared for battle. Captain Gourgue gave twenty soldiers to his lieutenant, and ten sailors bearing fire-pots and *lances à feu*, to set fire to the gate, and behind the little wood where they could not be seen he ranged his men in order of battle; and, seeing them well disposed and confident, he conceived there was no need of great exhortation, as the position in which he was required rather a quick execution than a long harangue; however he made a short one. "My friends," said he, "I clearly see that your courage increases with the occasion, inasmuch as I have chosen you for such; your resolute countenances predict to me that you will avenge to-day the insult to our country and our king;" and showing them the fort, which they could barely distinguish through the trees, "There," said he, "are the robbers who have stolen this land from our king; there are the murderers who have massacred our Frenchmen. Forward! forward! let us avenge our king; let us avenge France; let us prove ourselves Frenchmen;" and immediately he commanded his lieutenant to attack the gate with his troop, and he with his went against an embankment in the shape of a platform, very low, which was at the side of the fort where there was but a small commencement of a ditch. The Spaniards had but just dined when our men, rushing forward at a rapid pace, were discovered at two hundred paces from the fort by the cannonier, who had just mounted upon this terrace, who immediately began to cry out in Spanish, "Arm! arm! here are the French, here are the French," and at the same time discharged at them a large culverin that was upon the terrace, and fired it twice; but as he was about to load it for the third time, Olotoraca, swifter than any other, and who was not taught to keep his rank, rushed forward, mounted the terrace, which was not high, and pierced him through with his pike. The Spaniards, having armed themselves at the cry of the cannonier, rushed out of the fort, either to fight or to retire to their companions, according to what they should discover when they should be on the outside. Captain Gourgue, at their going out, had arrived in the nick of time at the foot of the platform, and his lieutenant near the gate, and as he mounted the platform, his lieutenant cried out that the Spaniards fled; and then Captain Gourgue returning quickly to the gate, inclosed them between himself and his lieutenant, so that of sixty that they were, not one escaped, they were either captured or put to death; they

took alive as many as they could, by command of Captain Gourgue, for to treat them as they had treated the French.

The *first fort* was no sooner captured than they went to attack *the second, which was on the other side of the river May, opposite the first*, to assist each other, as it did not cease to fire its cannon at us while we were taking the first, and greatly incommoded our men, who directed against them three pieces of cannon which they had found in the first fort and the culverin which they had found on the platform, which was conspicuously marked with the coat of arms of the late King Henry, by which they knew that it had been captured from the French at the time of the massacre, which still more enraged our Frenchmen; and with these four pieces they did not cease to fire against them, whilst Captain Gourgue, with eighty arquebusiers, was quickly passing the river in his boat, which they had just brought there in the nick of time; with which they went and landed between the fort and a wood which was close to it; suspecting, what happened, that the Spaniards would flee into the woods, that they might be able afterwards to retire to *the large fort which was a league from there*.

Scarcely was Captain Gourgue on the other side of the river, when the savages, not being able to wait till they should bring back to them the boat to cross, leaped into the water, and, swimming with one arm and holding their bow with the other, covered the river from one bank to the other. The Spaniards, who were sixty in number, seeing so great and so determined a multitude, and, through the astonishment with which they were seized, not distinguishing between the French and the savages, thinking to escape in the woods, went and precipitated themselves among the French, who fired so severely upon them that the greater part of them were extended upon the ground; the rest, seeking to flee, found themselves intercepted by the savages. Thus, not being able either to fight or to flee, they laid down their arms and implored their life, which was taken while they begged it.

With great difficulty Capt. Gourgue could have but fifteen of them preserved alive, in order to do unto them as they had done unto the French. After this slaughter, Capt. Gourgue entered the second fort, from which he caused immediately to be transported all that he found there, and repassing the river with his prisoners, returned to the first fort to fortify himself there, not knowing what courage the others might have, nor in what time he might succeed against *the great fort which was a league from there upon the same river, on the side where was the second fort*. Among the prisoners that he had, there was an old sergeant from whom he learned the height

of the ramparts of the great fort, and the place where it would be easiest for him to take it.

These two forts were captured on the eve of Sunday after Easter, 1568. Capt. Gourgue rested Sunday and Monday; and in the mean time caused to be made eight ladders, of the height that had been indicated to him, and a sketch of the whole fort, with which this old soldier was well acquainted. Besides he had so well provided for the occasion that all the country was up in arms against the Spaniards, so that those of the great fort had no means to go out to discover anything; however, they disguised a Spaniard as an Indian, and sent him away, Monday, to discover what people they were, and how many. Capt. Gourgue being about the said fort with Olotoraca, who always accompanied him, this Spaniard was recognized by Olotoraca, and at the same time seized; he sought to carry out his design by saying he was one of the soldiers who guarded the first fort, and not being able to retire to the great one on account of the multitude of savages, had thus disguised himself for fear of being slain by them, and preferred to come and surrender to the mercy of the French, to putting himself in danger of being killed by the savages; but when the sergeant, whom they had sent for immediately, maintained that he was of the guard of the great fort, and a spy, he confessed that he was sent by the commander of the great fort to learn who these new-comers were, and what number of men they had. Capt. Gourgue asked him what they thought of him at the great fort; he replied that they had informed the governor that he had two thousand French, at which the governor and his people were so astonished that they knew not what to do.

Capt. Gourgue was very glad of this news, and determined to go and attack them the next day while in this affright; and in fact this same day he made all his preparations, appointing those whom he was to leave to guard the mouth of the river and the fort; the charge of which he gave to Capt. Mesmes, his ensign, with fifteen arquebusiers. On the night following he sent the savages to go in ambush in the wood; part on this side of the river and part on the other. And the next morning he left with his men, taking with him the sergeant and the spy tied together, to show him ocularly what they had told him, and showed him in drawing. On the way Olotoraca, nephew of king Satorioua, an exceedingly courageous and heroic man, who had slain the cannonier at the first fort, said to Capt. Gourgue, from whom he never separated, that he had served him well, and had done all that he had promised him; that he well knew that he would die in the taking of the great fort, but

that for his life he would not fail to be there ; " and I beg you," said he, " to give to my wife that which you would give to me if I survived, in order that she may inter it with me, and that I may be better welcomed for it when I shall arrive in the land of spirits." Capt. Gourgue told him that he would rather recompense and honor him living than dead, and that he hoped to take him back alive and victorious.

In the mean time they discovered the fort, and as soon as the Spaniards saw them they commenced firing upon them with two double culverins that were upon a bastion which commanded all along the river. Capt. Gourgue quickly gained *a ridge covered with wood ; at the foot of which was the fort, and which extended from where he had been seen even to very far beyond the fort.* And by means of the trees, which covered it, he approached as near the fort as he wished, without the possibility of being seen or hurt. He stopped at a place from which he could look at his leisure into the fort ; he had no intention of assaulting it that day, but to scale it the next morning on the same side of the ridge where the ditch was not defended, where a part of his men would mount while the others were fighting those who should defend the ramparts. But it happened that the Spaniards made a sortie of sixty arquebusiers to reconnoitre his forces, he saw them even as they were coming out, and going stooping along the ditch, and immediately commanded his lieutenant, with twenty arquebusiers, to go the other side, and place himself between them and the fort ; and when he saw his lieutenant in the place where he could prevent them from re-entering, he went straight at them, and commanded his men not to fire until they should be very near them, and then immediately after having fired, to draw their swords. When the Spaniards were out of the ditch ready to ascend the ridge, Capt. Gourgue, with his arquebusiers, was at the foot ; he fell upon them so close that not a shot was lost ; many of them were brought to the ground ; then drawing their swords they engaged those who remained standing, and when they fled to retire to the fort, there was the lieutenant, who charged them from the other side, so that there was not one among them that found means of re-entering the fort, and all were there slain. Those from within the fort, seeing that in an instant they had lost their best and bravest men, and believing that those who had made this defeat were but a small part of a much greater number, despaired of being able to resist ; and, besides, not being able to hope for any compromise with those whom they had injured so outrageously, they abandoned the fort, and went out to escape into the woods, which was on the other side of the fort, where Capt. Gourgue had

caused to be placed a great number of savages, who immediately discharged their arrows upon them, and among others there was one shot that pierced through the shield of a Spanish captain, and the arrow entered deep into his body through the left nipple, and struck him down dead upon the ground. Capt. Gourgue, who had seen them go out, and had hastened after them, arrested between the wood and the fort those who were fleeing from the arrows of the savages, and there they were all slain and cut in pieces, except those whom with great difficulty he was able to reserve in order to put to death as robbers.

In this great fort were found five double culverins, four medium and other small pieces made of iron and of brass, with eighteen large casks of powder. They found also many arms, as arquebuses, corselets, shields, pikes, and others. The next day Captain Gourgue having loaded two vessels with the artillery, a savage cooking a fish set fire to a train of powder which the Spaniards had made, and which no one had yet perceived. The powder took fire, completely blew up the magazine, and burnt entirely the houses which were of pine wood. The men were not burnt, because they were all outside here and there, but all that was within was burnt and lost, so that Captain Gourgue brought away nothing but the artillery which he had already put on board.

The Spaniards who had been taken alive in this last fort were led to the place where they had hung the French. After that Captain Gourgue had represented to them the injury they had done the king massacring his subjects and robbing his majesty of the land which he had conquered, and the fort which he had built there, and that they should have reflected that so cowardly a treachery, and so detestable a cruelty, exercised against so powerful a king and so generous a people, would not remain unpunished; that he, who was one of the least gentlemen that the king had in his kingdom, had undertaken to avenge it at his own cost and expense. Though the most Christian king and the most Catholic king had been enemies at mortal war, still such extreme treachery and cruelty could not be excused; but when, on the contrary, their majesties were friends and so closely allied, there could not be found a name sufficiently abominable for their crime, and less still a punishment that could correspond with that crime. But yet, as you cannot endure the punishment you have merited, it is proper that you should endure that which an enemy can fairly give you, in order that by your example others may learn to keep the peace and alliance which you have so cruelly and wickedly violated. That said, they were hung to the same trees where they had hung the French, and in place of

the writing which Pedro Menendez had caused to be put there consisting of these words in the Spanish language: "*I do this not to Frenchman, but to Lutherans,*" Captain Gourgue caused to be graven on a pine board with a hot iron, "*I do this not to Spaniards nor to sailors,* but to traitors, robbers, and murderers.*"

Captain Gourgue, having thus finished this execution for which he had undertaken the voyage, deliberated about returning, and not having sufficient men to leave some in Florida to hold the forts, he determined to ruin them, lest the Spaniards, who had other lands quite close to these, should happen to take possession of them, and also that they might not be an occasion to draw them there, or that the savages themselves might not fortify themselves there, and that by this means the access and entry might be less difficult to the king, when it should please his majesty to send some of his subjects there to people it, to whom it would be more easy to build anew than to take the fortresses which they might find already built, well secured and well provided against them; but in order that the savages might not be offended at the forts being destroyed, but, on the contrary, be so well pleased with it that they might themselves destroy them, he assembled the kings, and having shown to them how from the commencement he had kept his promises, and had avenged them on those who had so cruelly tyrannized over them, he then fell upon the subject of destroying the forts, employing all that he could make use of to convince them that all he wished to do was for their benefit, and in hate of the many cruelties and crimes that the Spaniards had committed there, at which they lent so willing an ear, that Captain Gourgue had no sooner finished speaking than they ran directly to the fort, shouting and calling their subjects after them, where they made such dispatch, that in less than a day they left not one stone upon another.

After that, they left to return to the two first forts, which were razed with the same ardor as the first, and they hung there thirty Spanish prisoners that they had left there, one of whom confessed having hung five Frenchmen with his own hands, and greatly blamed himself, saying in his language that God was right and just, who had finally brought him to the punishment with which he threatens the cruel and inhuman.

So there remaining nothing more to do, and Captain Gourgue wishing to return to his vessels which he had left at the mouth of the river Tacatacourou, otherwise called the Seine, at fifteen leagues from there, he sent by sea, with the artillery, his lieutenant Captain

* "N'y comme a Marannes."

Casenaue, and he, with eighty arquebusiers and forty sailors bearing pikes, went back by land, marching his men always in order of battle at all hazards, on account of the savages whom he would never trust too much. Wherever they paused they found the road thronged with the kind people of the country, who came from all parts to meet him as their liberator, bearing cooked fish and other provisions for the soldiers, and among others an old woman, who said that now she was willing to die since she had seen once more the French in Florida.

When Captain Gourgue had arrived at the river Tacatacourou, where were his vessels, he found that the chief pilot had recalcked his ships, taken in water, and made ready every thing ; so that there was nothing to do but embark. Therefore, here he took leave of the kings, and advised them to continue in the devotion which they had always had for the king of France, who would defend them against the Spaniards and against all others ; and that, until his majesty sent there a sufficient number of men for their protection and defence, they should hold themselves well upon their guard, and take care not to be surprised. These good people were the most grieved in the world, when they saw that Captain Gourgue would leave them, and began to weep, and even Olotoraca, who had fought better than they had anticipated. But when he told them that he would return in twelve moons from that time (for it is thus that they count) and would bring them many mirrors, hatchets, and knives, which are the things they like the best, they were immediately relieved, and said that they would go away to make their women dance, which, with them, is the greatest sign of rejoicing.

After Captain Gourgue had taken leave of the kings, he assembled his people to render thanks to God for the victory which he had given them, and to beseech Him to be their guide and conductor on their return to France. When they were assembled he said to them: "My friends, let us return thanks to God for the good success which He has given to our enterprise; it is He who preserved us from the dangers of the storm at Cape Finis Terre, at the island of Hispaniola, at the island of Cuba, and at the river Halimacani ; it was He who inclined the hearts of the savages to associate with us ; it was He who blinded the understanding of the Spaniards so that they were never able to discover our forces, nor to know how to employ their own. They were four to one, in strong places, well entrenched, and well provided with artillery, munitions, arms, and provisions. We had nothing but a just cause, and yet we have conquered them in an instant. Therefore, it is not to our forces, but to God only that we owe the victory. Let

us therefore, my friends, thank him, and acknowledge all our lives the great blessing that He has done us, and beseech Him to continue always his favor unto us, guiding us on our return, and preserving us from all dangers. Let us beseech Him also that it may please Him to so dispose the hearts of men that the many dangers in which we have been placed, and the many labors we have endured may find grace and favor before our king and before all France, as we have designed nothing else than the service of our king and the honor of our country."

After having thanked and prayed to God; on Monday, the third day of May (1568), the rendezvous that they are accustomed to make upon the sea was given, the anchors weighed, and sails set, and they had the winds so favorable, that in seventeen days they made a hundred leagues of sea, and afterwards continuing their voyage arrived at Rochelle Monday the 6th of June. Thus they took to return only thirty-four days: however, so long a voyage was not without some accidents; for the patache with eight men in it was lost; as also at the taking of the forts, and at the defeat of the Spaniards in Florida, had perished some gifted gentlemen of good families, most daring and valiant, as Lautome de Limosin, Bière, Carrau, and Gaschie, Gascons; Pons de Xaintonge, and some soldiers, all of whom died valiantly, after having performed many brilliant exploits and deeds of prowess, such as might be expected from noble and generous souls dedicated to the service of their prince, and the honor of their country.

On the return, besides the patache being lost, the *roberge*, in which was a captain named Deux, lost its way off an island called La Vermude, and did not come until a month after Captain Gourgue had arrived. Those who were in this ship liked to have perished; in the first place from a tempest, and afterwards of famine. For even when Captain Gourgue left, all they had to eat for twenty days was at the rate of one biscuit a day for every four men. But God decreed it that Captain Gourgue, at five hundred leagues from France, should meet a ship of a Biscayan, his friend, who gave him ten quintals of biscuit, which was an inestimable benefit and pleasure to them, and this so much the more so, as it took them nearly as long to make these five hundred leagues as it had taken them to make nearly all the rest.

After Captain Gourgue had remained some days at Rochelle, where he received all honor, courtesy, and good treatment from the citizens, he sailed for Bordeaux, where he took the post to go to M. de Montluc to render to him an account of his voyage. He learned afterwards that the Spaniards, informed, by some one of

those who had seen him arrive at Rochelle, of what had been done in Florida, had sent eighteen pataches with a roberge of two hundred tons to intercept him, and had arrived at the road of Rochelle the same day that he had left, and, learning that he had left, had followed him as far as Blaye. Had he been informed of it in time, he would not, for anything in the world, have refused to entertain them, and according to their demand, would he have made them such a reply that they would have had great cause to be contented with it.*

The Catholic king, being afterwards informed that Gourgue could not easily be taken, offered a great sum of money to him that should bring him his head; praying, moreover, King Charles to do justice on him, as the author of so bloody an act contrary to their alliance and good league of friendship. Insomuch as (Gourgue) coming to Paris, to present himself unto the king, to signify unto him the success of his voyage, and the means which he had to subdue this whole country unto his obedience (wherein he offered to employ his life and all his goods), he found his entertainment and answer so contrary to his expectation, that, in fine, he was constrained to hide himself a long space in the court of *Roanne*, about the year 1570; and, without the assistance of President Marigny, in whose house he remained certain days, and of the receiver of *Vacqueiulx*, who always was his faithful friend, he had been in great danger; which grieved not a little Dominique de Gourgue, considering the services which he had done, as well unto him as to his predecessors, kings of France.

Dominique de Gourgue was born at Mount Marsan in Guyenne, and for twenty-five or thirty years served in the armies of France. Being a captain in charge of a place near Seine, with thirty soldiers he sustained the brunt of a part of the Spanish army; by which, being taken in the assault and having all his men cut to pieces, he was put into a galley; but, as the galley was going toward Sicily, being taken by the Turks, he was led away to Rhodes, and thence to Constantinople, and shortly afterward recovered by Romeguas commander of the army of Malta. By this means, returning home,

* "La Reprinsse de la Floride par le Cappitaine Gourgue," in the "Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida," by B. F. French, member of the historical societies of Louisiana, Georgia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts; to which account of Gourgue is the following note: "There are two MS. narratives entitled 'La Reprinsse de la Floride,' preserved in the Bibliothèque Imperial, Paris. With trifling variations, the above narrative is identical with the De Gourgue MS. in the possession of Vicomte De Gourgue's family."

he made a voyage to the coast of Africa, whence he took his course to the coast of Brazil, and to the south sea. At length, being desirous to repair the honor of France, he went to Florida. So that, having become by his continual warlike actions, both by land and by sea, a no less skilful mariner than a valiant captain, he made himself feared by the Spaniards, and acceptable unto the queen of England for his excellent virtues. He died in the year 1582.*

* "Dominique de Gourgue. Queen Elizabeth invited him to command an English fleet against the Spaniards, but he died at Tours on his way to England." —Encyclopædia, Philada., 1798.

"He was tendered by Don Antonio a command of his fleet to defend his right to the crown of Portugal against Philip the Second, which he promptly accepted; but, on his way to join the Portuguese prince, he died at Tours, of a sudden illness." — Introduction to "La Reprinse de la Floride par le Cappitaine Gourgue."

CHAPTER VI.

THE COUNTRY AND ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES OF FLORIDA.

BY HERNANDO D'ESCALANTE FONTANEDO.

HERNANDO D'ESCALANTE FONTANEDO was born at Carthagená, in South America, in 1538. When thirteen years of age, on his way to Spain to be educated there, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Florida; captured by the Indians, and detained a prisoner there for seventeen years. He spoke four of the Indian languages, and, after his return to Spain, accompanied, as an interpreter, the expedition of Don Pedro Menéndez to Florida in 1565. The following from his Memoirs—among the “Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida,” by B. F. French—is a proper sequel to what has already been said of Florida, and especially of the peninsula.

Florida and the Lucayan Islands are situated on one side of the Bahama Channel, which passes between Havana and Florida. But nearer the mainland, and extending from east to west, lie other islands, called the Martyrs, on account of the great number of men who have been put to death there; and on the rocks of the coast where a great many have been shipwrecked. There are two Indian villages on these islands, one of which is called Guaragunve, or the Village of Tears, and the other, smaller, Cuchiyaga. These islands extend from west to east, and the mainland of Florida lies at no great distance to the eastward. Westward of these islands lies a great channel through which no pilot dares to pass with a large vessel, because toward the west exist a number of treeless islands. Formerly they probably were covered with earth, which the tides have carried off, leaving only barren shores of sand about seven miles in circumference. They are called the Tortugas, because of the great number of tortoises that collect there to rest during the night. Going northward, between Havana and Florida and toward the islands, the Tortugas are the first met. The Martyr Islands are forty leagues from Havana, twenty from the Tortugas, and twenty leagues more to Florida.* In going from Havana to the opposite

* That is, to arrive at the Indian province of Carlos, of which the name signifies “cruel village.” It is thus named because the inhabitants are barbarous, and very adroit in the handling of arms. They are masters of a part of

shore, the chain of the Martyr Islands commences near the coast of Florida. Here one finds himself about sixty leagues from the islands of the other extremity of the group. There are several channels, of which the principal one is very wide and of variable depths. The greatest width, as nearly as I can remember, from the report of the Indians, is toward the Bahama Islands.

The group of the Martyr Islands, lying toward the northward from Havana, terminate near a village called Tegesta, built on the borders of a river which takes its rise in the interior. It runs through fifteen leagues of country, and flows from a fresh-water lake, which the Indians visit and pretend it forms a part of Lake Mayaimi. This lake is situated in the midst of the country, and is surrounded by a great number of villages of from thirty to forty inhabitants each, who live on bread made from roots, during most of the year. They, however, cannot procure it when the waters of the lake rise very high. They live in a country covered with swamps, and cut up by high bluffs. They pay tribute to Carlos.

I think, from what I was told by some Indians from the islands of Feaga, at the beginning of the Bahamas, that the auditor Lucas Vasquez d'Ayllon, of St. Domingo, accompanied by six of his planters, came in vessels to visit this country and the river Helena, situated seven leagues to the northward, on the banks of which is a village named Orista, but which, by mistake, they called Chicora. They saw another village named Quate, but called by them Gualdape; these are all they visited, as they did not explore the interior. The truth is, there is neither gold nor silver within sixty leagues of this place, although I am informed there are both gold and copper mines in the interior toward the north. On the banks of a river and of some of the lakes are the Indian villages of Otopali, Olgatano, and many others. The people are not of the Chichimèque race, nor are they of the same race as the inhabitants of the river Jordan. Their principal king is called, in the language of the Carlos Indians, Zertepe, and is superior to all the other chiefs.

Juan Ponce de Leon, believing the reports of the Indians of Cuba and San Domingo to be true, made an expedition into Florida to discover the river Jordan. This he did, either because he wished to acquire renown, or, perhaps, because he hoped to become young again by bathing in its waters. Many years ago a number of Cuban Indians went in search of this river, and entered the province of Carlos; but Sequene, the father of Carlos, took them prisoners,

the country extending as far as the village of Guasaca, near the Lake Mayaimi, thus named on account of its great size.

and settled them in a village, where their descendants are still living. The news that these people had left their own country to bathe in the river Jordan spread among all the kings and chiefs of Florida, and, as they were an ignorant people, they all set out in search of this river, which was supposed to possess the powers of rejuvenating old men and women. So eager were they in their search, that they did not pass a river, a brook, a lake, or even a swamp, without bathing in it; and even to this day they have not ceased to look for it, but always without success. The natives of Cuba, braving the dangers of the sea, became the victims of their faith, and thus it happened that they came to Carlos, where they built a village. They came in such great numbers that, although many have died, there are still many living there, both old and young. While I was a prisoner in those parts I bathed in a great many rivers, but I never found the right one.

Between Abolachi and Olagale is a river which the Indians call Guasaca-Esqui, which means Reed River. It is on the sea-coast, and at the mouth of this river the pearls are found in oysters and other shells; from thence they are carried into all the provinces and villages of Florida; especially to Tocobajo, which is the nearest place, and where the greatest cacique or king of this country resides. This village is situated on the right coming from Havana. The name of the chief is Toco-Baja-Chile.

Let us now leave Tocobajo, Abolachi, Olagale, and Mogoso, which are distinct kingdoms, and speak of the villages and market-towns of King Carlos, who was afterwards put to death by Captain Reynoso for some hostile demonstration. The most important of these villages are Tampa, Tomo, Tuchi, Togo, No, Sinapa, Sinacsta, Metamapo, Sacaspada, Calaobe, Estame, Yagua, Guaya, Guevu, Muspa, Casitoa, Talesta, Coyovea, Futun, Teguemapo, Comachica, Luiseyove, besides two other villages whose names I do not recollect, as it is now ten years since I was there. In the interior, on Lake Mayaimi, there are Cutespa, Tavagueme, Tonsobe, Enemapa, and others whose names I have forgotten. In the Lucayan Islands there are two Indian villages, subjects of King Carlos, one of which is called Guaragunve, and the other Cuchiaga. Carlos was sovereign of fifty villages, as his father had been up to his death. The power is now in the hands of his son Sebastian, who bears this name, because Don Pedro Menendez de Aviles conferred it upon him when he took him to Havana to be educated. Notwithstanding the good treatment the Indians received from Menendez, they revolted a second time, which was more serious than the first. Most of our strategy was known to them. No one knows

that country as well as I do; for I was a prisoner there from the age of thirteen to thirty, and I speak four of the languages of its people. There is only the language of the Ais and Feaga which I am not acquainted with, because I have never lived among them.

The Abolachi* are a powerful nation, rich in pearls, but they have no gold, except what is brought from the mines of Onagatano, situated in the Snow mountains of Onagatano, the furthest of the Abolachi possessions, and still further from the nations of Olacatano, Olagale, Mogoso, and Canogacole. The last are said to be a numerous and warlike people. They are artists, and can paint everything they see. Canogacole means "*wicked people*." They only speak their native language, are an honorable and faithful people, and not like the Biscayan, who wanted to sell Menendez to the Indians, and had not a mulatto and I prevented him by exposing his treachery, we all should have been put to death; and Menendez, instead of dying at Santander, would have perished in Florida.

I have elsewhere said that this chief was sovereign of the river of Reeds, where the pearls and the mines of lapis lazuli are found; but further on the village of Olagale is subject to him, where also gold is found.

A Biscayan named Don Pedro was a prisoner in this country, and had he shown a courage proportionate to the favors which he had received from his majesty, the Indians of Ais, Guacata, and Feaga, would long ago have submitted. He spoke perfectly the language of Ais and all those I have mentioned above; and also that which is spoken at Mayaca and Mayajuaca, on the other side towards the north.

The country of the kings of Ais and of Feaga is very poor. It contains neither gold nor silver mines; it is only the sea which enriches it, since many vessels laden with precious metals are shipwrecked there, such as the Farfan and the Howker. On board of the latter was Anton Granado, and Captain Juan Christobal, whom the natives made slaves; and killed Don Martin de Guzman, Captain Hernando de Andino, and Juan Orvis. On board of this ship were the two sons of Alonzo de Mesa, and their uncle. They were all rich, and I the poorest among them,† yet I had twenty-five pesos of fine gold. My father, who was a commander, and my mother had both served his majesty in Peru, and subsequently in Carthagena,

* Apalache.

† From this it appears that Ais and Feaga are somewhere about the extremity of the peninsula of Florida. There was an Ais west of the Red River in Texas, which Moscoso passed through when he sought to reach Mexico by land.

where they established a colony. I, as well as one of my brothers, was born there. They were sending us to Spain to be educated, when we were shipwrecked on the Florida coast;* as well as the fleet from New Spain commanded by the son of Don Pedro Menendez.

I afterwards talked with a Spaniard whom the Indians had kept in a starving condition. He told me that he came from Nicaragua in one of the Mexican vessels bound for Spain, which was commanded by an Asturian, a son of Don Pedro Menendez. That he was only a sailor on one of the shipwrecked vessels of the fleet, and ignorant of the fate of the rest until after he had talked with the Indians who went armed to the coast of Ais and returned with very considerable riches in the form of ingots of gold, sacks of Spanish coins, and quantities of merchandise. As this man had been a prisoner there only a short time, and knew nothing of the Indian languages, and as Juan Rodriguez knew them well, we served as interpreters for him and others.

Of the wealth which the Indians found in bars of gold and Mexican jewelry, belonging to the shipwrecked passengers, amounting to more than a million, the chief retained the best part for himself, and divided the remainder among the Indians of Ais, Feaga, Guacata, Mayajuaca, and Mayaca. Most of the vessels which had been shipwrecked were from Cuba and Honduras, and going in search of the river Jordan, which explains how the Indians of Ais, Feaga, and the Guaragunve Islands became so enriched by sea, and not by land.

From Tocobajo to St. Helena there are about six hundred leagues of coast. This country produces neither gold nor silver, nor are any metals found, except those which accident brings to Florida from over the sea. We know that the Indians that live there raise flocks and herds of animals, and cultivate the land. I cannot say positively that sugar can be made there; I know they planted cane, and that it grew, but I did not remain long enough to see the result. The inhabitants of all the provinces which I have named, from Tocobajo to St. Helena, are much given to fishing. They are very adroit at drawing the bow and also very treacherous, and I am convinced they can never become Christians. They should all be taken, placed on ships, and scattered through the various islands, and even on the Spanish main, where they might be sold. By such clever

* The route to sail from Carthagena to Cadiz, in Spain, was at that time by the western and by the eastern extremity of the Island of Cuba, and by the Azores Islands.

means they might become civilized, and Spaniards established here. These latter could then form settlements, raise cattle, and give assistance to numbers of vessels which are lost on the coast of the province of Satoriva, at or near St. Augustine, San Matheo, where the French Lutherans established a fort for the purpose of plundering all vessels that arrive from the mainland, whether from Mexico, Peru, or any other country. They have already done this thing, and taken refuge on the San Matheo River [St. Johns], where dwell in villages the perfidious chiefs Satoriva and Alimacany.

On the banks of the San Matheo, sixty leagues further inland, reside other independent chiefs: Cardecha, Encappe, Utina, Saranay, and Moloa, who govern other villages reaching as far as Mayajuaca in the Ais country, near the district planted with reeds, which our guides said was the place where Don Pedro de Menendez made terms of peace with them. In ascending the river San Matheo, one can go as far as Tocobaga on the west side of Florida, but I do not advise any one to go as far as this river. After having passed the bar of the river (St. Johns), one might go as far as Agacay, which is fifty or sixty leagues from the coast, or even as far as Utina where he could disembark and proceed from village to village until arrived at Canogacola, the inhabitants of which are subjects of Tocabaja. Thence he could go on to the very furthest known point situated on another great river, whither De Soto went and where he died.

The conquest of this country would be advantageous to his majesty for the security of his fleets going to Peru, New Spain, and ports of the West India Islands. These fleets must necessarily pass through the Bahama Channel and close to this coast.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTE (1), page 22.

THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA.

THE fundamental maxim of Spanish jurisprudence in America is, that all conquered domains belonged to the Crown, and not to the State, nor to the nation. The bull of Alexander VI., which is, as it were, the great charter upon which Spain founded her rights, gave to Isabella and Ferdinand all the countries which had been or should be discovered. These princes and their successors have constantly regarded themselves as the absolute proprietors of all the lands conquered, by their subjects, in the new world. Every possession is but a concession on their part, and returns to them. The chiefs of the different expeditions, the governors of the different colonies, the officers of justice, and the ministers of religion were all appointed by the sovereign, and removable at his will. The people had no privilege independent of the crown, and which could serve as a barrier to despotism. It is true that when the towns were built, and formed into corporations, the people of them had the right to elect their magistrates, and to be governed by the laws of the community. In states, even the most despotic, this feeble spark of liberty is not entirely extinguished; but in the towns of America the legislation is purely municipal, and limited to objects of police and interior commerce. In all that regards the general administration and the public interest, the will of the sovereign is law. There is no political power derived from the people; all authority is concentrated in the crown and the officers appointed by the king.

When the conquests of Spain in America were terminated, the kings of Spain, forming a plan of administration for their new dominions, divided them into two immense governments, the viceroyalty of New Spain and that of Peru: the first extending over all the provinces of North America belonging to Spain; the second over all its possessions in South America. This disposition, which from the commencement had great inconveniences, induced still more important ones, when the population and industry of the distant provinces of each viceroyalty had progressed. The people of these provinces, too far from the residence of the viceroys, complained of not being able to communicate with them at so great a distance. On the other hand, the authority of the viceroys must necessarily have been feeble and uncertain in its operation over countries so remote from their observation. They believed they had found a remedy for this evil in establishing in this century (18th), at Santa Fè de Bogota, capital of the new kingdom of Grenada, a third viceroyalty, whose

jurisdiction extends over all the kingdom of Tierra Firme and the province of Quito. Each of these viceroys, within the limits of his government, not only represented the person of the sovereign, but even enjoyed the prerogatives of the crown in all their extent. As the king they exercised supreme authority in the civil, military, and criminal cases. They could preside at all the tribunals; they alone had the right to appoint to many important employments, and the privilege to fill during the interim those which are at the nomination of the sovereign until the arrival of the successor appointed by the king. The exterior pomp, which accompanied them, was proportioned to their dignity and the extent of their power. Their court was formed upon the model of that of Madrid. Foot and horse guards, a numerous household, and the greatest magnificence gave them the air rather of sovereigns than of governors exercising a delegated authority.

But as the viceroy could not exercise in person the functions of supreme magistrate in all parts of a jurisdiction so extensive, he is aided in his administration by officers and tribunals like those of Spain. The conduct of affairs in the provinces is confided to magistrates of different orders and different denominations, some of which are appointed by the king, and others by the viceroy; but all receive orders from the viceroy, and are subject to his jurisdiction.

The administration of justice appertained to tribunals, known under the name of audiencias, formed upon the model of the Spanish chancery. The number of judges is in proportion to the extent and importance of their jurisdictions. The place of judge in a court of audiencia is as honorable as lucrative, and generally filled by persons of merit and talents who make the tribunal respected. They have cognizance of civil and criminal causes; but the two kinds of cases are divided between the judges. The Spanish viceroys have often attempted to preside over the tribunals of justice; and their distance from the metropolis giving them boldness, they have sometimes aspired to a power that their master dared not take to himself. To arrest an undertaking whose success would have banished safety and justice from the Spanish colonies, in submitting the life and property of the citizens to the will of a single man, the kings of Spain have made a great number of laws which forbid, in the most express terms, the viceroys from meddling in the business pertaining to audiencias, or giving their opinion or vote upon any point contested before these tribunals. Private cases which depended on some general question of civil law, and even the rules enacted by the viceroy, must be submitted to the revision of the audiencia, which may be regarded, in this respect, as an intermediate power placed between the viceroy and the people. But as all opposition, even legal, to the authority of a magistrate who represents the sovereign, and who holds his power of him, is little in accord with the spirit of Spanish policy, the reserves under which this power is granted to the audiencia are remarkable. They could make remonstrances to the viceroy, but in case where there is direct opposition between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, the latter must be put in execution, and there remained to the audiencia only the right to lay the matter before the king and the Council of the Indies. This single privilege of remonstrance, and of giving counsel to a man to whom all the rest of the nation owed implicit obedience, gave a great dignity to the audiencias, as did also another right which they enjoyed. At

the death of the viceroy, when no provision had been made by the king for a successor, the sovereign power passed to the audiencia resident in the capital of the viceroyalty, and the oldest magistrate, assisted by his colleagues, exercised all the functions of the viceroy, so long as the vacancy lasted. In matters submitted to the cognizance of audiencias as courts of ordinary jurisdiction, their sentence is definite in all disputes concerning property of a value less than six thousand pesos. But when the object of the suit exceeded this sum, their decision was subject to a revision, and carried by appeal to the Council of the Indies. (Richer's *Histoire Moderne*, vol. 18, p. 275.)

It must, indeed, be agreed that possessions, situated from two to five thousand leagues from the fountain of authority, five times the extent of the mother country, and containing a larger population, could not, for upwards of three centuries, have been maintained in constant and peaceable subjection, without giving full employment to the genius and reflection of the legislator. I ascribe all the merit to the Council of the Indies, that supreme tribunal, where all violations of the laws, and all abuses of authority in Spanish America, are judged, and from which all the regulations, all the decrees relating to the government of the colonies, proceed. Europe does not furnish an example of another tribunal whose decisions have been, during three centuries, so luminous and wise as those which have resulted, and still continue to result from the deliberations of this. ("Travels in South America," from 1801 to 1804, by F. Depons, who resided twenty-two years in South America.)

To this council, one of the most important of the monarchy, for its dignity and power, is granted the supreme administration of all the Spanish domains in America. It was established by Ferdinand, in 1511, and received a more perfect form under Charles V. in 1524. Its jurisdiction embraces ecclesiastical, civil, military, and commercial affairs. It is thence emanate all the laws relative to the government and policy of the colonies, which must be approved by two-thirds of the members before being published in the name of the king. It confers all the offices whose nomination is reserved to the crown. Every person employed in America, from the viceroy to the least officer, is subject to its authority. It examines the conduct, recompenses the services, and punishes the misdemeanors. They lay before it all the propositions, and all the public and secret memoirs sent from America, as well as all the plans of administration, police, and commerce proposed for the colonies. From the first establishment of this council the constant object of the Catholic kings has been to maintain its authority, and to give to it, from time to time, new prerogatives that might render it formidable to all their subjects in the new world. To the wise regulations and vigilance of this honorable tribunal, may be attributed, in a great measure, what remains of public virtue and order in a country where so many circumstances conspire to disorder and corruption.

As the king is supposed to preside at the Council of the Indies, this tribunal is always held at the place where the court has its residence. There was another tribunal required to regulate the affairs of commerce, which demanded the immediate inspection of superiors. They established it, the year 1501, at Seville, whose port was the only one that had intercourse with the new world. It was called *Casa de la Contratacion*. It is at the same time an office of commerce and a court of justice. In the first of these qualities it takes cognizance

of all that relates to the commerce of Spain with America; and determines the merchandise that must be imported into the colonies, and has the inspection of that which Spain receives in return. It decides the departure of the fleets, the freight, and the size of the vessels, their equipment, and their destination. As a court of judicature it judges all affairs, civil, commercial, and criminal, which take place in consequence of the commercial interests between Spain and America. In either kind they cannot appeal from its decisions, except to the Council of the Indies.

Such is a sketch of the system of government adopted by Spain for its colonies in America. (Richer.)

NOTE (2), page 97.

INDIAN BOWS.

The following extracts, taken from an article by General Jas. S. Brisbin, U. S. A., entitled "Indian Bows and Arrows," published in a periodical, will give an idea of the Indian bow, and of the force with which it sends an arrow.

"The Sioux and Crows make the best bows of all the Indians of the West. The Sioux bow is about four feet long, one and a half inches wide, and an inch thick at the middle. It tapers from the centre or grasp towards each end, and is but half an inch wide and half an inch thick at the ends. When unstrung a good bow is perfectly straight, and, if properly seasoned and made, will always retain its elasticity and straightness.

"All bows differ in length and strength, being gauged for the arms of those who are to use them. A white man would, until he learned the sleight of it, find himself unable to bend even the weakest war-bow. A white man can send an arrow as far and as deep as an Indian. I once had an officer, named Belden, who had lived twelve years with the Indians, and he could shoot an arrow into a buffalo while running, so that the point would come out on the opposite side. He would also plunge an arrow into a beast so that it disappeared. The power of an Indian bow can be better understood when it is known that the most powerful revolver will not send a ball through a buffalo. Belden said he had seen a bow throw an arrow five hundred yards, and I, myself, have seen one discharged entirely through a board an inch thick.

"The Sioux and Cheyenne bows are made strong on the back by a layer of sinew glued to the wood. This sinew, as well as the bow-string, is taken from the back of the buffalo. It starts at the hump, and runs along the spinal column to the tail, and is about six feet in length. The surface of the bow is made flat, and then roughened with a file or stone, the sinew being dipped in hot glue and laid on the wood. The sinew is then lapped at the ends and on the middle or grasp of the bow. The string is attached while fresh, twisted, and left to dry on the bow. The whole outside of the wood and sinew is next covered with a thick solution of glue, and the bow is done.

"The Crow Indians make bows out of elk-horn. To do so, they take a large horn or prong, and saw slices off each side of it; these slices are then filed or rubbed down until the flat sides fit nicely together, when they are glued and wrapped at the ends. Four slices make a bow, it being jointed in the middle. To make it secure, another slice is laid on the bow at the grasp, where it is

glued fast. The whole is then filed down until it is smooth and perfectly proportioned, when the white bone is ornamented, carved, and painted. Nothing can exceed the beauty of these bows, and it takes an Indian about three months to make one. They are very rare and expensive, and Indians do not sell them. Mr. Belden had a very fine elk-horn bow, which he had paid an Indian thirty-two dollars to make. The elk-horn bow is so stiff that it is almost impossible to bend it; but after some practice it can be bent with apparent ease, and made to send an arrow four hundred yards.

"In travelling, the Indians carry the bow in a sheath attached to the arrow-quiver, and the whole is slung to the back by a belt of elk or buckskin, which crosses the breast diagonally, and is fastened to the ends of the quiver. The quiver and bow-sheath are generally made of the skin of an ox or some wild animal, and is tanned with the hair on. The quiver is ornamented with tassels, fringe, or buckskin, and the belt across the breast is painted or worked with beads. Each Indian has his sign or name on his belt, bow, or sheath."

In connection with this account of modern Indian bows, it may not be out of place to say something of the most ancient Greek bows. It appears, from the account of Ulysses's bow, in the twenty-first book of Homer's *Odyssey*, that the best and most elegant bows were made of horn, and that the test of skill and strength was to send an arrow through a number of rings placed at intervals in a straight and horizontal line.

Penelope goes to the armory to get the bow.

There from the column, where aloft it hung,
Reached, in its splendid case, the bow unstrung.
* * * * *

She then proceeds, attended by her train, to the banquet hall.

Behind, her train the polished coffer brings,
Which held the alternate brass and silver rings.

She then tells the suitors:—

Who first Ulysses's wondrous bow shall bend,
And through twelve ringlets the fleet arrow send,
Him will I follow and forsake my home.

Telemachus then arranges the rings.

A trench he opened; in a line he placed
The level axes, and the points made fast.

Then Telemachus, having failed to bend the bow, Leiodes, the priest, tries.

With tender hands the stubborn *horn* he strains,
The stubborn *horn* resisted all his pains.

Finally Ulysses takes the bow and essays it, and then shoots.

One hand aloft displayed
The bending *horns*, and one the string essayed,
From his essaying hand the string let fly,
Twanged short and sharp like the shrill swallow's cry.
* * * * *
Now sitting as he was, the cord he drew,
Through every ringlet levelling his view,

Then notched the shaft, released, and gave it wing;
 The whizzing arrow vanished from the string,
 Sung on direct, and threaded every ring.
 The solid gate its fury scarcely bounds;
 Pierced through and through the solid gate resounds.

In Book IV. of the *Iliad*, Pallas counsels the warlike Pandarus, for strength renowned, to shoot Menelaus.

He heard, and madly at the motion pleased,
 His polished bow with hasty rashness seized.
 'Twas formed of *horn*, and smoothed with artful toil,
 A mountain goat resigned the shining spoil,
 Who, pierced long since, beneath his arrow bled;
 The stately quarry on the cliffs lay dead,
 And sixteen palms his brow's large honors spread;
 The workmen joined and shaped the bended *horns*,
 And beaten gold each taper point adorns.

The bow which the king of the Macrobian Ethiopians sent to Cambyses was so strong that, of all the Persians, only Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, could bend it, and then only the breadth of two fingers. The message of the Ethiopian to the Persian was: The king of Ethiopia sends this counsel to the king of Persia—When his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then, with a superiority of numbers, he may venture to attack the Macrobian Ethiopians.* When he had finished, he unbent the bow, and placed it in the hands of the Ichthofagi, emissaries of Cambyses. (Herodotus, *Thalia*, xxi.)

NOTE (3), page 113.

INDIAN LANGUAGE OF SIGNS.

Captain Howard Hansbury, U. S. A., in the report of his expedition to Salt Lake, gives the following in regard to an interview he had with a band of Sioux Indians on the main fork of the Laramie River.

"There was one circumstance, however, that attracted my attention in this interview with these untutored sons of the forest, more than any other, and that was the perfection and precision to which they appear to have reduced a system of purely arbitrary and conventional signs, by which, all over this vast region, intercourse, though of a limited character, may be held between tribes who are perfect strangers to each other's tongue. Major Bridger, who was personally known to many of our visitors, and to all of them by the repute of his numerous exploits, was seated among us. Although intimately acquainted with the languages of the Crows, Blackfeet, and most of the tribes west and north-west of the Rocky Mountain chain, he was unable to speak to either the Sioux

* "The Macrobian [long-lived] Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya which lies to the Southern Ocean." (Herodotus.)

Ethiopian is a name that anciently was given to dark-colored people. The Arabs were called Ethiopians. Zippora, daughter of the Midian priest Jethro, and wife of Moses, was an Ethiopian.

or Cheyennes in their own language or that of any tribe which they could understand. Notwithstanding this, he held the whole circle for more than an hour, perfectly enchained, and evidently most deeply interested in a conversation and narrative, the whole of which was carried on without the utterance of a single word. The simultaneous exclamations of surprise or interest, and the occasional bursts of hearty laughter, showed that the whole party perfectly understood not only the theme, but the minutiae of the pantomime exhibited before them. I looked on with close attention, but the signs to me were for the most part altogether unintelligible. Upon after inquiry, I found that this language of signs is universally understood by all the tribes."

NOTE (4), page 123.

THE DESERTS OF SONORA.

"The country around Guyamas for a semicircle of one hundred miles is a blasted, barren desert, entirely destitute of wood, water, or grass, producing only cacti, and a stunted growth of mesquit. The water at Guyamas is all procured from wells, and has a brackish, unpleasant taste, and generally causes temporary diseases with those unaccustomed to its use. From Guyamas we passed over this hard, barren country to Hermosillo, the principal town of Sonora, and one of the most beautiful cities in the northern part of Mexico, if not on the whole continent of America. The distance is a fraction over one hundred miles, through a plain bounded by wild, desolate, and rugged mountains, destitute of wood, grass, or running water.

The city of Hermosillo is situated on the Sonora River, in the valley of Horcasitas, about sixty miles from the Gulf of California. This valley is about four miles wide at this place, and continues a southwestern course to the Gulf. The soil is very productive.

I learned at this time, June, 1854, that Colonel Gray, the surveyor of the Texas Railroad Company, had come down as low as Altar in Sonora. I immediately made up a company of Mexicans and Americans for the purpose of exploring the Gulf of California above the line of 31° north latitude, where it was then proposed our purchase should strike the Gulf of California. I started from Hermosillo with a company of fifteen men and twenty-two animals, well armed and provisioned for the journey. On arriving at Altar, latitude $30^{\circ} 45'$, we learned that Gray had been there and made observations. . . . Colonel Gray had gone to Sonoita, about a hundred and fifty miles above Altar, to which place we continued, where we learned he had made an exploration of the coast and gone on to California.

We followed Gray's trail down to the coast, a distance of about fifty miles over the Pinaceta Mountains, and then through about fifteen or twenty miles of sand-hills to the beach. There is neither fresh water, wood, grass, nor vegetation of any kind here, nothing but a desert of sand-hills as far as the eye can reach up and down the Gulf. The desert extends at least two hundred and fifty miles along the coast, by about twenty-five or thirty miles wide. There is no vestige of a port. The channel of the Gulf is on the Lower California side. We travelled along this miserable shore, over these interminable sand-

hills (having no grass for our animals and nothing but the brackish salty water obtained by digging wells in the sand along the sea-shore), for a week, when we reached the mouth of the Colorado River. The mouth of the river is worse than the shore of the Gulf, if such a thing could be possible, as the land is subject to overflow for many miles around, and is all cut up with sloughs and back-water. This character of country prevails until within four or five miles of the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers, frequently overflowed, and consequently sandy and barren." (Charles D. Posten's narrative in J. Ross Browne's "Tour through Arizona and Sonora.")

NOTE (5), page 180.

OLANCHO ANTICUO.

Old Olancho was on or near the river Olancho, a lower confluent of the Rio Guayape, which is the same as the Patook, that empties into the Caribbean Sea, about midway between Cape Honduras and Cape Gracias a Dios. Wm. V. Wells, who visited Honduras in 1854, and is the author of "Explorations and Adventures in Honduras," gives an interesting account of Honduras, from which I extract the following in regard to Olancho Antiquo:—

"We arrived at dark at the estate of La Herradura or Horseshoe. Among the legends of Olancho is that from which this hacienda received its name. Don Ignacio related that in the days of his ancestors, gold must have been plentier than iron, and in proof of its abundance, that a golden horseshoe was found on the estate.

Early on the following morning our little cavalcade swept rapidly away from the hacienda. At a distance of ten or twelve miles out of our path stood a range of mountains, the loftiest peak of which, known as the Boqueron or Great Mouth, had, according to tradition, opened, and destroyed the ancient city [Olancho Antiquo]. A huge rent resembling the place of a land-slide was visible, and where an opening in the dense forest permitted, could be seen immense rocks tumbled about in dire confusion as by some great convulsion of nature.

The great wealth of Olancho in olden time had centred at the ancient town, which was once a sort of local emporium of fashion and luxury. Juarros names Diego de Alvarado as the founder of San Jorge de Olancho in 1630.

Comparing all statements, traditionary and others, I was doubtful whether Olancho Viego (old) had been overwhelmed by a volcano or a land-slide. But though there are no evidences of volcanic eruptions on the Atlantic side of Honduras, I was inclined to the former, having from the hills near Jutecalpa observed the mountain ridge immediately overlooking its site, and on clear days distinctly seen the chasm, possibly an ancient crater, whence had issued the eruption.

Within a mile of the ruins we came to a jungle, broken with deep pits, fallen trees, and climbing parasites, passing laboriously through which we at length reached the object of our search. The town could never have been a large one, probably not containing more than three or four thousand inhabitants. A more desolate spot could not well be imagined. I could discern only occasion-

ally traces of adobe houses, once clustering in neighborly fraternity; but the winds had scattered far and wide the very dust to which they crumbled. A few square stones, resembling hearth-stones, suggested yet sadder thoughts. A scanty vegetation had overgrown the desolate waste.

We fastened the animals to a tree, and penetrated into what appeared to have been the plaza, and a heap of crumbled adobe denoted the site of the church. We proceeded cautiously towards the foot of the mountain. The scene increased in strangeness as we advanced. Here and there grew still the *jocoral*, proffering in vain the domestic gourd, or drinking-cup, and the tall *guacal* depending its giant calabash, or washing tub, where the voice of the *lavadera* had long been hushed in silence. One lofty *ceiba* upon which entwined the white and red bell-flowers of the creeping *lianas* stood like a queen, proud and sorrowful on the field where her race had fallen. The few other trees, stunted and ugly, seemed to stare desolately at each other; and upon one protruding leafless branch sat an old monkey, a wandering native of the jungle.

There were no evidences of scoria or volcanic substances, or if any existed, they had become covered with the loam formed by accumulation of leaves and the annual washings from above. The steep mountain side before us, up which there appeared no path among the matted thicket, forbade our attempting an ascent to the summit; but from below there seemed to have been either a sudden and awful land-slide (a conjecture favored by the surface of bare rock down the chasm) or an ancient crater existed at the top. The ashes mentioned in the commonly received narration consisted probably of the dust raised by the crushing to pieces of dried mud houses—adobes.

How Olancho Antiquo was destroyed is a matter of conjecture; but that a thriving and well-located town once existed there, is beyond dispute. It is generally believed much gold lies buried beneath the ruins, but no one is valorous enough to seek it. Oblivion has thrown her mantle over the place, and only exaggerated monkish legends remain to tell of its former existence.

The sun was in the west when we remounted, and left the forbidding precincts of Olancho Viego. The nearest hacienda was that of Penuare, to reach which we were obliged to cross the Rio de Olancho, and to traverse some ten miles of dark woods with an uncertain path. The river of Olancho, which winds rather romantically around the base of *El Boqueron*, takes its rise towards Manto, and empties into the Guayape half way between Catacamas and Jute-calpa."

NOTE (6), page 182.

TIERRA-FIRME AND THE TOWN OF PANAMA.

"I preserve the Spanish designation in order that the reader may not confound this country with the continent in general, which they often call *Terrefirme*," firm land or continent.

The kingdom of Tierra-Firme commences on the north at the river of Darien, continues by Nombre de Dios, Bocas del Toro, Bahia de l'Amirante. It is bounded on the west by the river de los Dorandos and the North Sea. Towards the South Sea it extends from Punta Garda in the province of Costa Rica,

and continues by Punta de Mariatos and Morto de Puestas as far as the Gulf of Darien from whence it stretches along the southern coast, and by Puerto de Pinas and Morro Quemado as far as the Bay of St. Boneventure. Its length, from east to west, is one hundred and eighty leagues, although in following the north coast it is more than two hundred and thirty on the north side. Its width, from north to south, is that of the Isthmus of Panama, which embraces the province of Panama and a part of that of Darien. The isthmus is generally twenty leagues in width; there are places where it is but fourteen; but it widens towards Choco and towards Sitaron, as well as on the side of the western part of the province of Veragua, where it is probably twenty leagues in width from one sea to the other. This kingdom contains two provinces, Panama and Darien. Some geographers give to it that of Veragua; but it belongs now [1775] to the Audiencia of Guatemala.

PANAMA.—The towns, burghs, villages, and dwellings of the province of Panama are situated on the plains which are along the sea-shore. The rest of its territory is cut up with mountains which the inclemency of the air and sterility render uninhabitable.

The towns are Panama, which is the capital of the province and the metropolis of the kingdom, Porto Bello, San Iago de Nata de los Cavalleros, and Los Santos.

Panama is situated on the isthmus of the same name, near a beach bathed by the waves of the South Sea. It is in $8^{\circ} 57'$ north latitude. The name which they have given it is taken from the language of the ancient inhabitants, and means *place abounding in fish*, because there was there much fish, and the Indians had built there a multitude of fishermen's huts. The Spaniards settled a colony there in 1518. In 1520 it obtained the name of town, and in a short time became very flourishing, but in 1670 it was pillaged and burned by English pirates. The Spaniards rebuilt it in the place which it now occupies; it is distant a league and a half from its ancient site. Quite near its walls on the north side is a hill which they call Ancon. It rises more than a hundred toises [600 feet] above the plain.

The port of Panama is formed in the road itself, and is "covered with" a number of islands, the principal of which are Havo, Puerco and Flamencos; the anchorage is at the middle one, whence it takes its name. It is three leagues from the town, and the vessels have nothing to fear there.

It is in this town that the flotilla of Peru lands its treasure; it serves also as the entrepot for the merchandise which ascends the river Chagres. At nearly all times of the year strangers arrive at Panama. Some come from Spain to pass to the ports of the South Sea; others return from the same ports to return to Europe. Besides these advantages there is another at Panama, which is the pearl fishery. It is carried on chiefly at the islands in its gulf, principally at those of Roi and Tubago. Nearly all the inhabitants employ negroes in this valuable fishery. The method is the same as that which they follow in the Gulf of Persia and at Cape Comorin. The pearls of the Gulf of Panama are generally of a very fine water, and a very considerable size. The greatest quantity passes to Lima and the rest of Peru; they send a few to Europe.

They formerly got gold from the mines of Tierra Firme, which much

increased the wealth of Panama, but they have nearly entirely abandoned them.

Porto-Bello owes its origin to its good port. This town is situated upon the slope of a mountain which environs the port; it is in the form of a crescent. The name of the port makes known all its advantages. The entry is wide, and very well defended by a fort situated on the north point. They reckon about six hundred toises from one point to the other. (Richer's "*Histoire Moderne*."')

Nombre de Dios was the principal port on the north side of the isthmus of Panama before the business was removed from it to Porto-Bello, which is in the same degree of longitude as Panama.

NOTE (7), page 188.

THE DESERT OF MOTUPE.

In 1740, Don Antonio Ulloa and Don George Juan went from Guayaquil to Motupe by the route which Pizarro had travelled. The following is Ulloa's account of his journey:—

Sechura is the last burgh of the jurisdiction of Piura, on this side. . . . On leaving the town there are but two roads, that of the desert and another called *Rodeo*. It is necessary to choose between these two routes. If we take that of the desert, besides the horses it is necessary to take mules at Sechura to carry the water with which, at half way on the route, they water the beasts of burden. They fill with water *outrés* or great gourds; for four beasts of burden, there is one mule loaded with water, and another for the two mules that carry the provender. When they travel in a wheeled vehicle they load it with water in *outrés* made expressly for it. Whether they travel in litters, chaise, or on horseback, it is necessary that each traveller make his own provision of water to drink, without which he incurs the risk of perishing of thirst; for in all this route there is seen but sand and whirlwinds which the wind forms of sand; some scattered lumps of rock salt are seen here and there, but neither tree, grass, nor any green thing.

The 24th (of November, 1740), we left Sechura, and entering the desert we travelled without stopping, except to rest and water our mules, and the day following about five o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the burgh of Morrope, having made, twenty-eight to thirty leagues, which is the distance from this burgh to that of Sechura; and if the people of the country make it more they must not be believed. The land is so uniform, so level, and of so vast an extent that it is easy to lose the way, besides the sand is so continually moved by the wind that the most expert travellers lose the trace, and are in a moment out of the road. The skill of the guides consists in retracing their way and discovering the road on these painful occasions. For this purpose they make use of two means; the first is to observe if they have the wind against them when they go towards Lima, and on their back when they return from it; with this rule they are sure not to go astray, for the south winds constantly prevail in this country. The second method of discovering the way,

practised by the Indians, is to take in their hands, in different places, handfuls of sand and smell it; they distinguish by the odor whether the mules have passed that way, perhaps because the ordure of these animals leaves some scent upon the sand. Those who have not a sufficient knowledge of this country, and who stop to rest or to sleep, expose themselves to a great danger, for they run the risk on waking of not knowing what route to take, or become bewildered; now when one is once at a loss in the desert, he inevitably perishes of wretchedness or fatigue, as has happened to many persons.

NOTE (8), page 192.

VIRACOCHA AND HUANA CAPAC.

Yahuar Huacac (7th inca), successor and eldest son of the Inca Roca, received this name, which signifies weep blood, on an occasion of a most strange phenomenon: he actually shed tears of blood in his infancy. This prodigy gave occasion for predictions so gloomy, that, being raised in the fear of some disaster, he resolved to renounce military operations and restrict himself to the care of the government. Nevertheless the necessity of contenting his people made him raise an army; but he confided the command of it to his brother, who subdued all the country of Collasuyo, between Arequipa and Tacama. His reign was marked by singular adventures.

The eldest of his sons having, by his pride and haughty manners, caused divers mortifications to him, the inca, to humble him, sent him to tend the flocks of the sun in pastures a short distance from the court. According to the tradition of the Indians he saw, in a dream, a bearded man in a foreign habit, who told him that he also was the son of the Sun, and brother of Manco Capac;* that his name was Viracocha Inca; and that he came to inform him that the greatest part of the provinces of Chincasuya had revolted. He commanded him to inform his father of it, and he particularly advised the son to fear nothing, whatever misfortune might happen, for he would assist him on all occasions. The prince informed his father, who ridiculed the apparition. Nevertheless, very soon the report spread, that the people of Chincasuya had revolted, that they were leagued with several other nations, and that they were advancing on Cuzco to the number of forty thousand. The inca, frightened, abandoned the town, and all the inhabitants prepared to follow him. The young prince, to whom the name of Viracocha attached because of his dream, and who had continued to guard the flocks, went to his father, blamed those who had counselled him to flee, assembled the bravest, put himself at their head, entered Cuzco, and prepared to make a vigorous resistance. His example re-animated all the courageous: in a few days he found himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, and marched to meet the rebels. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but Viracocha remained conqueror; he pardoned the vanquished, and his clemency caused him to be admired by them. He labored to pacify the empire, and afterwards repaired to Muyna where his father had retired, had a conference with him, and, discontented with his projects, he

* Founder of the Peruvian empire.

returned to Cuzco, where he assumed the royal authority. He built a magnificent palace in the place which his father had chosen for his retreat. The dethroned monarch there tranquilly ended his life.

Viracocha began his reign by the construction of a superb temple in a place called Cachoc, sixteen leagues to the south of Cuzco. He dedicated this temple to the protector, whose name he had taken, and to whom he owed all his prosperity. He caused to be represented there the fac-simile of all the history of his dream; but his subjects were convinced that the temple was for himself, and adored him as a divinity. (Richer.)

"In the interior of this edifice was a species of chapel, paved with black stones, in which was a niche, the interior of which contained an immense pedestal, on which reposed the deity, as he appeared to the inca. According to the description given by Garcilasso: 'he was a man of good stature, with a large beard, more than an inch (foot?) in length, garments long and wide, like a tunic or cassock, reaching to the feet. He held the image of an unknown animal, having lion's claws, and tied by the neck with a chain, one end of which was in the hand of the statue. All this was made of stone; and because the workmen not having seen the original, nor a copy of it, knew not how to sculpture it (as they told the inca), he placed himself in the dress and position in which he said he had seen it. . . . The statue was similar to the images of our blessed apostles, and more particularly resembled that of St. Bartholomew.'" ("Peruvian Antiquities," p. 164, by Rivero and Tschudi. Translated by the late Dr. Francis L. Hawks, LL.D.)

The inca sustained the opinion which they had formed of him by brilliant deeds, which greatly extended the limits of his empire. In order to attach the curacas to himself, he granted them the honors of the *Llaulu*,* that is, a kind of diadem, but without the fringe; and the right to wear earrings, with the hair cut short, in the manner of the incas. To his great qualities, Viracocha joined the talent of prophesying. According to Peruvian tradition, he predicted that in the course of time there would arrive in Peru an unknown nation who would invade the empire, and change the religion of the country. He did all that he could that this prediction might not be known, except to the incas, and decreed that they should always make a mystery of it to the people, for fear lest their respect for the sovereigns might be diminished; but it was spread abroad notwithstanding all these precautions which they had taken to keep it concealed, and it served not a little to the success of the Spanish armies. He had for his legitimate wife *Mama Rauta*, his sister. She was whiter than the Indian women ordinarily are; it is what her name signifies.

Huana Capac (12th inca) succeeded to the throne after his father, Tupac Yupanqui. His name signifies *rich in virtues*. The Peruvian accounts boast of a golden chain, the size of the wrist, which he made at the beginning of his reign, to celebrate the day on which they were to give a name to and cut the hair of his eldest son. Garcilasso asserts that it was three hundred and fifty paces in length, and was used in the solemn fêtes at the dance of the incas. Huana subdued many nations, among which there were some barbarians that

* A head-band, with fringe of scarlet color attached, was worn only by the incas, and was with the Peruvians what the crown is to the monarchs of Europe.

his father charged him to punish. He decimated them, and all those upon whom the lot fell were put to death; he pardoned not one of them. In the course of his conquest he found some nations so barbarous that he renounced the design of conquering them, and in his contempt for them he said to his officers: "Let us go home; men of this species do not deserve to have us for their masters."* Huana Capac had several wives and many children. He was in his palace, at Tumipampa, when they announced to him that they had seen on the coast a vessel of a singular construction, conducted by men of an entirely foreign appearance. He was so much the more disturbed at this, as many prodigies seemed to announce extraordinary events, and all the people were convinced that the ancient prediction was about to be accomplished. Feeling his end approaching, he declared that the predictions of which the people had but vague ideas, portended that after twelve reigns of incas there would arrive an unknown nation which would conquer the empire. He added that the twelfth reign being accomplished in his person, he doubted not that these strangers might be the nation announced by Viracocha, and that in order to obey the Sun, his father, he commanded that they should receive them with as much submission as respect.

Huascar, or Inticusi Hualpa, was the son of Huana Capac. They gave him at first the latter name, which signifies the Sun of Joy; but he took the former, in memory of the famous golden chain which his father had had made on his account. His father gave, in violation of the law, the kingdom of Quito to his second son, Atahualpa,† whom he had by a concubine, who was a princess of Quito, and whom he much loved. Huascar took arms to subdue this kingdom to his dominion, or at least to force his brother to hold it as his vassal; but he was vanquished, and made prisoner in a bloody battle. Atahualpa wished to profit of his good fortune to mount the throne of Peru; but the laws of the empire bestowed the crown only on legitimate princes of the royal blood. He undertook to remove the obstacles to his birth by putting to death all the princes of royal blood. He assembled a great number of them, under divers pretexts, and had them all massacred, without distinction of age or sex. He pursued the others in all parts of the empire, and this persecution still continued when the Spaniards arrived. (Richer.)

NOTE (9), page 196.

PRESCOTT'S OPINION OF GARCILASSO.

When Pizarro, with his followers, butchered the unresisting Peruvians at Caxamalca, a Spaniard named Estete snatched the *borla*, a head-dress peculiar to the incas, from the head of Atahualpa. In the "Conquest of Peru," by Wm. Prescott, in vol. i. page 422, is the following note:—

"Miguel Estete, who long retained the silken diadem as a trophy of the exploit, according to Garcilasso de la Vega (Com. Real. part ii. lib. 1, chap.

* The debasement of some of the Indians on the waters of the Magdalena was almost beyond belief, so disgusting and horrible was their depravity.

† Montisinos deduces this name from *atahu*, virtue, strength; and *allapa*, good, gentle.

27), an indifferent authority for anything in this part of his history. This popular writer, whose work, from his superior knowledge of the institutions of the country, has obtained greater credit, even in what relates to the conquest, than the reports of the conquerors themselves, has indulged in the romantic vein to an unpardonable extent, in his account of the capture of Atahualpa. According to him, the Peruvian monarch treated the invaders from the first with supreme deference, as descendants of Viracocha, predicted by his oracles as to come and rule over the land. But if this flattering homage had been paid by the inca, it never would have escaped the notice of the conquerors. Garcilasso had read the Commentaries of Cortes, as he somewhere tells us; and it is probable that that general's account, well founded it appears, of a similar superstition among the Aztecs, suggested to the historian the idea of a corresponding sentiment in the Peruvians, which, while it flattered the vanity of the Spaniards, in some degree vindicated his own countrymen from the charge of cowardice incurred by their too ready submission; for, however they might be called on to resist men, it would have been madness to resist the decrees of heaven. Yet Garcilasso's romantic version has something in it so pleasing, that it has ever found favor with the majority of readers. The English student might have met with a sufficient corrective in the criticism of the sagacious and skeptical Robertson."

Europeans, in their first intercourse with the natives of Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Honduras, Mexico, and Peru, were considered by them as beings descended from heaven. Cortes marched to the city of Mexico without armed opposition from the Mexicans. He seized Montezuma in his palace, and carried him a prisoner to his quarters without armed opposition. The Mexicans afterwards armed and expelled the Spaniards from the city of Mexico; and so did the Peruvians rise against the Spaniards and exterminate many of them, and put Pizarro in such apprehension that he appealed to Cortes for assistance; the principal cities were besieged. "It was early in February, 1536, when the siege of Cuzco commenced, a siege memorable as calling out *the most heroic displays of Indian and European valor*, and bringing the two races in deadlier conflict with each other than had yet occurred in the conquest of Peru." (Conquest of Peru, vol. ii. page 51.) In the wars between the Spaniards and the Indians of America, on one side were iron armor, sharp steel swords, pikes, arbalists, arquebuses, and artillery, war-horses the terror of the Indian, savage dogs, the hardiest, bravest of Europeans well disciplined for war, and moreover superstitious fanatics, believing themselves the special instruments of heaven to conquer and convert the heathen; on the other side, bows, arrows, spears, slings, and clubs, a naked and undisciplined multitude: such were the combatants in these Mexican and Peruvian wars. Had Greeks or Romans, under similar circumstances, been opposed to the followers of Cortes and Pizarro, they might have conceived them the deities of Olympus armed with the thunderbolts of Jove, and have fled at the discharge of artillery and fire-arms with as much terror and precipitation as the wretched Indians; and had the Indians met the Romans in battle, they would, in all probability, have been handed down in history as have been the Scythians or Parthians of antiquity.

But what Arthur Helps says in his "Spanish Conquest in America" is appropriate here. "In the wars between the Spaniards and the Indians, the

horse did not play a subordinate part; the horse made the essential difference between the armies, and if in the great square of Madrid there had been raised some huge emblem in stone to commemorate the Spanish conquest in the New World, an equine, not an equestrian figure, would appropriately have crowned the work. The arms and armor might have remained the same on both sides. The ineffectual clubs and darts and lances might still have been arrayed against the sharp Biscayan sword and deadly arquebuse; the cotton doublet of Cuzco against the steel corselet of Milan; but without the horse, the victory would ultimately have been on the side of overpowering numbers. ("Spanish Conquest in America," vol. iii. p. 501.)

The reception which Atahualpa gave De Soto was not inconsistent with the wealth, splendor, and luxury of the Peruvian incas. The apartment that Atahualpa "undertook to fill with *vessels of gold and silver*, as high as one could reach," was twenty-two feet in length, and sixteen feet in breadth; and yet Huascar offered to fill this same room, not only to that height, but even to the ceiling, which was a third more. Atahualpa was the monarch of a vast empire rich in mines of gold, and he lived in all the state of a Peruvian inca.

The Peruvians were superior to the Mexicans in several respects; in policy and religion, agriculture and commerce; they were their equals in arts and manufactures. The magnificence of Montezuma is recorded by Diaz; the grandeur and glory of the Peruvian incas are in their highways, aqueducts, monuments, and temples. There is nothing in all this inconsistent with Garcilasso's account of the Peruvians and their incas.

In regard to Viracocha, the story briefly is this. The eldest son of Yahuar-Huacac saw in a dream a bearded man, in a foreign garb, who said to him that he was also the son of the Sun, and the brother of Manco Capac;* that his name was Viracocha-Inca. [See note 8.] This son of Yahuar-Huacac succeeded his father, and took the name of Viracocha. To his great qualities, Viracocha joined the talent of prophesying. According to *the tradition of the Peruvians*, he predicted that in the course of time, there would arrive in Peru an unknown nation, which would invade the empire, and change the religion of the country. There is nothing so remarkable in all this but that something similar to it, in some respects, may be found in the mythology of almost any nation; then why should Garcilasso be discredited in regard to the existence of this *fable*, and this "*tradition of the Peruvians*"?

"This popular writer, whose work, from *his superior knowledge of the institutions of this country*, has obtained greater credit, even in what relates to the conquest, than the reports of the conquerors themselves." These lines of Prescott certainly convey an idea of the superior abilities of Garcilasso, for it was in a great measure by these abilities he was enabled to acquire that "superior knowledge" and "greater credit." If he could thus acquire this superior knowledge in regard to the institutions of the country, could not the same abilities acquire a like knowledge of the events of the conquest, especially when his father was a participator in the wars of Peru, a distinguished civil officer of Cuzco, a man of superior moral and intellectual worth, a member of one of the most illustrious families of Spain; and his house the resort of the most distin-

* The founder of the Peruvian Empire.

guished of Pizarro's soldiers, with whom the young Garcilasso associated, and by whom he heard recounted the events of the conquest. Were not all these advantages of which his abilities could profit in acquiring a superior knowledge of the conquest, as they had profited of the advantages he possessed through his mother and his uncle to acquire a "superior knowledge of the institutions of the country"?

But though in the preceding note is the following: "Garcilasso, an indifferent authority for anything in this part of his history;" and also this: "But if this flattering homage had been paid by the inca, it never would have escaped the notice of the conquerors;" yet on page 481 of vol. i. of the "Conquest of Peru," is the following note by the same author: "The specification of the charges against the inca is given by Garcilasso de la Vega. *One would have wished to find them specified by some actor in the tragedy, but Garcilasso had access to the best sources of information, and when there was no motive to falsehood, as in the present case, his word may, probably, be taken.*"

Now see, page 221, the opinion of Clement Markham, who probably was better versed in the history of Peru than any American or any other European.

The brutality of the conquerors of Peru was a disgrace to humanity; their cruelty has scarcely a parallel among modern civilized nations. Their chiefs were as base and ignorant as they were brutal. Could a sense of truth, justice, or decency prevail among such a class of men? Of all the followers of Almagro and Pizarro at Caxamalca, there appear to have been only twelve that had a sense of honor and humanity, a respect for the opinion of posterity, and a regard for the fame and glory of their nation.

According to Francisco de Xeres, the secretary of Francisco Pizarro: "The few men of honor and respectability then at Cassamarca protested against the murder [of Atahualpa]. They were besides Hernando de Soto: Francisco de Chaves and Diego de Chaves, brothers, natives of Truxillo, Francisco de Fuentes, Pedro de Ayala, Diego de Mora, Francisco Moscoso, Hernando de Haro, Pedro de Mendoza, Juan de Herrada, Alonzo de Avila, and Blas de Atienza."

NOTE (10), page 209.

ENORMOUS CANES.

Don Antonio de Ulloa, in his "Voyage Historique de l'Amérique Meridionale," thus describes the canes which he met with on his journey from Guayaquil to the town of Quito, in the year 1736.

"Among the many plants which these mountains produce there are three which by their singularity appear to me deserving that I should give some description of them. They are the *Cannes* (canes), the *Vijahua*, and the *Bejuques*, materials of which they build their houses in the jurisdiction of Guayaquil, and which also serve for many other uses.

"The canes are remarkable as much for their excessive length and size, as for the water which they inclose in their tubes. Their length is ordinarily from six to eight toises (thirty-nine to fifty-two feet), and although their size varies, the thickest have but six inches, *pied de Roi*, of diameter, which makes very nearly a quarter of a Castilian ell. The firm and massive part of each

tube is six lines in thickness; if we pay attention to their thickness, it is easy to comprehend that being opened they form a plank a foot and a half wide, and we will not be astonished at the use that is made of them, whether in building houses, or in many other things. From the time they put forth they let them grow to the last stage, and then they cut them, or let them dry erect. The most of the tubes are filled with water, with this difference, that during the full moon they are either entirely full, or almost so, and that in proportion as the moon decreases their water diminishes, until in the conjunction they are entirely empty of it, or retain so little of it that it can scarcely be recognized that they had had any of it. I have cut them at all times, and my experience has every time assured me of this fact. I have also observed that when the water diminishes it is turbid, and that on the contrary, when the moon is full, or about that time, it is as clear as crystal. The Indians add other peculiarities; they say that all the tubes are not filled with water at the same time, but that between two that become filled there is one which remains empty. What is certain is that when they open a tube that is empty there are found two others in succession that are full. It is what is ordinarily observed of all these canes. They attribute to this water a virtue to preserve from all apostemes which might be caused by a fall. Therefore all travellers who descend the mountains scarcely ever fail to drink it, for to prevent the consequences of the blows and bruises which they can hardly avoid on this route. After they have cut these canes they let them dry of themselves, or cure, as they say; being dry they are extremely strong, and they make use of them for joists and rafters; they also make tables of the planks, and masts for the Balzas; they make of them the store-rooms of the vessel double, when they load them with cacao, to prevent the great heat of this fruit from consuming the wood. They make of them poles or arms of litters, and divers other like works."

NOTE (11), page 240.

LUCAS VASQUEZ DE AYLLON.

"In the year 1520, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, a licentiate, being in want of hands to work in the mines, entered into a resolution, with some associates, to try if he could steal off a number of savages from the neighboring islands, to be employed in this business. For this purpose they equipped two ships, and sailed out of the harbor of Plata, situated on the north side of Hispaniola, and steered a northwestern course, until they came to the most distant of the Lucayos Islands,* and thence to what was then a part of Florida, in 32° N. latitude, now called St. Helena. At the sight of these ships making towards the shore with expanded sails, the amazed natives ran in crowds to view them,

* Lucayos is sometimes written Luccas. It is from the Spanish word *Cayo*, a rock, *shoal*, or islet in the sea. Key is but a corruption of *Cayo*, as Key West, the Florida Keys. The Lucayos or Luccas are the Bahama Islands and shoals. The Spaniards, after depopulating Hispaniola of its aborigines, resorted to the Lucayos to kidnap their inhabitants to make slaves of them to work in the gold mines. They depopulated the whole coast of Cumana for the same purpose.

conceiving that they must be some monstrous fishes driven upon the coast : but as soon as they saw men with beards and covered with clothing land out of these floating mansions, they fled in a panic. The Spaniards, having stopped two of them, carried them off into their ships, where, after having entertained them with meat and drink, they sent them back again, clothed in the Spanish habit. The king of the country, admiring the dress, sent fifty of his people to the ships, with a present of various fruits and provisions ; and, not contented with doing this, he made a party of his subjects attend the Spaniards in the many excursions into the neighboring provinces, with which, at their request, he gratified their inclinations ; where they were presented with gold, plates of silver, pearls, etc., and received in the most hospitable manner. The Spaniards, having made their own observations, as they passed, upon the customs and manners of the inhabitants, the soil and climate, invited a large number of the natives (after they had watered their ships and were prepared for departure) to an entertainment on board their vessels, where, having plied their guests well with liquor, they took that wicked opportunity to weigh anchor and sail away with these unhappy, deluded people towards Hispaniola. Many of the poor wretches pined to death with vexation and from an obstinate refusal of food ; the greater part of what remained perished in one of the vessels that foundered at sea, and some of them, in vain appealing to the violated rights of hospitality, were hurried into a cruel and hopeless slavery. Vasquez, instead of the punishment due to so inhuman and horrible a proceeding, expected and obtained of the king the reward appointed for such as discover new lands, together with the usual immunities they were entitled to."

"In the year 1524 he sent more ships to Florida, and was so elated with the accounts he had from them, of the fertility of the soil, and the great plenty of gold, silver, and pearls to be found there, that he hastened thither himself the next year with three ships ; but having lost one of them when near the cape of St. Helen, and two hundred of his people whom he had landed there being entirely destroyed by the natives, more through their own negligence and supine security than the bravery of the inhabitants ; disappointed of his wishes, and broken-hearted, he returned back again to Hispaniola."* ("An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida," by William Roberts, 1763 ; taken from Robinson's *Early Voyages to America*.)

NOTE (12), page 243.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS—FROM THE EARLIEST AND MOST AUTHENTIC ACCOUNTS OF VIRGINIA.

The earliest accounts of the Indians inhabiting the country where the English first made their settlements in Virginia, state that "they were in general dressed in the skins of deer or other wild animals, which hung before the mid-

* "Of the fifteen men who survived the expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon to Florida, and joined our army [Cortes], not a single man is now [1568] remaining." (Bernal Diaz del Castillo's *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, vol. ii. p. 395 ; translated by Jno. Ingram Lockhart, F.R.A.S.)

dle ; but all the rest of the body was naked." Besides bows and arrows they wielded bludgeons, each about three feet long ; and for defence bore shields made of the bark of trees, and a kind of wicker armor which they make use of in time of war. They of Secota, one of their provinces, had among them, besides their king, a degree of nobility who were more elegant in their dresses, particularly their hair, which they formed in various shapes, and adorned with the finest feathers they could procure. From their ears hung either large pearls, the feet of birds, or such other ornaments as the wearers fancied ; and they painted both their faces and their bodies. Round their necks and upon their arms they wore chains and bracelets of pearls ; to which, after their acquaintance with the English, they preferred bits of brass. And their skins were so neatly fitted around their middle that the tail of the creature always hung behind. Such was the dress in which they appeared on solemn occasions ; but when they went to war they painted themselves in a horrible manner in order to intimidate their enemies.

. Their women were naturally well shaped ; their skin coverings were more elegant than those of the men, and concealed the whole of their bodies. They cut the forepart of their hair short, and wore a kind of a chaplet around their temples ; but they took care to disfigure their faces, legs, and arms with punctures and paintings. The better sort wore pearl bracelets, and others of bone exquisitely polished. They took great delight in walking by the sides of rivers, and in hunting and fishing. Their priests were generally men advanced in age ; they suffered the fore-hair of their heads to grow, and kept all the rest closely cut ; and each wore a cloak that reached from the neck almost to the knees of the very finest skins their country afforded. In some provinces the ladies wore long strings of triple or quadruple rows of pearls wound round their necks, in which they slung their left arm. Their old men were more comfortably clothed than their youth, for they wore cloaks of skins which reached from their shoulders almost to their feet, leaving the right arm naked and at liberty. But the most extraordinary circumstance attending the ancient Virginians was their having characters. These characters are various, and far from being inelegant ; but were impressed upon the bare backs of the natives as so many signatures to denote the province, tribe, or prince, to which they belonged. The stamp of four arrows denoted sovereignty ; the figure of one betokened consanguinity to the prince.

Though the native Virginians knew not the use of iron, yet they had a wonderful art of felling the bodies of large trees and of excavating them by the force of fire, which they managed with the most surprising skill by means of small fans, rendering it fierce or gentle according to the emergency of their design. They polished the excavation with shells, which they sharpened and made use of for that purpose till a perfect canoe was made. The chief use to which they put these canoes when fabricated was to go a fishing. The fish were dressed upon wooden gridirons. Sometimes they boiled their fish in clay pots, which were made by their women with so much dexterity as to equal the art of any European potter ; the round part being as exact as if it had been turned upon a wheel. . . . They were very moderate in their repasts ; and to this temperance Hariot ascribes the longevity they enjoyed when the English

first discovered their country. Their ordinary food was maize: which they ate from a mat, sitting on the ground, the men on one side, the women on the other.

Upon solemn occasions, such as finishing a war, or escaping from great danger, they express their thanksgiving by seating themselves around a large fire and beginning a rude concert of vocal and instrumental music, performed with a hollowed, dried gourd, which they filled with small pebbles, and rattled with great vehemence. Besides these temporary rejoicings, they have their anniversary jubilees celebrated by virgins, the particulars of which are so extraordinary that we should not have ventured to transcribe them did they not rest upon the most unquestionable authority. They marked out a circle in the midst of a plain; round which, at a certain distance, they drove posts, each about a man's height, resembling Roman termini, ending in the head of a woman carved with a vail hanging from her brow down the sides of her face. The time for this anniversary celebration being arrived, the inhabitants of all the neighboring country assembled, each having his rank and quality, and the name of his country, tribe, and village marked upon his back. The young ladies, who were the only actors in this exhibition, next ranged themselves at proper distances round the circle in the most fantastic dresses, and began a dance with the most extravagant gestures. To qualify the absurdity of these gambols, three virgins of the most exquisite form and beauty, selected from the rest, were placed in the middle of the circle, in the very attitudes in which the ancients represent the three graces, gently embracing one another, and in that form beating time with their feet to the rude music which was composed of the excavated shells and pebbles we have already mentioned.

In all these particulars there was a great resemblance between the manners of the Virginians and the Floridians. The like was observed in the construction of their villages. The spot on which they were built was sometimes a circle, the circumference of which consists of strong palisades, but not so strong as those of the Floridians. Of the few buildings this circle contained, one was always a temple covered with fine mats on the top, and admitting of no light but by the door; opposite to that stood the dwelling of the head man of the village. All their houses were built of slender poles driven into the ground, and covered with mats so as to admit, according to the season of the year, just as much air and light as the inhabitants chose to enjoy. Near their village they always took care to dig a pond which supplied it with water. But some of their towns, that of Secota in particular, were not inclosed within these palisades. In them the houses were laid out so as to form a main street; and they had, behind them, gardens, fields, and paddocks, in which they raised tobacco, Indian corn, and other vegetables; besides feeding deer and game of all kinds. Of these improvements they were so careful that they had watch-houses for their fields, where a man was placed to deter the birds from devouring the corn. In the same township they had the places of devotion as well as feasting. The idol they worshipped, called Kiwasa, was carved out of wood, about four feet high, and seemed to be copied from the Floridian idols. The head was of a flesh-color, the breast white, and all the rest of the body black. It was placed at Secota in the sepulchre of the deceased princes, but we do not find that the natives were originally impressed with any great degree of devotion towards it; for it remained in the tomb as an object of terror rather than

of worship. In other repositories, two, and sometimes four or more, of these idols were placed for the same purpose, but all of them in the darkest part of the building, to give them the more tremendous appearance. As to the temple or sepulchre, it was no other than a scaffolding raised upon poles some ten feet from the ground; covered with mattings upon which they laid the bodies after they had been carefully embowelled, and the skin and flesh scraped from the bones. The flesh, with the bowels, they wrapped up in mats, and placed at the feet of the skeletons: but they had an art of covering the skeletons with skins so artfully stuffed that it retained the appearance of the complete body. Below the scaffolding the priests had their habitations upon the skins of wild beasts, and they were employed in mumbling prayers and in guarding the sepulchre. The above are all the particulars which we have thought fit to insert, from the oldest and most authentic accounts of this mother colony." (An abridged note of the "Universal History," vol. xxxv. Hariot apud de Bry.)

NOTE (13), page 244.

THE ELVAS ACCOUNT OF DE SOTO FROM THE BEGINNING OF HIS ENTERPRISE TO HIS ARRIVAL AND ENCAMPMENT IN FLORIDA.

"Captain Soto was the son of a squire of Xeres of Badajos. He went into the Spanish Indies when Pedro Arias de Avila was governor of the West Indies. And there he was without anything else of his own save his sword and target; and for his good qualities and valor Pedro Arias made him captain of a troop of horsemen, and by his command he went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru,* where (as many persons of credit reported which were there present), as well at the taking of Atabalipa, Lord of Peru, as at the assault of the city of Cuzco, and in all other places where they found resistance, wheresoever he was present he excelled all other captains and principal persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share; whereby, in time, he gathered a hundred and eighty thousand ducats, together with that which fell to his share, which he brought to Spain; whereof the emperor borrowed a certain part, which he paid again with sixty thousand reals of plate, in the rent of the silks of Grenada, and all the rest was delivered him in the contratacion-house of Seville. He took servants, to wit, a steward, a gentleman usher, pages, a gentleman of the horse, a chamberlain, lackeys, and all other officers that the house of a noble may require. From Seville he went to the court, and in the court there accompanied him Juan Danusco of Seville, Luis Moscoso de Alvarado, Nuño de Touar, and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo. Except Juan Danusco, all the rest came with him from Peru, and each brought fourteen or fifteen thousand ducats; all of them went well and costly apparalled. And, although Soto of his own nature was not liberal, yet, because that was the first time that he was to show himself at the court, he spent frankly. He married with Donna Isabella de

* Fernando Pizarro was second in rank to Francisco Pizarro, De Soto was third. Fernando commanded the cavalry, and Soto belonged to that body, but did not accompany Fernando Pizarro to Peru. He went from Nicaragua to Peru, and joined the Pizarros at the island of Puna.

Bobadilla, daughter of Pedro Arias de Avila, Earl of Punno in Rostro. The emperor made him the governor of the isle of Cuba, and adelantado of Florida, with a title of marquis of certain part of the land that he should conquer.

When Soto had obtained the government, there came a gentleman from the Indies to the court, named Cabeça de Vaca, who had been with the governor Pánfilo de Narvaez, who had died in Florida, who reported that Narvaez was cast away at sea with all the company that went with him; and how he, with four (three) more, escaped and arrived in New Spain. Also he brought an account in writing of that which he had seen in Florida, which said, in some places: In such a place I have seen this, and the rest which I here saw I leave to confer of between his majesty and myself. Generally he reported the misery of the country, and the troubles which he passed; and he told some of his kinsfolk, who were desirous to go into the Indies, and urged him very much to tell them whether he had seen any rich country in Florida, that he might not tell them, because he and another, whose name was Orantes—who remained in New Spain,* with purpose to return to Florida, for which intent he came to Spain to beg the government thereof of the emperor—had sworn not to discover some of these things which they had seen, because no man should prevent them in begging the same. And he informed them that it was the richest country of the world. Soto was very desirous to have him with him, and made him a favorable offer; and after they had agreed, because Soto gave him not a sum of money which he demanded to buy a ship, they broke off again. Baltasar de Gallegos and Christopher de Spindola, the kinsmen of Cabeça de Vaca, told him, that for that which he had imparted to them they were resolved to pass with Soto into Florida, and therefore they prayed him to advise them what they had best to do. Cabeça told them the cause why he went not with Soto was because he hoped to beg another government, and he was loath to go under the command of another; and that he came to beg the conquest of Florida, but seeing that Soto had gotten it already, for his oath's sake he might tell them nothing of that which they would know; but he counselled them to sell their goods and go with him, and that in so doing they should do well. As soon as he had opportunity to speak with the emperor, he related to him whatsoever he had passed through, and seen, and learned. Of this relation, made orally to the emperor, the Marquis of Astorga had notice, and forthwith determined to send with Soto his brother, Don Antonio Osorio: and with him two kinsmen of his prepared themselves, to wit, Francisco Osorio and Garcia Osorio. Don Antonio dispossessed himself of sixty thousand reals of rent which he held by the church; and Francisco Osorio, of a town of vassals which he had in the country of Campos. And they made their rendezvous, with the adelantado, at Seville. The like did Nuñez de Touar, and Luis de Moscoso, and Juan Rodriguez Lobillo. Luis de Moscoso carried with him two brethren; there went also Don Carlos, who had married the governor's niece, and took her with him. From Badajos there went Pedro Calderon, and three kinsmen of the adelantado,† to wit, Arias Tinoco, Alfonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco.

* He sailed for Old Spain or for Cuba at the same time that Alvaro left Vera Cruz.

† The titles of De Soto, in the accounts of his expedition to Florida, were general, adelantado, and governor.

And as Luis de Moscoso passed through Elvas, Andrew de Vasconcelos spake with him, and requested him to speak to Soto concerning him, and delivered to him certain warrants which he had received from the Marquis of Villa Real, wherein he gave him the captainship of Ceuta in Barbary, that he might show them to him. And the adelantado saw them, and was informed who he was, and wrote to him that he would favor him in all things and by all means, and would give him a charge of men in Florida. And from Elvas went Andrew Vasconcelos, Fernan Pegado, Antonio Martinez Segurado, Men Roiz Pereira, Juan Cordero, Stephen Pegado, Benedict Fernandez, and Alvaro Fernandez. And out of Salamanca, Jaen, Valencia, Albuquerque, and other parts of Spain many people of noble birth assembled at Seville; insomuch that in San Lucar many men of good account, who had sold their goods, remained behind for want of shipping; whereas, for other known and rich countries they are wont to need men; and this fell out by occasion of that which Cabeça de Vaca told the emperor, and informed such persons besides as he had conference with touching the state of that country. Soto made him great offers, but he went for governor to the river of Plate. His kinsmen, Christopher de Spindola and Baltasar de Gallegos, went with Soto. Gallegos sold houses, vineyards, rent-corn, and ninety ranks of olive-trees in the Xarafe of Seville.* He had the office of alcalde mayor, and took his wife with him. And there went also many other persons of account with the adelantado, and had the following offices by great friendship, because they were offices desired by many, to wit, Antonio de Biedma was factor,† Juan Danusco was auditor, and Juan Gaytan, nephew of the cardinal of Ciguenza, had the office of treasurer.

The Portuguese departed from Elvas the 15th of January (1538), and came to Seville the 19th of the same month, and went to the lodging of the governor, and entered into a court over which were certain galleries where he was, who came down and received them at the stairs whereby they went up to the galleries. When he had ascended he commanded chairs to be given them to sit on. And Andrew de Vasconcelos told him who he and the other Portuguese were, and how they all had come to accompany him, and serve him in his voyage. Soto thanked him, and manifested great pleasure for his coming and offer. And the table being already laid, he invited them to dinner. And being at dinner he commanded his steward to seek a lodging for them near unto his own, where they might be lodged. The adelantado departed from

* Alvaro Nunez Cabeça de Vaca must have been a man of education and high position in society to have held the office he had in the expedition of Narvaez, and to have obtained the government he did after his return to Spain. Doubtless he discovered and appreciated the immense mineral wealth, in gold and silver, of the countries through which he passed in his wanderings during seven or eight years through New Mexico, Arizona, and Northern Mexico. The list of distinguished persons who enlisted in the enterprise of De Soto is evidence of the high estimation in which he was held, and of his qualification for the distinguished position in which he was placed. The trials through which he passed, and the command and control which he held over such a body of men during three years of privation and suffering, sufficiently prove that he was endowed with extraordinary abilities. And his achievement, though fruitless, entitles him to rank with the most distinguished commanders of his time.

† He is mistaken in the name; it was not Antonio, but Luis Fernandez de Biedma.

Seville for San Lucar with all the people who were to go with him, and commanded a muster to be made, at which the Portuguese appeared armed in very bright armor, and the Castilians very gallant with silk upon silk, with many pinkings and cuts. The adelantado, because these braveries in such an action did not please him, commanded that they should muster another day, and every one should come forth with his armor; at the which the Portuguese came as at the first, armed with very good armor. The governor placed them in order near unto the standard which the ensign bearer carried. The Castilians for the most part did wear very bad armor, and rusty shirts of mail, and all of them had head-pieces and steel caps, and very bad lances. Some of them sought to come among the Portuguese. So those passed and were counted and enrolled whom Soto liked and accepted, and they accompanied him to Florida; they were in all six hundred men. He had already bought seven ships, and had all necessary provisions aboard them. He appointed captains, and delivered to each his ship, and gave him a list of the men he should carry with him.

In the year of our Lord 1538, in the month of April, the adelantado delivered his ships to the captains which were to go in them, and took for himself a new ship, and good of sail, and gave another to Vasconcellos, in which the Portuguese went. He went over the bar of San Lucar on Sunday morning, being St. Lazarus's day, in the month and year aforesaid, with great joy, commanding the trumpets to be sounded, and many shots of the ordnance to be discharged. He sailed four days with a prosperous wind, and suddenly it calmed, the calms continued eight days with swelling seas, in such wise that we made no way. The fifteenth day after his departure from San Lucar he came to Gomera, one of the Canaries, in the morning of Easter day. The earl of that island was apparelled all in white, cloak, jerkin, hose, shoes, and cap, so that he seemed a lord of the gypsies. He received the governor with much joy; he was well lodged, and all the rest had their lodgings gratis, and got great store of victuals for their money, as bread, wine, and flesh; and they took what was needful for their ships; and the Sunday following, eight days after their arrival, they departed from the isle of Gomera. The earl gave to Donna Isabella, the adelantado's wife, a bastard daughter that he had, to be her waiting maid.* They arrived at the Antilles at the port of the city of St. Iago, in the island of Cuba, on Whitsunday. As soon as they came thither a gentleman of the city sent to the seaside a very fair roan horse, and well furnished for the governor, and a mule for Donna Isabella, and all the horsemen and footmen that were in the town came to receive him at the seaside. The governor was well lodged, visited, and served of all the inhabitants of the city, and all his company had their lodgings freely; those who desired to go into the country were divided by four and four, and six and six, in the farms or granges, according to the ability of the owners of the farms, and were furnished by them with all things necessary.

The city of St. Iago has eighty houses, which are great and well contrived.

* Though a bastard and a waiting maid, she was not then regarded as she would be now. Times have changed, and we have changed with them. Tovar, after seducing her, married her to please Soto, who was so greatly offended at him that he deprived him of the office of captain-general, and gave it to Porcallo de Figueroa.

The most part have their walls made of boards, and are covered with thatch; it has some houses built of lime and stones, and covered with tiles. The isle of Cuba is three hundred leagues long from east to west, and is in some places thirty, and in others forty leagues from north to south. It has six towns of Christians, to wit, St. Iago, Baracoa, Bayamo, Puerto de Principes, St. Espirito, and Havana. Every one has between thirty and forty households, except St. Iago and Havana, which have about sixty or eighty houses. They have churches in each of them, and a chaplain who confesses them, and says mass. In St. Iago is a monastery of Franciscan friars; it has but few friars, and is well provided with alms, because the country is rich. The church of St. Iago has a respectable revenue, and there are a curate and prebends, and many priests, as the church of that city which is the chief of all the islands. There is in this country much gold, but there are few slaves to get it.

The governor sent from St. Iago his nephew, Don Carlos, with ships in company of Donna Isabella to tarry for him at Havana, which is a haven in the west part towards the head of the island, one hundred and eighty leagues from the city of St. Iago. The governor, and those who stayed with him, bought horses and proceeded on their journey. The first town that they came to was Bayamo; they were lodged four and four and six and six as they went in company, and where they lodged they took nothing for their food, for nothing cost them aught save the corn for their horses, because the governor went to visit them from town to town, and seized them in the tribute and service of the Indians. Bayamo is twenty-five leagues from the city of St. Iago. Near unto the town passes a great river which is called Tanto; it is greater than the Guadiana, and in it are very great crocodiles which sometimes hurt the Indians or the cattle which cross the river. In all the country is neither wolf, fox, bear, lion, nor tiger. There are wild dogs which go from the houses into the woods and feed upon swine. There are certain snakes as big as a man's thigh or bigger; they are very slow, they do no kind of hurt.*

From Bayamo to Puerto de los Principes are fifty leagues. In all the island from town to town, the way is made by stubbing up the underwood; and if it be left but one year undone, the wood grows so much that the way cannot be seen, and the paths of the oxen are so many that none can travel without an Indian of the country for a guide, for all the rest is very high thick woods.

From Puerto de los Principes, the governor went by sea in a boat to the house of Vasquez Porcallo (for it was near the sea), to learn there some news of Donna Isabella, who at that instant, as was afterwards known, was in great distress, insomuch that the ships lost one another, and two of them were driven on the coast of Florida, and all of them endured great want of water and victuals. When the storm was over, they met together without knowing where they were; in the end they descried Cape St. Anton, an uninhabited country of the island of Cuba; there they watered, and at the end of forty days, which were passed since their departure from the city of St. Iago, they arrived at

* A similar thing is mentioned by Ulloa in speaking of Peru, but there the snake is represented of an enormous size, though of the same character as that of Cuba. By some it is considered as fabulous.

Havana.* The governor was presently informed thereof, and went to Donna Isabella. And those who went by land, which were one hundred and fifty horsemen, being divided into two parts because they would not oppress the inhabitants, travelled by St. Espirito, which is sixty leagues from Puerto de los Principes. The food which they carried with them was caçabe [cassava] bread, which is of such a quality that if it be wet, it breaks presently, whereby it happened to some to eat flesh without bread for many days. They carried dogs with them, and a man of the country to hunt for them, and by the way, or where they were to lodge that night, they killed as many hogs as they needed. In this journey they were well provided with beef and pork,† and they were greatly troubled with mosquitos, especially in a lake which is called the lake of Pia, which they had much ado to cross from noon till night. The water might be some half league over, and to be swam about a crossbow-shot [four hundred yards], the rest came to the waist, and they waded up to their knees in the mire, and in the bottom were cockle-shells which cut their feet very sore, in such sort that there was neither boot nor shoe-sole that was whole at half way. Their clothes and saddles were crossed in palm baskets. Crossing this lake, stripped of their clothes, there came many mosquitos, upon whose biting there arose a wheal that smarted very much, they struck them with their hands, and with the blow which they gave they killed so many that the blood did run down the arms and bodies of the men. That night they rested very little on account of them, and other nights also in like places and times. They came to St. Espirito, which is a town of thirty houses. There passes by it a little river; it is very pleasant and fruitful, having great store of oranges and citrons, and fruits of the country. One half of the company were lodged here, and the rest passed on twenty-five leagues to another town called Trinidad, of fifteen or twenty houses. Here is a hospital for the poor, and there is no other in all the island, and they say this town was the greatest in all the island, and that before the Christians came into this land, as a ship passed along the coast, there came in it a very sick man who desired the captain to set him on shore, and the captain did so, and the ship went her way. The sick man remained in that country, which until that time had not been frequented by Christians; whereupon the Indians found him, carried him home, and took care of him until he was well, and the chief of that town married him unto a daughter of his, and had war with all the inhabitants around about, and by the energy and valor of the Christian he subdued and brought under his command all the people of that island. A great while after, the Governor Diego Velasquez went to conquer it, and from thence discovered New Spain. And this Christian who was with the Indians, did pacify them, and brought them to the obedience and subjection to the governor. From this town, Trinidad to Havana, are eighty leagues without any habitation, which they travelled. They came to Havana in the end of March, where they found the governor, and the rest of the people which came with him from Spain. The governor sent from Havana Juan Danusco, with a caravel and two brigantines with fifty men, to discover the haven

* From the time consumed in the voyage, and the vessels, after being driven on the coast of Florida, arriving at Cape St Anthony, the western extremity of Cuba, it is probable they were driven to the coast of Texas, which then was but a part of Florida.

† The hogs and cattle ran wild in the woods, so the horsemen fared well.

of Florida, and from thence he brought two Indians which he took upon the coast, wherewith (as well because they might be necessary for guides and for interpreters, as because they said by signs that there was much gold in Florida) the governor and all the company received much satisfaction, and longed for the hour of their departure, thinking in himself that this was the richest country that unto that day had been discovered.

The governor left Donna Isabella in Havana, and with her remained the wife of Don Carlos, and the wives of Baltasar de Gallegos and Nuno de Touar. And he left for his lieutenant, for the government of the island, a gentleman of Havana, named Juan de Roias.

On Sunday, the 18th of May, in the year 1539, the adelantado departed from Havana with his fleet, which consisted of nine vessels, five great ships, two caravels, and two brigantines. They sailed seven days with a prosperous wind. The 25th of May, the day of Pasca de Spirito Santo, they saw the land of Florida, and because of the shoals they came to an anchor a league from the shore.* On Friday, the 30th of May, they landed in Florida, *two leagues from a town* of an Indian chief named Ucita. They landed the two hundred and thirteen horses which they brought with them, to unburden the ships that they might draw less water. He landed all his men, and only the seamen remained in the vessels, which in *eight days, going up with the tide every day a little, brought them up to the town*. As soon as the people came on shore he pitched his camp on the seaside, close by the bay which went up unto the town. And presently the captain-general, Porcallo, with seven horsemen, foraged the country half a league round about, and found six Indians, who resisted him with their bows. The horsemen killed two of them and the others escaped, because the country is full of woods and bogs where the horses stuck fast and fell with their riders, because they were weak with travelling upon the sea. The night following, *the governor with a hundred men in the brigantines lighted upon a town* which he found without people, because, as soon as the Christians had sight of land, they were descried, and they saw along the coast many smokes, which the Indians had made, to give notice the one to the other. The next day Luis de Moscoso, master of the camp, set the men in order, the horsemen in three squadrons, the vanguard, the battalion, and the rearguard; and so *they marched that day and the following*, compassing the great inlets that made out from the bay. *They came to the town of Ucita, where the governor arrived on Trinity Sunday, being the first of June*. The town was of seven or eight houses. *The chief's house stood near the shore, upon a very high mound, made by hand for strength*. At another end of the town stood the church, and on the top of it stood a fowl made of wood, with gilded eyes. Here were found some pearls of small value, spoiled by the fire, which the Indians pierce and string like beads, and wear around their necks and wrists, and esteem very much. The houses were made of timber, and covered with palm leaves. The governor lodged in the chief's house, and with him Porcallo and Moscoso; and in others that were in the midst of the town, lodged the chief alcalde, Gallegos; and in the same house was set in a place by itself all the provisions that came in the ships; the other houses and the church were broken down, and every three or four soldiers made a cabin wherein they

* At Tampa Bay, which he named Spirito Santo.

lodged. The country round about was very fenny, and encumbered with great and high trees. The governor commanded to be felled the woods a crossbow shot round about the town, that the horses might run, and the Christians have advantage of the Indians, if they should happen to fall upon them by night."

It appears, from the above, that Soto first landed two leagues from an Indian village, on the 30th of May; that, after landing his soldiers and horses, he, with the brigantines, sailed up the bay and discovered the town of Ucita, the 1st of June; that then Moscoso marched his forces from the place where they had landed to the town of Ucita where De Soto was. Moscoso marched two days, and the large vessels were eight days in going up with the tide. There were five large ships in De Soto's fleet; they would necessarily have had to keep in deep water, and follow the channel.

NOTE (14), page 284.

THE INHABITANTS OF FLORIDA, THEIR TOWNS AND HOUSES.

The Muscogulges came from the west, and took possession of Florida after having exterminated the Yamases, its first inhabitants, who fought like heroes to save their country from the invasion of the Muscogulges; but fortune betrayed them. Very soon afterwards the Seminoles, arriving from the east, made an alliance with the Muscogulges, who, being the strongest, forced the Seminoles to send deputies to their great village. Thus the Seminoles were governed in part by the *mico* or king of the Muscogulges. The two nations united were called by Europeans the Creek nation, and divided by them into the upper, the Muscogulges, and the lower Creeks, the Seminoles. The ambition of the Muscogulges was not satisfied; they waged war against the Cheroquois (Cherokees) and the Chicassais (Chicasas), and compelled them to enter into the common alliance; a confederation as celebrated in the south of North America as that of the Iroquois in the north.

The villages of the Muscogulges are built in a peculiar manner, each family has nearly always four houses alike, which form a hollow square, about half an acre; they enter this square by the four angles. The cabins, constructed of boards, are plastered within and without with a red mortar which resembles brick-dust; pieces of cypress bark, deposited as the scales of a turtle, serve for the roof of these buildings.

In the centre of the principal village, in the highest place, is a public square surrounded with four long galleries. One of these galleries is the council hall, where councils are held every day to expedite business. This hall is divided into two chambers by a longitudinal partition; the rear apartment is thus deprived of light; they can enter only through a very low opening formed in the base of the partition. In this sanctuary are deposited the treasures of religion and policy—the crown of stag's horns, the medicine cup, the *chichikoues*, the calumet of peace, and the national standard, made of an eagle's tail. None but the *mico* [king], the chief warrior, and the high-priest can enter this dreadful place.

The exterior chamber is divided into three parts by three [two?] small transverse partitions about four feet high. In these three balconies are raised

three ranges of benches resting against the walls of the sanctuary. It is upon these benches, covered with mats, that sit the sachems and warriors.

The three other galleries which, with the council gallery, form the inclosure of the public square, are likewise divided each into three parts; but they have not the longitudinal partition. These galleries are called the banqueting galleries; here are always found a noisy crowd engaged in divers sports.

The walls, the partitions, and the wooden columns of these galleries are covered with hieroglyphic ornaments, which contain the sacerdotal and political secrets of the nation. These paintings represent men in divers attitudes, birds and quadrupeds with the heads of men, and men with the heads of animals. The design of these monuments is traced with boldness, and in the natural proportions; the colors are vivid, but applied without art. The order of the architecture of the columns varies in the villages according to the tribe which inhabits the village; among the Otasses the columns are spiral, because the Muscogulges of Otasse are of the tribe of the serpent.*

There are among this nation a town of peace and a town of blood. The town of peace is the capital itself of the Creek confederation, and is named Apalachucla. In this town they never shed blood, and when it concerns a general peace, the deputies of Creeks are assembled here.

The town of blood is called Coweta; it is situated twelve miles from Apalachucla; it is there that they deliberate on war.

There are noticed in the Creek confederation the savages who inhabit the beautiful town of Uche, consisting of two thousand inhabitants, who can arm five hundred warriors. These savages speak the *savenna* or *savantica* language, radically different from the Muscogulge language. The allies of the Uche town are generally of a different opinion, in the council, from the other allies, who look upon them with jealousy; but they are sufficiently wise on both sides to not come to a rupture. The Seminoles, less numerous than the Muscogulges, have not more than nine villages, all situated on Flint River.†

The town of Cuscowilla, which is the capital of the Alachua tribe,‡ contains about thirty habitations, each of which consists of two houses nearly of the same size, about thirty feet in length, twelve feet wide, and about the same in height. The door is placed midway on one side, or in front. This house is divided equally across into two apartments, one of which is the cook-room and common hall, and the other the lodging-room. The other house is nearly of the same dimensions, standing about twenty yards from the dwelling-house, its end fronting the door. This building is two stories high, and constructed in a different manner. It is divided transversely, as the other, but the end next the dwelling-house is open on three sides, supported by posts or pillars. It has an open loft or platform, the ascent to which is by a portable stair or ladder; this is a pleasant, cool, airy situation, and here the master or chief of the family retires to repose in the hot season, and receives his guests or visitors. The other half of this building is closed on all sides by notched logs; the lowest or ground part is a

* The similarity of the Indian hieroglyphics to those of the Egyptians is worthy of notice, as is also that of their tribal deities to the local deities of Egypt.

† Voyage en Amérique, par Chateaubriand, in 1791.

‡ Of the Seminoles or Lower Creeks, Muscogulges.

potato house, and the upper story over it a granary for corn and other provisions. Their houses are constructed of a kind of frame. In the first place strong corner pillars are fixed in the ground, with others, somewhat less, ranging on a line between; these are strengthened by cross-pieces of timber, and the whole, with the roof, is covered close with the bark of the cypress tree. The dwelling stands near the middle of a square yard, encompassed by a low bank, formed with the earth taken out of the yard, which is always carefully swept. Their towns are clean, the inhabitants being particular in laying their filth at a proper distance from their dwellings. (Bartram.)

Toalli was a town between the Oakmulge and the Ocone rivers. The Elvas Narrative thus speaks of the houses there, and of those before the Spaniards reached Toalli: "On Wednesday, 21st of March (1540), he came to a town called Toalli; and from thence forward there was a difference in the houses. For those which were behind us were thatched with straw, and those of Toalli were covered with cane, in the manner of tiles. These houses are very cleanly. Some of them had walls daubed with clay, which showed like a mud wall. In all the *cold country* the Indians have every one a house for the winter daubed with clay within and without, and the door is very little; they shut it by night and make a fire within; so that they are in it as warm as in a stove, and so it continueth all night that they need no clothes; and besides these they have others for summer, and their kitchens near them; and they have cribs wherein they keep their corn; which is a house set up in the air upon four stakes, boarded about like a chamber, and the floor of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which lords' or principal men's houses have from the rest, besides being greater, is that they have great galleries in their fronts, and under them seats made of canes in manner of benches; and they have many lofts, wherein they lay up that which the Indians give them for tribute, which is corn, deer-skins, and mantles of the country, which are like blankets; they make them of the inner rind of the bark of trees, and some of a kind of grass like unto nettles, which being beaten is like unto flax."

GRAVES OF THE YAMASEES.—It was quite dark before I came up to a bluff, which I had in view, a long time, over a very extensive point of meadows. I landed however at last. This was a high perpendicular bluff, fronting more than one hundred yards on the river [St. John], the earth black, loose, and fertile; it is composed of river-shells, sand, etc. At the back of it from the river were open pine forests and savannas. When I landed it was quite dark, and in collecting wood for my fire, strolling in the dark about the groves I found the surface of the ground very uneven, by means of little mounds and ridges. In the morning I found I had taken up my lodging on the borders of an ancient burying ground, containing sepulchres or tumuli of the Yamasees, who were here slain by the Creeks in the last decisive battle, the Creeks having driven them into this point between the doubling of the river, where few of them escaped the fury of the conquerors. These graves occupied the whole grove, consisting of two or three acres of ground; there were near thirty of these cemeteries of the dead, nearly of an equal size and form, being oblong, twenty feet in length, and ten or twelve feet in width, and three or four feet high, now overgrown with orange trees, live oaks, laurel magnolias, red bays, and other trees and shrubs, composing dark and solemn shades. (Bartram.)

NOTE (15), page 351.

BUFFALOES.

Penicaut, in his *Annals of Louisiana*, in speaking of the expedition of St. Denis, in 1713, to explore the country between the Red River and the Rio Grande, says: "We ascended the Mississippi to Pass-Manchac, where we killed fifteen buffaloes. The next day we landed again and killed eight more buffaloes, and as many deer." On his return from exploring Lake Pontchartrain he stopped at the Bay of St. Louis. He says: "We hunted during several days upon the coast of this bay, and filled our boats with the meat of the deer and buffaloes and other wild game which we had killed." He says of his visit to the Pascagoulas, on the river of that name and twenty leagues from its mouth: "They gave us something to eat and drink,—among other things bear, deer, and buffalo meat. . . . We slept at the house of the grand chief, upon beds of canes, covered with buffalo-skins." There were immense herds of buffaloes in the neighborhood of Matagorda Bay, when La Salle built a fort there in 1686. They also ranged through the lowlands of the Mississippi River, through its cane-brakes and its forests. What is remarkable is that the Spaniards of De Soto's expedition, in 1539 to 1543, should have travelled from the Savannah River of Georgia to the Red River of Louisiana without having met with any of these animals living, though they had, on several occasions, seen their hides, horns, and even their flesh. Beyond the Red River they saw them alive.

NOTE (16), page 361.

THE DISPOSAL OF THE INDIAN DEAD.

The Spaniards were struck with the magnificence of Comagre's palace, which greatly exceeded anything they had beheld in America. It was a hundred and fifty paces in length, eighty in breadth, raised on wooden pillars, and inclosed by a stone wall, with rails at the top so beautifully carved that the Spaniards were astonished at the workmanship. It contained many apartments, several of which indicated a rude genius for architecture and the fine arts; but what was particularly pleasing to the soldiers was the great abundance of dried venison and pork, which they found in the storehouse, together with a variety of red and white liquors, made from corn, roots, and the palm. There was a great hall, in a retired and secret part of the building, wherein Comagre preserved the bodies of his ancestors and relatives. These had been dried by fire, so as to free them from corruption, and afterwards wrapped in mantles of cotton, richly wrought and interwoven with pearls and jewels of gold, and certain stones held in high estimation by the Indians. They were then hung about the walls, with cotton cords, and regarded with great reverence. ("Universal History," vol. xxxiv., Helps, etc.)

"Near this valley* there was a village the chief of which was the most

* The valley of Lile near the head-waters of the Maglalene, and near the town of Cali.

powerful and respected of all the chiefs of the neighborhood. In the centre of his village there was a great and lofty round wooden house, with a door in the centre. The light was admitted by four windows on the upper part, and the roof was of straw. As one entered through the door, there was a long board, stretching from one end of the house to the other, on which many human bodies were placed in rows, being those of men who had been defeated and taken in war. They were all cut open, and this is done with stone knives, after which they eat the flesh, stuff the skins with ashes, and place them on the board in such sort as to appear like living men. In the hands of some they place lances, and in those of others darts and clubs." (Ciezar de Leon.)

The Choctaws pay their last duties and respect to the deceased as follows:—

"As soon as a person is dead, they erect a scaffold, eighteen or twenty feet high, in a grove adjacent to the town, where they lay the corpse lightly covered with a mantle; here it is suffered to remain, visited and protected by the friends and relations, until the flesh becomes putrid, so as easily to part from the bones; then undertakers, who make it their business, carefully strip the flesh from the bones, wash and cleanse them, and when dry and purified by the air, having provided a curiously wrought chest or coffin fabricated of bones and splints, they place all the bones therein; it is then deposited in the bone-house, a building erected for that purpose in every town. And when this house is full, a general solemn funeral takes place; the nearest kindred or friends of the deceased on a day appointed repair to the bone-house, take up the respective coffins, and following one another in order of seniority, the nearest relations and connections attending their respective corpse, and the multitude following after them, all as one family, with united voice of alternate allelujah and lamentation, slowly proceed to the place of general interment, where they place the coffins in order, forming a pyramid; and lastly, cover all over with earth, which rises a conical hill or mount. Then they return to town in order of solemn procession, concluding the day with a festival, which is called the feast of the dead." (Bartram.)

How the Indians of the provinces of Tatabe and Guaca, near Antioquia, on the western branch of the river Magdalena, buried their dead:—

"When one of the chiefs dies the people mourn for many days, cut off the hair of his wives, kill those who were most beloved, and raise a tomb the size of a small hill, with an opening towards the rising sun. Within this great tomb they make a large vault, and here they put the body, wrapped in cloths, and the gold and arms the dead man had used when alive. They then take the most beautiful of his wives, and some servant lads, make them drunk with wine made of maize, and bury them alive in the vault, in order that the chief may go down to hell with companions."

"In ancient times there was a large population in these valleys, as we judge from the edifices and burial places, of which there are many well worth seeing, being so large as to appear like small hills." (Ciezar de Leon.)

The Province and Indians of Quimbaya on the upper waters of the river Magdalena:—

"In ancient times these Indians were not natives of Quimbaya, but they invaded the country many times, killing the inhabitants, who could not have been few judging from the remains of their works; for all the dense canebreaks seem

once to have been peopled and tilled, as well as the mountainous parts where there are trees as big round as two bullocks. From these facts I conjecture that a very long period of time has elapsed since the Indians first peopled the Indies." (Ciezar de Leon.)

NOTE (17), page 365.

INDIAN TEMPLES AND FUNERALS.

Iberville ascended the Mississippi River, in 1699, as high as the Oumas, about twenty leagues above New Orleans. "When he arrived at the village of the Quinipissas, the same as Bayagoulas, he went ashore; and the chief of the savages there conducted him to a temple of a most curious construction. The roof was adorned with the figures of many animals, and among others of a red cock. The entrance was by a kind of portico, which was eight feet broad and eleven long, supported by two large pillars fastened to a beam running across the roof of the portico. Both sides of the portico were adorned with the figures of bears, wolves, and several birds; and at the head of them all was a chouchouacha, a creature whose head is like that of a sucking pig; its fur is gray and white; its tail resembles that of a rat; its feet those of a monkey, and the female has under its belly a bag where it preserves, occasionally, and feeds its young. The door of this temple was but three feet high and two broad; and the savage chief ordered it to be opened, and introduced Iberville. The inside was formed like other cabins, in the manner of a cupola, about thirty feet in diameter. In the middle of it stood two fagots of dried wood, which were placed on end, and were burning, and filled the temple with smoke. A scaffold was raised from the floor, heaped with a great many bundles of the skins of kids, bears, and bullocks, which had been sacrificed to the chouchouacha, whose figure was represented on several parts of the temple in black and red, and was the deity of Bayagoula." (Modern Universal History, vol. xxxvi. pp. 57, 58.)

The 11th of March, 1700, Iberville and Bienville arrived at the Natchez, a nation of twelve hundred men; they found there M. de Saint Cosme, a missionary, arrived a short time before from Canada. The grand chief or sun of the nation came to meet the French, borne upon a sedan, accompanied by more than six hundred men. They discovered in this chief much more politeness than in those of the other nations of the continent. He had a despotic authority over his men. When there died any of the suns, or woman chiefs, many of the nation devoted themselves to death, and were strangled to go and serve him in the other world. There were then in this village seventeen of these suns; these are chiefs springing from the women who are of the race of the suns, who are the only heirs, the male children of the suns in this nation cannot attain to be but war chiefs. According to their account, they had numbered formerly nineteen hundred suns in their nation, and more than two hundred thousand persons. They preserved in a temple a perpetual fire maintained by a kind of sexton, and there are presented to this fire the first of their fruits and of their chase.

Although all the people of Louisiana have nearly the same usages and cus-

toms, yet as any nation is more or less populous, it has proportionately more or fewer ceremonies. Thus, when the French first arrived in the colony, several nations kept up the eternal fire, and observed other religious ceremonies, which they have now [1720] disused since their numbers have greatly been diminished. Many of them still continue to have temples, but the common people never enter these, nor strangers, unless peculiarly favored by the nation. As I was an intimate friend of the sovereign of the Natchez, he showed me their temple, which was about thirty feet square, and stands upon an artificial mound about eight feet high by the side of a small river [St. Catharine]. The mound slopes insensibly from the main front, which is northwards, but on the other sides it is somewhat steeper. The four corners of the temple consist of four posts, about a foot and a half in diameter, and ten feet high, each made of the heart of the cypress tree, which is incorruptible. The side posts are of the same wood, but only about a foot square; and the walls are of mud, about nine inches thick, so that in the inside there is a hollow between every post; the inner space is divided from east to west into two apartments, one of which is twice as large as the other.* In the largest apartment the eternal fire is kept, and there is likewise a table or altar in it, about four feet high, six long, and two broad. Upon this table lie the bones of the late Great Sun in a coffin of canes very neatly made. In the inner apartment, which is very dark, as it receives no light but from the door of communication, I could meet with nothing but two boards, on which were placed some things like small toys, which I had no light to peruse. The roof is in the form of a pavilion, and very neat both within and without, and on the top of it are placed three wooden birds, twice as large as a goose, with their heads turned towards the east. The corner and side posts, as has been mentioned, rise above the earth ten feet high, and it is said they are as much sunk under ground; it, therefore, cannot but appear surprising how the natives could transport such large beams, fashion them, and raise them upright, when we know of no machines they had for that purpose.† Besides the eight guardians of the temple, two of whom are always on watch, and the chief of those guardians, there also belongs to the service of the temple a master of the ceremonies, who is also master of the mysteries; since, according to them, he converses very familiarly with the Spirit. Above all these persons is the Great Sun, who is at the same time chief priest and sovereign of the nation. The temples of some of the nations of Louisiana are very mean, and one would often be apt to mistake them for the huts of private persons; but to those who are acquainted with their manners, they are easily distinguishable, as they have always before the door two posts formed like the ancient *termini*, that is, having the upper part cut in the shape of a man's head. The door of the temple, which is pretty weighty, is placed between the wall and those two posts, so that children may not be able to remove it, to go and play in the temple. The private huts have also posts before their doors, but these are never formed like *termini*. (Du Pratz.)

* That is one is twenty by thirty feet, and the other ten by thirty feet.

† The heart of the cypress tree, a foot and a half in diameter, indicates a very large tree. To cut down such a tree, and cut off the upper end, would require great labor, and then to dress eighty feet of it, would be equivalent to the labor on the four corner posts of the temple; but nearly all this may have been done with fire.

The above description of the temple is by Du Pratz. The following is Penicaut's description of "the temple in the village of the Great Sun," which appears to be the same temple described by Du Pratz. Penicaut was there in 1704 with Iberville; Du Pratz in 1722. "The temple in the village of the Great Sun is about *thirty feet high*, and *forty-eight in circumference*, with the walls *eight feet [inches] thick*, and covered with matting of canes, in which they keep up a perpetual fire. The wood used is of oak or hickory, stripped of its bark, and *eight feet in length*. Guards are appointed alternately to watch the temple, and keep up the sacred fire; and if by accident the fire should go out, they break the heads of the guards with the wooden clubs they keep in the temple. At each new moon an offering of bread and flour is made, which is for the use of those who guard it. Every morning and evening the Great Sun and his wife enter it, to worship their idols of wood and stone." These two accounts can correct each other—they are translations.

Charlevoix, who visited the Natchez in December, 1721, thus speaks of the temple: "There was not a soul in the village; everybody had gone to a neighboring village, where there was a festival, and all the doors were opened, but there was nothing to fear from robbers, for there remained only the four walls. These cabins have no issue for the smoke, nevertheless all those where I entered were quite white. The temple is at the side of that of the great chief, faces the east, and is at the extremity of the square. It is composed of the same material (*torchi*) as the cabins,* but its shape is different; it is an oblong, about forty feet by twenty wide, with a roof quite plain of the form of ours. There were at the two extremities, as it were, two wooden weather-cocks, which very rudely represented two eagles.

The door is in the middle of the length of the building, which has no other opening; on the two sides there are stone benches. The inside conforms perfectly with the rustic outside. Three pieces of wood with their ends joined, and placed in the form of a triangle, or rather equally separated from one another, occupied nearly all the centre of the temple, and burned slowly. A savage whom they call the guardian of the temple, is obliged to dress them, and prevent them from becoming extinguished. If it is cold, he can have his fire apart, but he is not permitted to warm at that which burns in honor of the Sun. This guardian was at the festival, at least I did not see him, and his fagots emitted a smoke that blinded us. Of ornaments I saw not any, absolutely nothing which ought to have made known to me that I was in a temple. I saw only three or four boxes ranged without order, where there were some dried bones, and on the ground some wooden heads a little less badly executed than the two eagles of the roof. Finally, if I had not found fire there, I would have believed that this temple had been abandoned a long time, or that it had been pillaged."

The house of the Great Chief is of great extent, and can hold as many as four thousand persons.† The houses of the suns are built upon mounds, and are distinguished from each other by their size. The mound upon which the house of the Great Chief or Sun is built is larger than the rest, and the sides of it steeper. (Penicaut.)

* Mud or mortar mixed with straw. In this case probably with moss.

† This must be a mistake; probably four hundred was the number.

His hut, which is about thirty feet square and twenty feet high, and like the temple, is built upon a mound of earth about eight feet high, and sixty feet over on the surface. (Du Pratz.)

None of the nations of Louisiana were acquainted with the custom of burning their dead, nor with that of the Egyptians, who studied to preserve them to perpetuity. The different American nations have a most religious attention to their dead, and each has some peculiar custom in respect to them; but all of them either inter them, or place them in tombs, and carefully carry vic-tuals to them for some time. These tombs are either within their temples or close adjoining to them, or in their neighborhood. They are raised about three feet above the earth, and rest upon four pillars, which are forked stakes fixed fast in the ground. The tomb, or rather bier, is about eight feet long, and a foot and a half broad; and after the body is placed upon it, a kind of basket work of twigs is woven round it and covered with mud, an opening being left at the head for placing the victuals that are presented to the dead person. When the body is all rotted but the bones, these are taken out of the tomb, and placed in a box of canes, which is deposited in the temple.

Among the Natchez the death of any of their suns is a most fatal event; for it is sure to be attended with the destruction of a great number of people of both sexes. (Du Pratz.)

It happened during our [Penicaut's] visit [1704], that the great female Sun died, and we were witnesses of her funeral obsequies. She was the Great Sun in her own right, and, being dead, her husband, who was not of the noble family, was strangled by her eldest son, so that he might bear her company to the great village whither she had gone. On the outside of the cabin where she died they placed all her effects on a sort of bier or triumphal car, upon which was placed her body as well as that of her husband. Afterwards they brought and placed twelve small children on it whom they had strangled. These children were brought by their fathers and mothers, by the order of the eldest son of the great female Sun, who had the right as her successor, and as Great Chief, to put to death as many persons as he pleased to honor the funeral of his mother. Fourteen other scaffolds were afterwards erected and decorated with branches of trees, and painting upon pieces of linen. On each scaffold they placed one of those they had strangled to accompany the deceased to the other world, and these were surrounded by their relatives dressed in fine white robes. They then formed a procession and marched to the great square in front of the great temple, and commenced to dance. At the end of four days they began the ceremony of the march of death, the fathers and mothers of the strangled children holding them up in their arms. The eldest of these unfortunate children did not appear to be over three years of age. The fourteen other victims destined to be strangled were also marched in front of the Great Temple.

The chiefs and relatives of those who were strangled, with their hair cut off began their frightful howlings, while those who were destined to die kept on dancing and marching around the cabin of the deceased, two by two, until it was set on fire. The fathers, who carried their strangled children in their arms, marched four paces apart from each other, and, at the distance of about ten paces, threw them upon the ground before the Great Temple, and com-

menced dancing around them. When they deposited the body of the great female Sun in the temple, the fourteen victims, who stood within the door of the temple, were undressed, and, while seated on the ground, a cord, with a noose, was passed around the neck of each, and a deerskin thrown over their heads. The relatives of the deceased then stood to the right and left of each victim, taking hold of the ends of the cord around their necks, and, at a given signal, they pulled it until their victim was dead. The bones of the victims who had been strangled were afterwards deprived of their flesh, and, when dried, were put into baskets, and placed in the temple, considering it an honor and special privilege to have been sacrificed and placed there with the great female Sun. (Penicaut.)

Early in the spring of 1725 the Stung Serpent, who was the brother of the Great Sun, and my (Du Pratz) intimate friend, was seized with a mortal distemper, which filled the whole nation of the Natchez with the greatest consternation and terror; for the two brothers had mutually engaged to follow each other to the land of spirits, and if the Great Sun should kill himself for the sake of his brother very many people would likewise be put to death. When the Stung Serpent was despaired of, the chief of the guardians of the temple came to me in the greatest confusion, and acquainted me with the mutual engagements of the two brothers, begged me to interest myself in preserving the Great Sun. He made the same request to the commander of the fort. Accordingly we were no sooner informed of the death of the Stung Serpent than the commander, some of the principal Frenchmen, and I, went in a body to the hut of the Great Sun. We found him in despair, but after some time he seemed to be influenced by the arguments I used to dissuade him from putting himself to death. The death of the Stung Serpent was published by the firing of two muskets, which were answered by the other villages, and immediately cries and lamentations were heard on all sides. The Great Sun, in the mean time, remained inconsolable, and sat bent forward, with his eyes towards the ground. In the evening, while we were still in his hut, he made a sign to his favorite wife, who, in consequence of that, threw a pailful of water on the fire and extinguished it. This was a signal for extinguishing all the fires of the nation, and filled every one with terrible alarms, as it denoted that the Great Sun was still resolved to put himself to death. I gently chided him for altering his former resolution, but he assured me that he had not, and desired us to go and sleep securely. We accordingly left him. . . .

Before we went to our lodgings we entered the hut of the deceased, and found him on his bed of state dressed in his finest clothes, his face painted with vermillion, shod with *magnificently embroidered moccasins*, with his feather crown on his head. To his bed were fastened his arms, which consisted of a double-barrel gun, a pistol, a bow, a quiver full of arrows, and a tomahawk. Round his bed were placed all the calumets of peace he had received during his life, and on a pole, planted in the ground near it, hung a chain of forty-six rings of cane, painted red, to express the number of enemies he had slain. All his domestics were around him, and they presented victuals to him at the usual hours as if he were alive. The company in his hut were composed of his favorite wife, of a second wife—whom he kept in another village, and visited when his favorite was with child—of his chancellor, his physician, his chief

domestic, his pipe-bearer, and some old women, who were all to be strangled at his interment. To these victims a noble woman voluntarily joined herself, resolving, from her friendship to the Stung Serpent, to go and live with him in the land of spirits. . . . After we had satisfied our curiosity in the hut of the deceased, we retired to our hut, where we spent the night. But at day-break we were suddenly awaked, and told that it was with difficulty the Great Sun was kept from killing himself. We hastened to his hut, and upon entering it I remarked dismay and terror painted upon the countenances of all who were present. The Great Sun held his gun by the butt end, and seemed enraged that the other suns had seized upon it to prevent him from executing his purpose. I addressed myself to him, and, after opening the pan of the lock, to let the priming fall out, I chided him gently for his not acting according to his former resolution. He pretended at first not to see me, but after some time he let go his hold on the musket, and shook hands with me, without speaking a word. . . . The Great Sun at length consented to order his fire to be again lighted, which was the signal for lighting the other fires of the nation, and dispelled all their apprehensions.

Soon after the natives begun the dance of death, and prepared for the funeral of the Stung Serpent. Orders were given to put none to death on that occasion but those who were in the hut of the deceased. A child, however, had already been strangled by its father and mother, which ransomed their lives upon the death of the Great Sun, and raised them from the rank of stinkards to that of nobles. Those who were appointed to die were conducted twice a day and placed in two rows before the temple, where they acted over the scenes of their death, each accompanied by eight of their own relations, who were to be their executioners, and by that office exempted themselves from dying upon the death of any of the suns, and likewise raised themselves to the dignity of men of rank.

Meanwhile thirty warriors brought in a prisoner who had formerly been married to a female sun, but upon her death, instead of submitting to die with her had fled to New Orleans. . . . Finding himself thus unexpectedly trapped, he began to cry bitterly, but three very old women, who were his relations, offering to die in his stead, he was not only again exempted from death, but raised to the dignity of a man of rank.

On the day of the interment, the wife of the deceased made a very moving speech to the French who were present, recommending her children—to whom she also addressed herself—to their friendship, and advising a perpetual union between the two nations. Soon after the master of ceremonies appeared, in a red-feathered crown, which half encircled his head, having a red staff in his hand, in the form of a cross, at the end of which hung a garland of black feathers. All the upper part of his body was painted red, excepting his arms, and from his girdle to his knees hung a fringe of feathers, the rows of which were alternately white and red. When he came before the hut of the deceased, he saluted him with a great "ho-o!" and then began the cry of death in which he was followed by all the people. Immediately after, the Stung Serpent was brought out on his bed of state, and was placed on a litter, which six of the guardians of the temple bore on their shoulders. The procession then began, the master of ceremonies walking first, and after him the oldest warrior, hold-

ing in one hand the pole with the rings of canes, and in the other the pipe of war, a mark of the dignity of the deceased. Next followed the corpse, after which came those who were to die at the interment, each of them accompanied by eight of his nearest relatives, who were to perform the office of executioner; one carried a tomahawk, and threatened every instant to strike the victim; another carried the mat on which the sentence was to be executed; a third the cord which was to serve for the execution; a fourth bore the deer-skin which was to be placed on the head and shoulders of the condemned; the fifth carried a wooden bowl containing the pills of tobacco which the patients swallowed before dying; the sixth an earthen bottle of water to facilitate the passage of the pills. The office of the last two was to render the strangulation as speedy as possible, by drawing the cord to the right and left of the patient. The whole procession went three times round the hut of the deceased, and then those who carried the corpse proceeded in a circular kind of a march, every turn intersecting the former, until they came to the temple. At every turn, the dead child was thrown by its parents before the bearers of the corpse, that they might walk over it, and when the corpse was placed in the temple, the victims were immediately strangled. The Stung Serpent and his two wives were buried in the same grave within the temple; the other victims were interred in different parts, and after the ceremony, they burnt, according to custom, the hut of the deceased. (Du Pratz.)

The Great Sun said to Du Pratz: "Our nation was formerly very numerous and very powerful; it extended more than twelve days' journey from east to west, and more than fifteen from north to south. We reckoned five hundred suns, and you may judge by that what was the number of the nobles, of the people of rank, and the common people;" and I may add of the great number of mounds that must have been made during the existence of this power and prosperity. The Natchez was not the only great Indian confederation of which the histories of North America make mention. Besides those of the west, there were the great confederations of the northeast and those of the southeast. Du Pratz says in regard to the Natchez: "That formerly they extended from the river Manchac or Iberville, which is about fifty leagues from the sea, to the river Wabash, which is distant from the sea about five hundred and sixty leagues."

Tonti, who accompanied La Salle down the Illinois to the mouth of the Mississippi, in 1681, thus describes an Indian house at a Tensas village, on one of the lakes in Louisiana, about forty-five miles above Natchez:—

"When we arrived opposite to the village of the Taencas, M. de la Salle desired me to go to it, and inform the chief of his arrival. I went with our guides, and we had to carry a bark canoe for ten arpens, and to launch it on a small lake, on which their village was placed. I was surprised to find their cabins made of mud, and covered with cane mats. The cabin of the chief was forty feet square; the wall ten feet high, a foot thick; and the roof, which was of a dome shape, about fifteen feet high. I was not less surprised when, on entering, I saw the chief seated on a camp bed, with three of his wives at his side, surrounded by more than sixty old men clothed in large white cloaks, which are made, by women, out of the bark of the mulberry tree, and are

tolerably well worked. The women were clothed in the same manner. No one drinks out of the chief's cup, or eats out of his plate, and no one passes before him; when he walks they clean the path before him. When he dies they sacrifice his youngest wife, his house-steward, and a hundred men, to accompany him into the other world. They have a form of worship, and adore the sun. There is a temple opposite the house of the chief, and similar to it, except that three eagles are placed on this temple, which look towards the rising sun. The temple is surrounded with strong mud walls, in which are fixed spikes, on which they place the heads of their enemies, whom they sacrifice to the sun. At the door of the temple is a block of wood, on which is a great shell plaited round with the hair of their enemies, in a plait as thick as an arm, and about twenty fathoms long. The inside of the temple is naked; there is an altar in the middle, and, at the foot of the altar, three logs of wood are placed on end, and a fire is kept up, day and night, by two old priests, who are the directors of their worship. The old men showed me a small cabinet, within the wall, made of mats of cane. Desiring to see what was inside, the old men prevented me, giving me to understand that their god was there. But I have since learned that is the place where they keep their treasure, such as fine pearls, which they fish up in the neighborhood, and European merchandise. At the last quarter of the moon all the cabins make an offering of a dish of the best food they have, which is placed at the door of the temple. The old men take care to carry it away and to make a good feast of it with their families.

"When I was in the chief's cabin, I saw that one of his wives wore a pearl necklace. I presented her with ten yards of blue glass beads in exchange for it; I carried it to M. de la Salle, giving him an account of all I had seen, and told him the chief intended to visit him the next day, which he did. He came the next day, with wooden canoes, to the sound of the tambour and the music of the women. M. de la Salle received him with much politeness, and gave him some presents; they gave us in return plenty of provisions, and some of their robes. The chiefs returned well satisfied.

"We stayed during the day, which was the 22d of March. An observation gave the 31° of latitude. We left on the 22d, and slept on an island ten leagues off. The next day we saw a canoe, and M. de la Salle ordered me to chase it, which I did, and as I was just on the point of taking it, more than a hundred men appeared on the banks of the river to defend their people. M. de la Salle shouted out to me to come back, which I did. We went on and encamped opposite them. Afterwards, M. de la Salle expressing a wish to meet them peaceably, I offered to carry to them the calumet, and embarking went to them. At first they joined their hand as a sign that they wished to be friends; I, who had but one hand, told our men to do the same thing.

"I made the chief men among them cross over to M. de la Salle, who accompanied them to their village, three leagues inland, and passed the night there with some of his men. The next day he returned with the chief of the village where he had slept, who was a brother of the great chief of the Natchez; he conducted us to his brother's village, situated on the hill-side near the river, at six leagues' distance. We were well received there. This nation counts more than three hundred warriors. Here the men cultivate the ground, hunt

and fish as well as the Taencas, and their manners are the same. We departed thence on Good Friday, and, after a voyage of twenty leagues, encamped at the mouth of a large river, which runs from the west" [Red River]. ("Memoir of the Sieur de Tonti," Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, by B. F. French.)

Penicaut, who, in April, 1700, visited this Tensas village, says: "On the 12th of April we left the Natchez, and coasted along to the right, where the river is bordered with high gravel banks for a distance of twelve leagues; at the extremity of these bluffs is a place we called Petit Gulf, on account of a whirlpool formed by the river, for the distance of a quarter of a league. Eight leagues higher up we came to Grand Gulf which we passed. A short distance above, on the left-hand side, we landed to visit a village situated four leagues in the interior. These Indians are called the Tensas. We were well received; but I never saw a more sad, frightful, and revolting spectacle, than that which happened the second day (April 16th) after our arrival in this village. A sudden storm burst upon us. The lightning struck the temple, burnt all their idols, and reduced the whole to ashes; quickly the Indians assembled around, making horrible cries, tearing out their hair, elevating their hands to heaven, their tawny visages turned towards the burning temple, invoking their *Great Spirit*, with the howling of devils possessed, to come down and extinguish the flames. They took up mud with which they besmeared their bodies and faces. The fathers and mothers then brought their children, and, after having strangled them, threw them into the flames. M. D'Iberville was horrified at seeing such a cruel spectacle, and gave orders to stop it, by forcibly taking from them the little innocents; but, with all our efforts, seventeen perished in this manner; and, had we not restrained them, the number would have been over two hundred."

NOTE (18), page 370.

ANCIENT ARTIFICIAL MOUNDS, Etc.

"I have the following details, relative to the pyramids, artificial mounds, and arenas that are seen in Georgia and in the two Floridas, from B., elected member to congress at the birth of the new government, and afterwards four years senator of the United States. At the risk of repeating some of the reflections which have already appeared in this work, I shall change nothing of the account of this respectable personage. His observations are so much the more valuable as he inhabited Georgia during thirty years, and has himself seen some of these ancient monuments.*

. . . "We know by the traditions of the Cherokees, that, at the epoch of the arrival of their ancestors, who came from the mountains of Mexico, these great works existed very nearly such as we see them now, and that the most ancient among the conquered Savannucas were ignorant when and by whom they were erected. This invasion took place about the end of the fifteenth

* The person here alluded to probably was Abraham Baldwin, representative from Georgia, May 5th, 1785, and temporary President of the Senate, December 7th, 1801, to January 14th, 1802, and also April 17th, 1802, to May 3d, 1802.

century. If we suppose that among a nation of hunters three hundred years suffice to efface the last souvenirs of tradition, then the existence of these monuments ascends to the twelfth century.

"Like to the pyramids of Egypt, these traces of the existence, the industry, and the civilization of these ancient peoples, are but mute and unserviceable witnesses whose relations with the condition and affairs of this part of the world are enveloped, are lost, in the vague shadows of the past. Nevertheless, although these entrenched camps, these works, are but as imperceptible points, as hillocks, compared with the grandeur of their rivals of centuries erected on the borders of the Nile, they present to the eyes of the observer what North America conceals of the most ancient, most extraordinary, and most worthy to be attentively examined.

"But since finally we cannot form conjectures more probable, we must therefore believe that these industrious and peaceable nations have been exterminated by some barbarous hordes of the interior of the continent, which, in the course of centuries, have been destroyed by tribes not less ferocious; these by the Cherokees driven from the mountains of Mexico; these last, finally, by the men arrived from Europe. Such has been the lot of nearly all nations. All have undergone nearly the same vicissitudes, all have had to struggle, or have been the sport and the victims of the caprices of that formidable power, unknown, which we call destiny, fatality, or chance.

"Twenty-five miles to the west of Wrightsburg, not far from the borders of Little River (in Georgia), are seen, in the middle of a fertile plain, many artificial mounds, the bases of which are from seven to eight hundred feet in circumference, and from thirty to forty in height; a pyramid whose dimensions are much more considerable; four terraces of a square form, having an elevation of ten or twelve feet; and finally, an arena hollowed out, with four ranges of banquets, which, as well as I could judge of them, might contain three thousand spectators; and further still, the evident marks of the furrows of ancient cultivation, on which have grown enormous oaks; I measured some of them which were four feet seven inches in diameter. The pyramid alone, whose height might be fifty-five feet, must have required the labor of some thousands of men during several years; thanks to its form, to the thick bushes as well as to the roots of the trees which covered it, it exists still almost entire.

"Further towards the west, on the borders of a great natural meadow, are seen works entirely like to these last, but whose dimensions are smaller, or which have been wasted by consuming time.

"At some distance from the borders of the Oakmulge, the union of which with the Oconee forms the Alatomaha, are also seen the evident traces of the sojourn and of the long and persevering industry of an ancient people, such as some remains of terraces, of an arena, of mounds and pyramidal elevations, near which are found fragments of broken pottery of a kind much more perfect than those which the natives now make use of. (See Note 21.)

"The most remarkable works, and the most worthy to excite curiosity, are found in the neighborhood of Fort Dartmouth, on the borders of the Keowee (eastern branch of the Savannah), one hundred miles above the town of Augusta. The first object which strikes the eyes of the traveller is a circular

pyramid, the base of which is about a thousand feet in circumference, the height seventy feet, as well as I could judge of it without the aid of instruments, and the summit crowned with cedars. It is ascended by a spiral path, on which, at different heights and facing the four cardinal points, are found four niches. From the top of this pyramid are seen many other elevations less important. Some are square, others in the form of parallelograms; some are two hundred feet long, and from five to twelve feet high. But what appears still more astonishing is a causeway of more than three miles in length, which the waters of the river never overflow, although they wash the foot of the pyramid in the frequent inundations.

"Six miles further we enter into another valley as beautiful and as cool, known by the name of Cullsaté, in the middle of which are seen great long terraces, and two pyramids from thirty to thirty-five feet high. This valley is not exposed to the inundations of the Keowee.

"Further still in the mountains, not far from the situation of the ancient town of Sticoé, is seen another pyramid, the circumference of which is eight hundred feet, and the height forty-eight, with a very considerable terrace. The same objects are found at Cowee, capital of the most beautiful and fertile valley of the Tennessee, besides many conical tombs. An old Cherokee chief told me that at the epoch of the invasion of his ancestors, these tombs and these artificial mounds existed in very nearly the same condition.

"At a few miles from Fort Prince George of Keowee, are also seen many conical elevations which are believed to be tombs, and four artificial mounds covered with trees and bushes. At Watoga, a very important Cherokee town, there is a pyramid, the height of which the inhabitants have reduced to twenty feet, upon which they have erected their rotunda, or council house. The old Oweekamwee repeated to me what I had heard said at Cowee relative to the tradition of the ancient Savannucas.

"Not far from the village of Keowee, they have lately discovered some other ancient works, the only ones which bear the impression of the hammer. They are composed of four stones, six feet long and three broad. Two of these stones are placed lengthwise upon their edges in a parallel direction; a third covers them, and the fourth closes one of the extremities." (St. John de Crevecœur.)

St. John continues his account of American antiquities, but what I have given is sufficient for my purpose, nearly all of which are in the region of Co-faciqui, inhabited by the Uches or ancient Savannucas "who possessed the Carolina side of the Savannah River for more than a hundred and fifty miles, commencing sixty miles from its mouth. Their language was known as the Savanuea tongue from the town of that name. It was peculiar to themselves, and radically different from the Creek tongue." (Brinton's "Notes on the Floridian Peninsula.")

John Filson, in his History of Kentucky, says: "Near Lexington are to be seen curious sepulchres full of human skeletons, which are thus fabricated First, on the ground are laid large broad stones: on these are placed the bodies, separated from each other by broad stones, covered with others, which serve as a basis for the next arrangement of bodies. In this order they are built without mortar, growing still narrower to the height of a man. This method

of burying appears to be totally different from that now practised by the Indians." Though Filson does not mention that they were thus formed in a mound, yet it is evident they were.

The following is from a Cincinnati paper "Price Current," but in giving it I do not imply that my views are the same; it is for the reader's consideration: "In answer to the report of Judge West, of Kansas, relative to his discovery of relics of antiquity of the 'extinct mound builders,' who inhabited a kingdom extending from the Rocky Mountains to the Appalachian Chain, and from the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes. . . . It was a great nation, and from incontrovertible geological proofs we have no hesitancy in indorsing Professor West's opinion that this nation of people existed more than two hundred thousand years ago. They were contemporary with the rhinoceros, cave-bear, mastodon, etc., and were semi-civilized, worshipped the sun, and cultivated the alluvial lands of this vast territory. We have opened many of their burial mounds and the basements of some of their temples, all of which have an escarpment on the eastern side, where sacrifices were offered to their gods, like the Persians of Asia. In all these cemeteries we found the mica mirror, also the *margenella* shell, for ornament, only found on the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

"Two miles below Cartersville in Bartow County, Georgia, on the Chattahoochee River, are the remains of a magnificent temple eighty-seven feet high, with an escarpment on the east of nearly twenty feet high and twenty wide, where a granite idol was plowed up by the Indians fifty-two years ago, and sold to an Englishman, who sold it to the Salisbury collection in England, and in 1871 the goddess was plowed up at the same place, and is now in possession of Captain Lyon who loaned it to the Smithsonian Institute at Washington to take casts and electrotypes from. I have the promise of developing by tunnels through the great temple and through the circular cemetery near by, seventy-eight feet high. This is surrounded by a ditch, thirty feet deep, from river to river, in a bend of fifty acres, on which are four watch-towers [mounds], twenty feet high, on the east side, and two on the west. This is the only place where gold beads have been found. X

Georgia, Ohio, Illinois, and West Virginia contain the most magnificent remains of this once great nation, but Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana are filled with their works. We will say to you that the anatomy of these people is as essentially different from the Caucasian as the ass is from the horse, proving the Bible to be true when correctly translated, as it positively confirms the record of the inspired writer in the first chapter of Genesis, which in the Hebrew copy gives us the history of the pre-Adamites, but expugned by the council of King James, because he believed in the absurd doctrine of the unity of the human race. The extinction of this race of pre-Adamites we know not, but we can satisfy any sane man that they lived here at least two hundred thousand years ago, and that the white race only gives evidence of not more than ten thousand years. Bishop Usher's chronology is false.

According to Garcilasso, Cortes, Diaz, and Biedma, some of the earliest writers on America, and confirmed by later writers of the beginning of the

eighteenth century, the Indian chiefs had their dwellings on artificial mounds; and also their temples were built on artificial mounds. According to Garcilasso the top of the mound was connected with the surface of the ground by a kind of wooden stairway fifteen or twenty feet wide, the steps of which were seven or eight feet broad. The altars in the great work of antiquity that once existed on the site of Marietta, in Ohio, had earthen ramps to ascend to their summits. They were of the same construction as the altars of Peru. The similarity of the ancient religious structures of America would seem to indicate that there once existed on this continent a great hierarchy, probably as powerful and as extensive as that of the Druids of the old world.

NOTE (19), page 372.

PEARLS.

Pearls are found in many bivalves, especially in the *Maleagrina Margaritifera*, or true pearl oyster, and among fresh-water bivalves in the *Unio Margaritifera*. Some of the unios, both of Europe and America, produce very fine pearls.

Britain, during its occupation by the Romans, became famous for its pearls, which were found in the fresh-water mussel of its rivers.

Very fine pearls, known on the continent as Bohemian pearls, are found in the rivers Moldau and Wottawa. There is also a fresh-water fishery in Bavaria, where the river Iltz yields, at times, very fine specimens.

In 1858 some pearls were discovered at Paterson, on the Passaic River, in the State of New Jersey. The largest, which was found at the commencement of the search, was more than an inch in diameter.

The first Spaniards who landed on Tierra Firme found savages decked with necklaces and bracelets of pearls; and among the civilized people of Mexico and Peru pearls of a beautiful form were generally sought after.

The Indians of Virginia wore pearl pendants in their ears; and round their necks and upon their arms chains and bracelets of pearls.

NOTE (20), page 372.

THE INDIAN CUSTOM OF PRESENTING WOMEN TO THEIR GUESTS.

The Sempoallans, in order to make a more intimate connection with Cortes and his party, presented him with eight women—all daughters of caciques. All these young women were finely dressed after the fashion of their country; they wore beautiful shifts, had golden chains about their necks, golden rings in their ears, and had other Indian females to wait upon them. When the fat cacique presented these to Cortes, he said: "Teale (sir), these seven women are intended for your chief officers, and this, my niece, who herself holds dominion over a country and people, I have destined for you."

When Columbus arrived on the Mosquito Coast the Indians presented him with two girls. Indian chiefs presented one of their wives to their guests. But were this wife to cohabit with another man without her husband's consent, it

was considered a great offence, and subjected her to severe penalties. Some Indian tribes did not regard the familiarity of the two sexes, provided the woman had no children; but when once married changeful amours ceased, and fidelity took their place.

When Ojeda had entered the Gulf of Maracaibo, the Indians sent, in their canoes, sixteen young girls to the ships, distributing four on board of each, either as a peace-offering or as a token of amity and confidence.

It thus appears that this custom was prevalent to a great extent among the American Indians.

NOTE (21), page 375.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MUSCOGULGE INDIANS.*

INDIAN HOSPITALITY.—“On our arrival at the trading house our chief was visited by the head-men of the town,† when instantly the White King’s arrival in town was announced; a messenger had before been sent in to prepare a feast, the king and his retinue having killed several bears. A fire was now kindled in the area of the public square; the royal standard was displayed, and the drum beat to give notice to the town of the royal feast. The ribs and choice pieces of the three great fat bears already well barbecued or broiled, were brought to the banqueting house in the square, with hot bread, and honeyed water for drink. When the feast was over in the square (where only the chiefs and warriors were admitted, with the white people) the chief-priest, attended by slaves, came with baskets and carried off the remainder of the victuals, and which was distributed among the families of the town. The king then withdrew, repairing to the council house in the square, whither the chiefs and warriors, old and young, and such of the whites as choose, repaired also; the king, war-chief, and several ancient chiefs and warriors, were seated on the royal cabins (benches); the rest of the head men and warriors, old and young, sat on the cabins on the right hand of the king’s; the cabins or seats on the left, and on the same elevation, are always assigned for the white people, Indians of other towns, and such of their own people as choose to attend.

Our chief, with the rest of the white people in town, took their seats according to order; tobacco and pipes were brought; the calumet was lighted and smoked, circulating according to the usual forms and ceremony; and afterwards black drink concluded the feast. The king conversed, drank cassine, and associated familiarly with his people and with us.

After the public entertainment was over the young people began their music

* Taken from the Travels of William Bartram in Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama, in the years 1773 to 1778. As De Soto travelled through all these States, except Tennessee, he probably travelled among the same Indians, or Indians as advanced towards civilization as they were. So from this account the reader may form a correct idea of the manners and customs of the Indians; their dwellings, public squares, and council houses, and just as they probably were at the time of De Soto.

† Talahasochte in Florida.

and dancing in the square, whither the young of both sexes repaired, as well as the old and middle aged; this frolic continued all night. . . .

Early in the morning our chief invited me with him on a visit to the town, to take a final leave of the White King. We were graciously received and treated with the utmost civility and hospitality; there was a noble entertainment and repast provided against our arrival, consisting of bears' ribs, venison, varieties of fish, roasted turkeys (which they call the white man's dish), hot corn cakes, and a very agreeable cooling sort of jelly, which they call conte; this is made from the root of the China briar. . . .

Soon after entering the forests we were met in the path by a small company of Indians, smiling and beckoning to us long before we joined them. This was a family of Talahasochte who had been out on a hunt, and were returning home loaded with barbecued meat, hides, and honey. Their company consisted of the man, his wife and children, well mounted on fine horses, with a number of pack-horses. The man presently offered us a fawn's-skin of honey, which we gladly accepted, and at parting I presented him with some fish-hooks, sewing needles, etc. . . . We parted and before night rejoined our companions at the Long Pond.

On our return to camp in the evening, we were saluted by a party of young Indian warriors, who had pitched their camp on a green eminence near the lake, and at a small distance from our camp, under a little grove of oaks and palms. This company consisted of seven young Seminoles, under the conduct of a young prince or chief of Talahasochte, a town southward in the isthmus. They were all dressed and painted with singular elegance, and richly ornamented with silver plates and chains, etc., and, after the Seminole mode, with waving plumes of feathers on their crests. On our coming up to them, they arose and shook hands; we alighted and sat awhile with them at their cheerful fire. . . .

Soon after joining our companions at camp, our neighbors, the prince and his associates paid us a visit. We treated them with the best fare we had, having till this time preserved some of our spirituous liquors. They left us with perfect cordiality and cheerfulness, wishing us a good repose, and retired to their own camp. Having a band of music with them, consisting of a drum, flutes, and rattle-gourd, they entertained us during the night with their music, vocal and instrumental.

After riding about four miles, mostly through fields and plantations, the soil incredibly fertile, arrived at the town of Echoc,* consisting of many good houses well inhabited. I passed through and continued three miles farther to Nucasse, and three miles more brought me to Whatoga. Riding through this large town, the road carried me winding about through their little plantations of corn, beans, etc., up to the council house, which was a very large dome or rotunda, situated on the top of an ancient artificial mount, and here my road terminated. All before me and on every side, appeared little plantations of corn, beans, etc., divided from each other by narrow strips or borders of grass, which marked the bounds of each one's property, their habitation standing in the midst. Finding no common highway to lead me through the town, I was

* On the head-waters of the Tennessee, in what was formerly the Cherokee country.

at a stand how to proceed farther, when observing an Indian man at the door of his habitation, three or four hundred yards distance from me, beckoning me to come to him, I ventured to ride through their lots, being careful to do no injury to the young plants, the rising hopes of their labor and industry; crossing a little grassy vale, watered by a silver stream which gently undulated through it; and then ascended a green hill to the house, where I was cheerfully welcomed at the door, and led in by the chief, giving the care of my horses to two handsome youths, his sons. During my continuance here, about half an hour, I experienced the most perfect and agreeable hospitality conferred on me by these happy people; I mean happy in their dispositions, in their apprehensions of rectitude with regard to our social and moral conduct. O divine simplicity and truth, friendship without fallacy or guile, hospitality disinterested, native, undefiled, unmodified by artificial refinements!

My venerable host gracefully and with an air of respect led me into an airy, cool apartment, where, being seated on cabin "benches or sofas," his women brought in a refreshing repast consisting of boiled venison, hot corn cakes, etc., with a pleasant cooling liquor made of hominy well boiled, mixed afterwards with milk; this is served up, either before or after eating, in a large bowl, with a very large spoon or ladle to sup it with.

After partaking of this simple but healthy and liberal collation, and the dishes cleared off, tobacco and pipes were brought, and the chief filling one of them, whose stem, about four feet long, was sheathed in a beautiful speckled snake-skin and adorned with feathers and strings of wampum, lights it and smokes a few whiffs, puffing the smoke first towards the sun, then to the four cardinal points, and lastly over my breast, hands it towards me, which I cheerfully received from him and smoked.

After ordering my horse to the door, we went forth together, he on foot and I leading my horse by the bridle, thus walking together near two miles, we shook hands and parted, he returning home, and I continuing my journey for Cowe.

We were received and entertained friendly by the Indians (of Cowe); the chief of the village conducted us to a grand, airy pavilion in the centre of the village. It was four square; a range of pillars or posts on each side supported a canopy composed of palmetto leaves woven or thatched together, which shaded a level platform in the centre, that was ascended to from each side by two steps or flights, each about twelve inches high, and seven or eight feet in breadth, all covered with carpets or mats, curiously woven of split canes, dyed of various colors. Here being seated or reclining ourselves after smoking tobacco, baskets of choicest fruits were brought and set before us."* (Bartram.)

SETTLEMENTS AND MIGRATIONS.†—About seventy or eighty miles above the confluence of the Oakmulge and Ocone, the trading path from Augusta to the Creek nation crosses these fine rivers, which are there forty miles apart. On the east banks of the Oakmulge this trading road runs nearly two miles through ancient Indian fields, which are called the Oakmulge fields; they are

* This was also in the Cherokee country, on the head-waters of the Tennessee.

† Taken from William Bartram's Journal.

the rich lowlands of the river. On the heights of these low grounds are yet visible monuments, or traces of an ancient town, such as artificial mounds or terraces, squares, and banks encircling considerable areas. Their old fields and planting land extended up and down the river fifteen or twenty miles from this site.

If we are to give credit to the account the Creeks give of themselves, this place is remarkable for being the first town or settlement where they sat down (as they term it), or established themselves after their emigration from the west beyond the Mississippi, their original native country. On this long journey they suffered great and innumerable difficulties, encountering and vanquishing numerous and valiant tribes of Indians, who opposed and retarded their march. Having crossed the river, still pushing eastward, they were obliged to make a stand and fortify themselves in this place as their only remaining hope, being to the last degree persecuted and weakened by their surrounding foes. Having formed for themselves this retreat, and driven off the inhabitants, by degrees they recovered their spirits, and again faced their enemies, when they came off victorious in a memorable and decisive battle. They afterwards gradually subdued their surrounding enemies, and strengthened themselves by taking into confederacy the vanquished tribes.

And they say also that about this period the English were establishing the colony of Carolina,* and the Creeks, understanding that they were a powerful warlike people, sent deputies to Charleston, their capital, offering them their friendship and alliance, which was accepted, and in consequence thereof a treaty took place between them, which has remained inviolable to this day [1774]. They never ceased war against the numerous and potent bands of Indians who then surrounded and cramped the English plantations, as the Savannas, Ogeeches, Wapoos, Santees, Yamasees, Utinas, Icosans, Paticos, and others until they extirpated them. The Yamasees and their adherents sheltered themselves under the power and protection of the Spaniards of East Florida; they pursued them to the very gates of St. Augustine, and the Spaniards refusing to deliver them up, these faithful and intrepid allies had the courage to declare war against them, and incessantly persecuted them until they entirely broke up and ruined their settlements, driving them before them till at length they were obliged to retire within the walls of St. Augustine and a few other fortified posts on the sea-coast.

Our encampment was fixed on the site of the old Ocone town, which, about sixty years ago,† was evacuated by the Indians, who, finding their situation disagreeable from its vicinity to the white people, left it, moving upward into

* 1670. This was told to Bartram by a very old Indian chief; but it is worthy of notice that even at the time of De Soto there were Indian tribes living, two of which now exist, and one but lately extinct: the Chaetas, Chicasas, and the Alabamas. Then there are a number of Indian names of the time of Soto still existing in the original Creek country, as Tascaluza, Apalache, Cosa, Tallise, Ocali, etc., and which are probably Muscogulge names; but some of the Cherokees or Creeks of the Indian Territory will be able to decide this. I would be obliged to any of them who would inform me on this subject.

† The last date, preceding, he gives in his "Journal" is April 22, 1776, therefore about 1716, or 176 years after Soto passed through that country.

the nation or Upper Creeks, and there built a town; but that situation not suiting their roving disposition, they grew sickly and tired of it, and resolved to seek a habitation more agreeable to their minds. They all arose, directing their emigration southeastward towards the sea-coast; and, in the course of their journey, observing the delightful appearance of the extensive plains of Alachua, and the fertile hills environing it, they sat down and built a town on the banks of a spacious and beautiful lake, at a small distance from the plains, naming this new town Cuscowilla; this situation pleased them, yet troubles and afflictions found them out. This territory, belonging to the peninsula of Florida, was then claimed by the Tomocas, Utinas, Caloosas, Yamasees, and other remnant tribes of the ancient Floridians, and the more northern refugees, driven away by the Carolinians, now in alliance and under the protection of the Spaniards, who assisting them, attacked the new settlement, and for many years were very troublesome; but the Alachuas or Ocones, being strengthened by other emigrants, and fugitive bands from the Upper Creeks, with whom they were confederated, and who gradually established other towns in this low country, stretching a line of settlements across the isthmus, extending from the Altamaha to the bay of Apalache; these uniting were at length able to face their enemies, and even attack them in their own settlements; and in the end, with the assistance of the Upper Creeks, vanquished their enemies and destroyed them, and then fell upon the Spanish settlements, which also they entirely broke up. . . .

The Uche town is situated in a vast plain, in the gradual ascent as we rise from a narrow strip of low ground immediately bordering on the river "Chata Uche;" it is the largest, most compact, and best situated Indian town I ever saw; the habitations are large and neatly built; the walls of the houses are constructed of a wooden frame, then lathed and plastered inside and out with a reddish, well-tempered clay or mortar, which gives them the appearance of red brick walls; and these houses are neatly covered or roofed with cypress bark, or shingles of that tree. The town appeared to be populous and thriving, full of youth and young children; I suppose the number of inhabitants, men, women, and children, might amount to one thousand or fifteen hundred; as it is said they are able to muster five hundred warriors. Their own national language is altogether or radically different from the Creek or Muscogulge tongue, and is called the Savanna or Savannuca tongue. I was told by the traders it was the same with, or a dialect of, the Shawanese. They are in confederacy with the Creeks, but do not mix with them; and, on account of their numbers and strength, are of importance enough to excite and draw upon them the jealousy of the whole Muscogulge confederacy, and are usually at variance, yet are wise enough to unite against a common enemy, to support the interest and glory of the general Creek confederacy.

After a little refreshment at this beautiful town, we repacked and set off again for the Apalachucla town, where we arrived after riding over a level plain, consisting of ancient Indian plantations, a beautiful landscape diversified with groves and lawns.

This is esteemed the mother town or capital of the Creek or Muscogulge confederacy, sacred to peace; no captives are put to death, or human blood spilt here. And when a general peace is proposed, deputies from all the towns in

the confederacy assemble at this capital, in order to deliberate upon a subject of so high importance for the prosperity of the commonwealth.

And on the contrary, the great Cowetta town, about twelve miles higher up this river, is called the bloody town, where the micos, chiefs, and warriors assemble when a general war is proposed; and here captives and state malefactors are put to death.

The time of my continuance here, which was about a week, was employed in excursions around this settlement. One day the chief trader of Apalachuela obliged me with his company on a walk of about a mile and a half down the river, to view the ruins and a site of the ancient Apalachuela; it had been situated on a peninsula formed by a doubling of the river, and indeed appears to have been a very famous capital by the artificial mounds or terraces; and a very populous settlement, from its extent and expansive old fields, stretching beyond the scope of the sight, along the low grounds of the river. We viewed the mound or terrace on which formerly stood their town-house or rotunda, and a public square; and a little behind these, on a level height or natural steep above the low grounds, is a vast artificial terrace or four-square mound, now seven or eight feet higher than the common surface of the ground; in front of one square or side of this mound adjoins a very extensive oblong square yard or artificial level plain, sunk a little below the common surface, and surrounded with a bank or narrow terrace, formed with the earth thrown out of this yard at the time of its formation; the Creeks, or present inhabitants, have a tradition that this was the work of the ancients many ages prior to their arrival and possessing this country.

This old town was evacuated about twenty years ago [about 1756] by the general consent of the inhabitants, on account of its unhealthy situation, owing to the frequent inundations of the river over the low grounds; and, moreover, they grew timorous and dejected, apprehending themselves to be haunted and possessed with vengeful spirits on account of human blood that had been undeservedly spilt in this old town; having been repeatedly warned by apparitions and dreams to leave it.

At the time of their leaving this old town, like the ruin and dispersion of the ancient Babel, the inhabitants separated from each other, forming separate bands under the conduct or auspices of the chief of each family or tribe. The greatest number, however, chose to sit down and build the present new Apalachuela town, upon a high bank of the river, above the inundations. The other bands pursued different routes as their inclination led them, settling villages lower down the river; some continued their migrations towards the sea-coast, seeking their kindred and countrymen amongst the Lower Creeks in East Florida, where they settled themselves. My intelligent friend, the trader of Apalachuela, having from a long residence among these Indians acquired an extensive knowledge of their customs and affairs, I inquired of him what were his sentiments with respect to their wandering, unsettled disposition, their so frequently breaking up their old towns and settling new ones, etc. His answers and opinions were: the necessity they were under of having fresh or new strong land for their plantations, and new, convenient, and extensive range or hunting grounds, which unavoidably forces them into contentions and wars with their confederates and neighboring tribes; to avoid which they had rather

move and seek a plentiful and peaceable retreat, even at a distance, than contend with friends and relatives, or embroil themselves in destructive wars with their neighbors, when either can be avoided with so little inconvenience. With regard to the Muscogulges, the first object in order to obtain these conveniences was the destruction of the Yamasees, who held possession of Florida, and were in close alliance with the Spaniards, their declared and most inveterate enemy, which they at length fully accomplished; and by this conquest they gained a vast and invaluable territory, comprehending a delightful region, and most plentiful country for their favorite game, bear and deer. But not yet satisfied, having already so far conquered the powerful Cherokees as in a manner to force them to alliance, and compelled the warlike Chicasaws to sue for peace and alliance with them, they then grew arrogant and insatiable, and turned their covetous looks towards the potent and intrepid Chactaws, the only enemy they had to fear, meaning to break them up and possess themselves of that extensive, fruitful, and delightful country, and make it a part of their vast empire. But the Chactaws, a powerful, hardy, subtle, and intrepid race, estimated at twenty thousand warriors, are likely to afford sufficient exercise for the proud and restless spirits of the Muscogulges, at least for some years to come; and they appear to be so equally matched with the Chactaws, that it seems doubtful which of these powerful nations will rise victorious.

July 13, 1776, we left the Apalachucla town, and three days' journey brought us to Talisse, a town on the Talapoosa River, the northeast great branch of the Alabama or Mobile River; having passed over a vast, level, plain country of expansive savannas and groves, cane swamps, and open pine forests, watered by innumerable rivulets and brooks tributary to the Apalachucla and Mobile.

We now altered our course, turning to the left hand, southerly, and descending near the river banks, continually in sight of Indian plantations and commons adjacent to their towns; passed by Otasse, an ancient, famous Muscogulge town. The next settlement we came to was Coolome. . . . Here are very extensive, old fields, the abandoned plantations and commons of the old town, on the east side of the river; but the settlement is removed, and the new town now stands on the opposite shore, in a charming, fruitful plain, under an elevated ridge of hills. . . . The plain is narrow where the town is built; their houses are neat, commodious buildings, a wooden frame with plastered walls, and roofed with cypress bark or shingles; every habitation consists of four oblong square houses, of one story, of the same form and dimensions, and so situated as to form an exact square, encompassing an area or court-yard of about a quarter of an acre of ground, leaving an entrance into it at each corner. Here is a beautiful new square in the centre of the new town. . . . The Talapoosa River is here three hundred yards over, and about fifteen or twenty feet deep; the water is very clear, agreeable to the taste, esteemed salubrious, and runs with a steady, active current.*

* From Talisse to Coolome, Bartram had travelled over the same route that De Soto, two hundred and thirty-six years before, had followed. The order of the towns in ascending the Tallapoosa River is: Mucclasse and Savannuca, opposite each other; Tucabatche, Coolome, Otasse or Atasse, and Talisse. It is thus they are found in Bartram's Travels; and they are written as he wrote them.

CREEK BUILDINGS, MYSTICAL FIRE, PUBLIC SQUARES, ETC.—“At last having repacked and set off again, in the evening we arrived at the banks of the great Tallapoosa River, and came to camp under shelter of some Indian cabins, in expansive fields, close to the river bank, opposite the town of Savannuca.* Next morning, very early, though very cold, and the surface of the earth as hoary as if covered with a fall of snow, the trader standing on the opposite shore entirely naked, except a breech-clout,† and encircled by a company of red men in the like habit, hailed us, and presently, with canoes, brought us all over and conducted us to the town of Mucclasse, a mile or two distant.

“The trader obliged me with his company on a visit to the Alabama (an Indian town at the confluence of the two fine rivers, the Tallapoosa and Coosa, which here resign their names to the great Alabama), where are to be seen traces of the ancient French fortress, Thoulouse; here are yet lying half buried in the earth, a few pieces of ordnance, four and six pounders. Staying all night at Alabama, where we had a grand entertainment at the public square, with music and dancing, we returned next day to Mucclasse; where, being informed of a company of traders about setting off from Tuccabatche for Augusta, I made a visit to that town to know the truth of it, but on my arrival there they were gone; but, being informed of another caravan which was to start from the Ottasse town in two or three weeks’ time, I returned to Mucclasse in order to prepare for my departure.

“Now, having all things prepared for my departure, early in the morning, I set off; passed through continued plantations and Indian towns on my way up the Tallapoosa River, being everywhere treated by the inhabitants with marks of friendship, even as though I had been their countryman and relation. Called by the way at the beautiful town of Coolome, where I tarried some time. Leaving Coolome, I recrossed the river at Tuccabatche, an ancient and large town; thence continued up the river, and at evening arrived at Attasse (Ottasse), where I continued near a week, waiting the preparations of the traders with whom I was to join in company to Augusta.

“The next day after my arrival, I was introduced to the ancient chiefs, at the public square; and in the evening, in company with the traders, who are numerous in this town, repaired to the great rotunda, where were assembled the greatest number of ancient venerable chiefs and warriors that I had ever beheld: we spent the evening and greater part of the night together, in drinking cassine and smoking tobacco.

“The great council house or rotunda is appropriated to much the same purposes as the public square, but more private, and seems particularly dedicated to political affairs; women and youth are never admitted; and I suppose it is death for a female to presume to enter the door, or approach within its pale. It is a vast conical building or circular dome, capable of accommodating many hundred people; constructed and furnished within, exactly in the same manner as those of the Cherokees [see page 650], but much larger than any I had

* Bartram is now returning. His route is reversed; he ascends along the Tallapoosa.

† A piece of cloth arranged like a baby’s clout, but supported by a belt above the hips.

seen of them: there are people appointed to take care of it, to have it daily swept clean, and to provide canes for fuel, or to give light.

“As their vigils and manner of conducting their vespers and mystical fire in this rotunda are extremely singular and altogether different from the customs and usages of any other people, I shall proceed to describe them. In the first place, the governor or officer who has the management of this business, with his servants attending, orders the black drink to be brewed, which is a decoction or infusion of the leaves and tender shoots of the cassine: this is done under an open shed or pavilion, at twenty or thirty yards' distance, directly opposite the door of the council house. Next he orders bundles of dry canes to be brought in: these are previously split and broken in pieces to about the length of two feet, and then placed obliquely crossways upon one another on the floor, forming a spiral circle round about the great centre pillar, rising to a foot or eighteen inches in height from the ground; and this circle spreading as it proceeds round and round, often repeated from right to left, every revolution increases its diameter, and at length extends to the distance of ten or twelve feet from the centre, more or less, according to the length of time the assembly is to continue. By the time these preparations are accomplished, it is night, and the assembly have taken their seats in order. The exterior extremity or outer end of the spiral circle takes fire and immediately rises into a bright flame (but how this is effected I did not plainly apprehend; I saw no person set fire to it; there might have been fire left on the earth; however, I neither saw nor smelt fire or smoke until the blaze instantly ascended upwards), which gradually and slowly creeps round the centre pillar, with the course of the sun, feeding on the dry canes, and affords a cheerful, gentle, and sufficient light until the circle is consumed, when the council breaks up. Soon after this illumination takes place, the ancient chiefs and warriors are seated on their cabins or sofas on the side of the house opposite the door, in three classes or ranks, rising a little, one above and behind the other; and the white people and red people of confederate towns in the like order on the left hand; a transverse range of pillars, supporting a thin clay wall, about breast high, separating them; the king's cabin or seat is in front; the next to the back of it the head warriors; and the third or last accommodates the young warriors, etc. The great war chief's seat or place is on the same cabin with and immediately to the left hand of the king, and next to the white people; and to the right hand of the mico or king the most venerable head-men and warriors are seated. The assembly being now seated in order, and the house illuminated, two middle-aged men, who perform the offices of slaves or servants *pro tempore*, come in together at the door, each having very large conch-shells full of black drink, and advance with slow, uniform, and steady steps, their eyes or countenances lifted up, singing very low but sweetly; they come within six or eight paces of the king's and white people's cabins, where they stop together, and each rests his shell on a tripod or little table, but presently takes it up again, and, bowing very low, advances obsequiously, crossing or intersecting each other about halfway: he who rested his shell before the white people now stands before the king, and the other who stopped before the king stands before the white people; when each presents his shell, one to the king, and the other to the chief of the white people, and as soon as he raises it to his mouth,

the slave utters or sings two notes ; each of which continues as long as he has breath ; and as long as these notes continue, so long must the person drink or at least keep the shell to his mouth. These two long notes are very solemn, and at once strike the imagination with a religious awe or homage to the Supreme, sounding somewhat like *a-hoo-ajah* and *a-lu-yah*. After this manner the whole assembly are treated, as long as the drink and light continue to hold out ; and as soon as the drinking begins, tobacco and pipes are brought. The skin of a wild-cat or young tiger stuffed with tobacco is brought, and laid at the king's feet, with the great or royal pipe beautifully adorned ; the skin is usually of the animals of the king's family or tribe, as the wild-cat, otter, bear, rattlesnake, etc. A skin of tobacco is likewise brought and cast at the feet of the white chief of the town, and from him it passes from one to another to fill their pipes from, though each person has besides his own peculiar skin of tobacco. The king or chief smokes first in the great pipe a few whiffs, blowing it off ceremoniously, first towards the sun, or as it is generally supposed to the Great Spirit, for it is puffed upwards, next towards the four cardinal points, then towards the white people in the house ; then the great pipe is taken from the hand of the mico by a slave, and presented to the chief white man, and then to the great war chief, whence it circulates through the rank of head men and warriors, then returns to the king. After this each one fills his pipe from his own or his neighbor's skin.

The great or public square generally stands alone, in the centre of the highest part of the town. It consists of four square or cubical buildings, or houses of one story, uniform, and of the same dimensions, so situated as to form an exact tetragon, encompassing an area of half an acre of ground, more or less, according to the strength or largeness of the town, or will of the inhabitants : there is a passage or avenue at each corner of equal width : each building is constructed of a wooden frame, fixed strongly in the earth, the walls filled in, and neatly plastered with clay mortar ; close on three sides, that is the back and two ends, except within about two feet of the wall-plate or eaves, which is left open for the purpose of a window and to admit a free passage of the air ; the front or side next to the area is quite open, like a piazza. One of these buildings is properly the council house, where the mico, chiefs, and warriors, with the citizens who have business, or choose to repair thither, assemble every day in council, to hear, decide, and rectify all grievances, complaints, and contentions, arising between the citizens ; give audience to ambassadors and strangers ; hear news and talks from confederate towns, allies, or distant nations ; consult about particular affairs of the town, as erecting habitations for new citizens, or establishing young families, concerning agriculture, etc. This building is somewhat different from the other three : it is closely shut up on three sides, that is, the back and two ends, and besides, a partition wall longitudinally from end to end divides it into two apartments, the back part totally dark, only three small arched apertures or holes opening into it from the front apartment or piazza, and little larger than just to admit a man to crawl in upon his hands and knees. This secluded place appears to me to be designed as a sanctuary* dedicated to religion, or rather to priestcraft, for here are deposited

* "Sanatorium or sacred temple ; and it is said to be death for any person but the mico, war chief, and high priest to enter in, and none are admitted but by permission of the priests, who guard it day and night."

all the sacred things, as the physic pot, rattles, chaplets of deer's hoofs, and other apparatus of conjuration; and likewise the calumet or great pipe of peace, the imperial standard, or eagle's tail, which is made of the feathers of the white eagle's tail,* curiously formed and displayed, like an open fan on a sceptre or staff, as white and clean as possible when displayed for peace, but when for war, the feathers are painted or tinged with vermilion. The piazza or front of this building is equally divided into three apartments, by two transverse walls or partitions, about breast high, each having three orders or ranges of seats, or cabins, stepping one above and behind the other, which accommodate the senate and audience, in the like order as observed in the rotunda. The other three buildings which compose the square, are alike furnished with three ranges of cabins or sofas, and serve for a banqueting house, to shelter and accommodate the audience and spectators at all times, particularly at feasts or public entertainments, where all classes of citizens resort day and night in the summer or moderate season; the children and females, however, are seldom or never seen in the public square.

The pillars and walls of the houses of the square are decorated with various paintings and sculptures; which I suppose to be hieroglyphic, and as a historic legendary of political and sacerdotal affairs: but they are extremely picturesque and caricature, as men in a variety of attitudes, some ludicrous enough, others having the head of some kind of animal, as those of a duck, turkey, bear, fox, wolf, buck, etc., and again those kinds of creatures are represented having the human head. These designs are not ill executed; the outlines bold, free, and well proportioned. The pillars supporting the front or piazza of the council house of the square are ingeniously formed in the likeness of vast speckled serpents, ascending upwards, the Ottases being of the snake family or tribe. At this time the town was fasting, taking medicine, and I think I may say, praying, to avert a grievous calamity of sickness, which had lately afflicted them, and laid in the grave abundance of their citizens. They fast seven or eight days, during which time they eat or drink nothing but a meagre gruel, made of a little corn flour and water, taking at the same time, by way of medicine or physic, a strong decoction of the roots of the *iris versicolor*, which is a powerful cathartic: they hold this root in high estimation; every town cultivates a little plantation of it, having a large artificial pond, just without the town, planted and almost overgrown with it, where they usually dig clay for pottery, and mortar and plaster for their buildings, and I observed where they had been lately digging up this root.

In the midst of a large oblong square adjoining this town (which was surrounded with a low bank or terrace), is standing a high pillar, round like a pin or needle; it is about forty feet in height, and between two and three feet in diameter at the earth, gradually tapering upwards to a point; it is one piece of pine wood, and arises from the centre of a low, circular, artificial hill, but it leans a little to one side. I inquired of the Indians and traders what it was designed for, who answered they knew not: the Indians said their ancestors found it in the same situation, when they first arrived and possessed the country, adding that the red men or Indians, then the possessors, whom they van-

* *Vultur sacra.*

quished, were as ignorant as themselves concerning it, saying that their ancestors likewise found it standing so. This monument, simple as it is, may be worthy of the observations of a traveller, since it naturally excites at least the following queries: for what purpose was it designed? its great antiquity and incorruptibility—what method or machines they employed to bring it to the spot, and how they raised it erect? There is no tree or species of the pine, whose wood, *i. e.*, so large a portion of the trunk, is supposed to be incorruptible exposed in the open air to all weathers, but the long-leaved pine (*Pinus palustris*), and there is none growing within twelve or fifteen miles of this place.”

THE HOUSES AND COUNCIL HOUSE OF THE CHEROKEES.—The town of Cowe consists of about a hundred dwellings, near the banks of the Tanase,* and on both sides of the river.

The Cherokees construct their habitations on a different plan from the Creeks; that is, but one oblong, four-square building of one story high; the materials consisting of logs or trunks of trees, stripped of their bark, notched at the ends, fixed one upon another, and afterwards plastered well both inside and out, with clay well tempered with dry grass, the whole covered or roofed with the bark of the chestnut tree or long broad shingles. This building is, however, partitioned transversely, forming three apartments, which communicate with each other by inside doors; each house or habitation has, besides, a little conical house covered with dirt, which is called the winter or hot-house; this stands a few yards' distance from the mansion house, opposite the front door.

The council or town-house is a large rotunda, capable of accommodating several hundred people; it stands on the top of an ancient artificial mount of earth, of about twenty feet perpendicular, and the rotunda on the top of it being above thirty feet more, gives the whole fabric an elevation of about sixty feet from the common surface of the ground. But it may be proper to observe that this mount on which the rotunda stands is of a much more ancient date than the building, and perhaps was raised for another purpose. The Cherokees themselves are as ignorant as we are by what people or for what purpose these artificial hills were raised; they have various stories concerning them, the best of which amount to no more than mere conjectures, and leave us entirely in the dark; but they have a tradition, common with the other nations of Indians, that they found them in much the same condition as they now appear, when their forefathers arrived from the west and possessed themselves of the country, after vanquishing the nations of red men who then inhabited it, who themselves found these mounts when they took possession of the country, the former possessors delivering the same story concerning them. Perhaps they were designed and appropriated by the people who constructed them to some religious purpose, as great altars and temples similar to the high places and sacred groves anciently among the Canaanites and other nations of Palestine and Judea.†

* It is singular how map-makers have magnified the ancient Indian names: how much simpler is Tanase than Tennessee, Chata Uche than Chattanooga, Apalachua than Apalachicola; Tuscaloosa for the name of a river is far preferable to Black Warrior, which it means, and Kuka to Crooked, which it means.

† Mankind have been erecting mounds from the time of the Scythian kings, who were buried on the Borysthenes or Dneiper, and the Trojan heroes interred on the

The rotunda is constructed after the following manner: They first fix in the ground a circular range of posts or trunks of trees, about six feet high, at equal distances, which are notched at top to receive into them, from one to another, a range of beams or wall-plates; within this is another circular order of very large and strong pillars, above twelve feet high, notched in like manner at top, to receive another range of wall-plates, and within this is yet another or third range of stronger and higher pillars, but fewer in number, and standing at a greater distance from each other; and lastly, in the centre stands a very strong pillar, which forms the pinnacle of the building, and to which the rafters centre at top; these rafters are strengthened and bound together by cross-beams and laths, which sustain the roof or covering, which is a layer of bark neatly placed, and tight enough to exclude the rain, and sometimes they cast a thin superficies of earth over all. There is but one large door, which serves at the same time to admit light, and the smoke to escape when a fire is kindled; but as there is but a small fire kept, sufficient to give light at night, and that fed with dry, small, sound wood divested of its bark, there is but little smoke. All around the inside of the building, between the second range of pillars and the wall is a range of cabins or sofas, consisting of two or three steps, one above and behind the other, in theatrical order, where the assembly sit or lean down; these sofas are covered with mats or carpets very curiously made of thin splints of ash or oak, woven or plaited together; near the great pillar in the centre the fire is kindled for light, near which the musicians seat themselves, and round about this the performers exhibit their dances and other shows at public festivals, which happen almost every night throughout the year.* (Bartram.)

NOTE (22), page 377.

THE PAINTED VULTURE AND MUSCOGULGE STANDARD.

"There are two species of vultures in these regions [Florida]. I think not mentioned in history. The first we shall describe is a beautiful bird, near the size of a turkey buzzard, but his wings are much shorter, and consequently he falls greatly below that admirable bird in sail. I shall call this bird the painted vulture. The bill is long and straight almost to the point, where it is hooked or bent suddenly down and sharp; the head and neck bare of feathers nearly down to the stomach, where the feathers begin to cover the skin and soon be-

shores of the Hellespont, to the mound of Waterloo and the mausoleum of Kosciuszko. A mound to Washington would be the cheapest and most enduring monument that could be erected to his memory.

* William Bartram, botanist, at the request of Dr. John Fothergill, of London, an eminent Quaker physician and public benefactor, searched the Floridas and western parts of Carolina and Georgia for the discovery of rare and useful productions of nature, chiefly in the vegetable kingdom. He left Philadelphia on this journey April, 1773, and returned from it to his father's house, on the banks of the river Schuylkill, within four miles [then] of Philadelphia, January, 1778. The father of the preceding was John Bartram, a Quaker of Huguenot descent, and the first botanist of America. He also visited Florida about the year 1758. Mount Hope, "a very high shelly bluff upon the little lake" of St. John's River, was then so named by him.

come long and of a soft texture, forming a ruff or tippet, in which the bird, by contracting his neck, can hide that as well as his head; the bare skin on the neck appears loose and wrinkled, and is of a deep, bright yellow color, intermixed with coral-red; the hinder part of the neck is nearly covered with short, stiff hair, and the skin of this part of the neck is of a dun-purple color, gradually becoming red as it approaches the yellow of the sides and forepart. The crown of the head is red; there are lobed lappets of a reddish-orange color, which he has on the base of the upper mandible. But what is singular, a large portion of the stomach hangs down on the breast of the bird, in the likeness of a sack or half wallet, and seems to be a duplicature of the craw, which is naked and of a reddish flesh-color; this is partly concealed by the feathers of the breast, unless when it is loaded with food [which is commonly, I believe, roasted reptiles], and then it appears prominent. The plumage of the bird is generally white or cream-color, except the quill-feathers of the wings, and two or three rows of the coverts, which are of a beautiful dark brown; the tail, which is large and white, is tipped with this dark brown or black; the legs and feet of a clear white; the eye is encircled with a gold-colored iris; the pupil black.

These birds seldom appear but when the deserts are set on fire [which happens almost every day throughout the year, in some part or other, by the Indians, for the purpose of rousing the game, as also by the lightning], when they are seen at a distance soaring on the wing, gathering from every quarter, and gradually approaching the burnt plains, where they alight upon the ground yet smoking with hot embers. They gather up the roasted serpents, frogs, and lizards, filling their sacks with them; at this time a person may shoot them at pleasure, they not being willing to quit the feast, and indeed seem to brave all danger.

The Creeks or Muscogulges construct their royal standard of the tail-feathers of this bird, which is called by a name signifying the eagle's tail; this they carry with them when they go to battle, but then it is painted with a zone of red within the brown tips; and in peaceable negotiations, it is displayed new, clean, and white. This standard is held most sacred by them on all occasions, and is constructed and ornamented with great ingenuity." (Bartram.)

NOTE (23), page 379.

INDIAN FORTS.

Though throughout the region of the United States there are found ancient fortifications or entrenched camps, yet none of this kind appear to have been in use when this country was first explored. The forts then used appear to have been all of the same character.

De Solis, Garcilasso, Diaz, and Cartier describe Indian forts, which, from the earliest described to the latest, appear to be nearly all of the same fashion. When Cortes entered the river Grijalva, about the latter part of March, 1519, he attacked the town of Tabasco. "It was fortified with a kind of wall, of which they make use in nearly all the Indies. This wall was composed of the trunks of trees buried in the ground in the fashion of palisades, and joined in

such a manner that they had openings to shoot their arrows. The inclosure was of a round figure, without redans, or any other defence, and the extremities of the two lines, which formed the *circle*, were contrived in such a way that one of the lines extended over the other. They left, for the entrance, a narrow way with many windings, where they erected two or three sentry-boxes or wooden turrets, which served to lodge their sentinels. This fortification was sufficient against the efforts of the arms of the New World, where by a happy ignorance, they did not yet know that which is called the art of war, nor those machines and ramparts of which malice or necessity had taught the use to man." (De Solis' "Conquest of Mexico.")

When the Spaniards entered the town of Tabasco, they discovered that the Indians had intersected the streets with other palisades in the same manner. In these places they resisted for some moments, but without much effect, because they were embarrassed by their great number, and those who retreated, in flying from one entrenchment to another, put in disorder the others who wished to fight. There was a public square in the centre of the town on which were three temples [teocalis]. These Indians carried off their wounded and dead from the field of battle, the same as the Indians of this section of North America.

Diaz thus describes an Indian fort which was in Guatemala, and in the route of the Spaniards on their expedition to Honduras: "This town had every appearance of having been recently built. It was surrounded by a double entrenchment, formed of the trunks of large trees, encircled by other huge poles stuck in perpendicularly. The approaches were secured by a deep fosse, and they were protected by a double inclosure of a *circular* form, one of which was supplied with a regular battlement, small towers, and loop-holes; the other was very high, and strongly built of large stones, and was likewise provided with a battlement. As the other side was covered by the morass, this place might, in every sense of the word, be called a fortress."

The circular form characterizes the most of the ancient structures found in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. There were in Peru forts similar to those here first described, and they were built of stone. The Chicasaws in their wars with the French used the kind of fort first mentioned.

NOTE (24), page 401.

ALABAMA INDIANS.

"Having recommendations to the inhabitants of Baton Rouge, now (1777) called New Richmond, more than forty miles higher up the river, one of these gentlemen, being present at Manchac, gave me a friendly and polite invitation to accompany him on his return home. A pleasant morning, we set off after breakfast, well accommodated in a handsome, convenient boat, rowed by three blacks. Two miles above Manchac we put into shore at Alabama; this Indian village is delightfully situated on several swelling green hills, gradually ascending from the verge of the river; the people are a remnant of the ancient Alabama nation, who inhabited the east arm of the great Mobile river, which bears their name to this day, now (1777) possessed by the Creeks or Muscogulges, who conquered the former. My friend having purchased some baskets and earthenware, the manufactures of the people, we left the village." (Bartram.)

The Alabama nation must have been very powerful when Soto encountered them between Chicaca and the Mississippi River, in the now northwestern part of the State of Mississippi. The Indian manufacture of earthenware here mentioned is not the latest. Earthenware was almost universally manufactured by the Indians. It is found almost everywhere throughout America, and the process of manufacture was the same in North America and South America.

NOTE (25), page 419.

THE OMISSION IN GARCILASSO'S "CONQUEST OF FLORIDA."

The accounts of Biedma and the Elvas Narrative agree throughout in the general incidents, and in the route of De Soto's expedition to Florida. Biedma's account is very brief; it is all contained in a dozen octavo pages; the Elvas Narrative in a hundred and eight pages; Garcilasso's in about two hundred or two hundred and fifty of the same pages. Biedma is very concise; the Elvas Narrative enters into the particulars; Garcilasso into minutiae, and is erratic.

Garcilasso's account of the principal events and of the main route has, up to Quiguat, been very nearly the same as the other accounts, but here, from Quiguat to Tulla, there is a gap or omission in Richelet's version of the "Conquest of Florida," which will now be filled from the accounts of Biedma and the Elvas Narrative, first showing that Quiguat was on the west side of the Mississippi River, about two hundred and thirty miles below Memphis, by the course of the Mississippi River three hundred and forty-one years ago, when De Soto crossed it.

Biedma says, "We remained* at (Pacaha) twenty-six or seven days, anxious to learn if we could take the *northern route*, and cross to the South Sea. We then marched *northeast*. We travelled eight days, through swamps, after which we met a troop of Indians who lived under movable tents. We next came to the province of Caluca. Seeing there was no way to reach the South Sea, we returned towards the north [south], and afterwards† in a southwest direction to a province called Quiguat, where we found the *largest village we had yet seen in all our travels*. It was situated on one of the branches of a great river."

The Elvas Narrative has it thus: "The governor rested forty days in Pacaha. From thence he sent thirty horsemen and fifty footmen to the province of Caluca, to see if he might travel to Chisca, where the Indians said there was work of gold and copper. They travelled seven days' journey through a desert and returned. The governor, seeing that toward that part of the country was poor in maize, demanded of the Indians which way it was *most inhabited*, and they said they had notice of a *great province*, which was called Quiguat, and that it was *toward the south*. The cacique of Casqui commanded the bridge to be repaired, and the governor returned through his country and lodged in a field near his town. He gave us a guide and men for carriers. The governor

* This was for the return of the expedition to Caluci. He then, after mentioning the object of the delay, goes on to tell of the march to Caluci and the return.

† After returning to Pacaha.

lodged at a town of his, and the next day at another near a river [St. Francis], whither he caused canoes to be brought for him to pass over. The governor took his journey towards Quiguate. The 4th of August he came to the town. *The town was the greatest that was seen in Florida.* There came an Indian very well accompanied, saying he was the cacique; as he went one day abroad with the governor he leaped into the river, which was a crossbow-shot from the town, and as soon as he was on the other side, many Indians that were thereabout, making a great cry, began to shout. The governor presently passed over to them with horsemen and footmen, but they dare not tarry for him.* Going forward on his way he came to a town, and a little further to a lake where the horses could not pass. The governor came to *the camp*. The governor came again to Quiguate. As for Quiguate, Casqui, and Pacaha they were plain countries, flat grounds, and full of good meadows on the rivers, where the Indians sowed *large fields* of maize. From Tascaluca to Rio Grande [Mississippi], or the Great River, is about three hundred leagues; it is a very low country, and hath many lakes. From Pacaha to Quiguate may be a hundred leagues.† The governor asked which way the country was most inhabited. They said that toward the *south down the river* were great towns and caciques which commanded great countries and much people. And that toward the *northwest* there was a province, near to certain mountains, called Coligoa. The governor and all the rest thought good to go first to Coligoa. From Quiguate to Coligoa may be forty leagues. This town of Coligoa stood at the foot of a hill on the bank of a mean river of the bigness of Cayas, the river that passeth by Estramadura. The governor left the cacique of Quiguate in his town, and an Indian, which was his guide, led him through great woods without any way seven days' journey through a desert, where at every lodging they lodged in lakes and pools of very shoal water: there was such store of fish that they killed them with cudgels; and the Indians, which they carried in chains, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fish came to the top of the waters, and they took as much as they listed. We then crossed vast plains and high mountains, when suddenly we came to Coligoa. The Indians of Coligoa had not known of the Christians, and, when they came so near the town that the Indians saw them, they fled up a river which passes near the town, and some leaped into it; but the Christians went on both sides of the river and took them. We inquired here for other villages, and they directed us to go *south* and *southwest*, and we should find them. We travelled five days and came to the province of Palisema. He found much people, but, by reason of the roughness of the country, he took none save a few women and children. The town was little, scattering, and had very little

* It is evident, from the context, that this was not the main branch of the Mississippi. It may have been a shoot that formed an island in the Mississippi, or it may have been a river or bayou from the lake, that emptied into the Mississippi at Quiguate. Garcilasso says Soto marched from Capaha, four days down the river, to the province of Quiguate, and then *continued* his journey five days, descending along the river, and the fifth arrived at the capital of Quiguate, which was separated into three quarters.

† "It is a very low country, and hath many lakes," is more applicable to the Mississippi River country than to the country from Tascaluca to the Rio Grande (from Montgomery to Memphis) to which it refers. There may have been something misplaced in the printing, writing, or translation.

maize. For which cause the governor speedily departed thence. He came to another town called Tatalicoya [Tatel Coya]. Here we found a large river [Arkansa] emptying into the Rio Grande [Mississippi]. We were told that if we were to ascend this river [Arkansa] we should find a large province, called Cayas. From Tatalicoya are four days' journey to Cayas. We repaired thither and found it a mountainous country, and composed of populous villages. This town was called Tanico [Cayas appears to be Spanish]; he pitched his tent in the best part of it near unto a river. The governor rested a month in the *province* of Cayas; in which time the horses fattened, and they drank of very hot water and somewhat brackish. On both sides of the river the country was full of sown fields, and there was store of maize. The Indians durst not come over where we were; and when some of them showed themselves, the soldiers that saw them called to them; then the Indians crossed the river and came with them where the governor was. He asked the [cacique] which way the country was best inhabited. He answered that the best country thereabout was a province toward the *south* a day and a half journey, which was called Tulla. We then set out for the province of Tulla, to go into winter quarters. But before reaching it we had to cross very high mountains. Immediately the governor departed for Tulla [to see the country], and as soon as he arrived, there [the Indians severely used him]. The governor determined to return to Cayas before the Indians had time to gather head; and presently that evening, going part of the night to leave Tulla, he lodged by the way, and next day came to Cayas; and within three days after he departed towards Tulla with all his company. He carried the cacique along with him; and of all his men there was not one found who understood the speech of Tulla. He stayed three days by the way; and the day he came thither, he found the town abandoned. At three days' end there came an Indian laden with ox [buffaloes] hide. He came *weeping* with sobs, and cast himself down at the governor's feet. After three days the cacique came, and eighty Indians with him; and *himself* and his men came *weeping* into the camp after the manner of that country.*

The governor informed himself all the country round about, and understood that towards the west was a scattering dwelling, and that towards the *south-east* were great towns, especially in a province called Autiamque, ten days' journey from Tulla; which might be about eighty leagues, and that it was a plentiful country in maize. Thus he took his journey to Autiamque: he travelled five days over rough mountains,† and came to the town of Guipana, situated at the foot of very high mountains.‡ Where no Indians could be taken for the roughness of the country, and the town being between hills, there was an ambush laid wherewith they took two Indians, which told them that Autiamque was six days' journey from thence, and that there was another province, towards the south, eight days' journey off, called Guahata. But, because Autiamque was nearer, the governor made his journey that way [east]. In three days he came to a town called Anoixi. Within two days after he

* See Note 27, (a).

† He had travelled from Cayas on the Arkansas River south, over high mountains; he now travels southeast from Tulla, recrossing these mountains to reach the Arkansas River, which he reaches at Ayas, or rather a town in the province of Ayas.

‡ Extracts from Biedma and the Elvas Narrative.

came to another town called Catamaya, and lodged in the fields of the town. The next day they went to the town and took as much maize as they needed. That day they lodged in a wood, and the next day they came to Autiamque. Hard by this town passed a river [Arkansas] that came out of the province of Cayas, and, above and below, it was very well peopled. They stayed in Autiamque three months [wintered there].

Upon Monday, the 6th of March, 1542, the governor departed from Autiamque to seek Nilco, which the Indians said was near the great river. The governor spent ten days in travelling from Autiamque to a province called Ayays, and came to a town that stood near the river [Arkansas] that passeth by Cayas and Autiamque. There he commanded a barge to be made wherewith he crossed the river.* When he had crossed the river, he went three days' journey through a wilderness and a country so low and so full of lakes and evil ways that he travelled a whole day in water—sometimes knee deep, sometimes to the stirrup, and sometimes they swam. They came to a town called Tutelpinco. There passed by it a lake that entered into the river, which carried a great stream and force of water. The governor went a whole day along the lake seeking a passage, but could find none. They made rafts wherewith they crossed the lake; they travelled three days, and came to a town in the province of Nilco, called Tianto. The governor sent a captain, with horsemen and footmen, before to Nilco; they passed through three or four great towns. In the town where the cacique resided, which was two leagues from the place where the governor remained, they found many Indians who, as soon as they saw the Christians come near them, set the cacique's house on fire and fled over a lake that passed near the town, through which the horses could not pass. The next day, being Wednesday the 29th of March, the governor came to Nilco; he lodged with all his men in the cacique's town, which stood in a plain field, which was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league, and within a league and a half were other very great towns. This was the best inhabited country that was seen in Florida, and had most store of maize except Coça and Apalache.

This river which passed by Nilco was that which passed by Cayas and Autiamque, and fell into the Rio Grande, which passed by Pacaha and Aquixo, and near unto the province of Guachoya, the lord of which came up the river to make war with him of Nilco. Within a few days the governor determined to go to Guachoya. As he crossed the river Nilco, there came in canoes the Indians of Guachoya up the stream, and when they saw him they returned down the river. The governor (having crossed) sent a captain with fifty men in six canoes down the river, and went himself by land with the rest. He came to Guachoya upon Sunday the 17th of April; he lodged in the town of the cacique, which was inclosed about, and seated a crossbow-shot from the river.

* He now crossed from the west side to the east side of the Arkansas River. It is not mentioned where he crossed it from east to west, but it probably was at or near Tatelcoya, where he first came to it. Soto made barges to cross wide and deep streams; to cross some streams he fastened beams together for the men to cross on, and the horses swam over; at others he made floating bridges; and probably large trees were felled across the narrow, deep streams, in order for the men to cross.

That day came an Indian to the governor from the cacique of Guachoya. The next day they saw many canoes come up the river, and on the other side of the Great River they consulted whether they should come or not, and at length concluded to come, and crossed the river. In them came the cacique of Guachoya. The governor asked him whether he had any notice of the sea. He answered no; nor of any towns down the river on that side, save that at two leagues from thence was a town of a subject of his; and on the other side of the river, three days' journey from thence down the river, was the province of Quigalta." A month after this, on the 21st of May, 1542, Soto died of a fever.

Schoolcraft, in his "Adventures in the Ozark Mountains," has some interesting allusions to Soto, which make plain several facts in regard to him. He says: "Some of the names of the Indian tribes encountered by him [Soto] furnish conclusive evidence that the principal tribes of the country, although they have changed their particular locations since 1542, still [1818] occupy the region. Thus the Kapahas, who then lived on the Mississippi above the St. Francis, are identical with the Quappas; the Cayas with the Kanzas, and the Quipana with the Pawnees."

"It would be interesting as a point of antiquarian interest, to know where the old Indian paths were located. The roads in all parts of the country were based on these. They led to the most practicable fords of rivers; they avoided swamps and boggy grounds, and evinced a thorough geographical knowledge of the conformation of the country.

To travel where De Soto had travelled, and where he had performed some of his heroic feats, had something pleasing, at least in the association. Doubtless, had the first occupants of Upper Louisiana been as mindful of historical reminiscences as they were set on repeating his search for gold and silver mines, they might have been rewarded by finding some of the straggling bones of his broken-down Andalusian cavalry. The fragments of broken arms and trappings were yet, perhaps, concealed by the accumulated rank vegetable soil of Arkansas and southern Missouri, whence the plow may at no distant day reveal them."

"The elevated lands between Black River and the St. Francis had evidently been the line of march of De Soto when (1541) he set forward from 'Quiguate,' on the St. Francis, towards the 'northwest,' in search of Coligoa. Any other course between west and southwest would have involved *his armies in the lagoons* and the deep and wide channel of Black River, which forms a barrier for about *one hundred and fifty miles towards the south*."

"The first Indian village which De Soto reached, after crossing the Mississippi—probably at the ancient Indian crossing at the lower Chickasaw bluffs [Memphis]—and pushing on through the low grounds, was on reaching the elevations of the St. Francis, immediately west of his point of landing. The place was called Casquin or Casqui; a name which will be recognized as bearing a resemblance to one of the Illinois tribes which have long been known under the name of Kaskaskias."

These quotations interpret some of the Indian names mentioned in the accounts of De Soto's expedition, which but few would otherwise be able to understand in their present orthography. They showed that De Soto generally followed the Indian trails, though sometimes he was misled by his guides.

They give an idea of the location of the lagoons through which, after leaving Quiguate, he had to travel for several successive days. But Quiguate was on the Mississippi. "From Pacaha to Quiguate may be a hundred leagues" (about 230 miles). De Soto crossed the Mississippi some fifteen miles or more below the mouth of the St. Francis, which mouth is *now* eighty miles below Memphis. Le Harpe mentions that a coat of mail was found (1699), among the Bayagoulas, which the Indians said had once belonged to De Soto. But it is more probable that it was the armor of some one of those who were defeated and drowned in descending the Mississippi; or even of the unfortunate Guzman, who is said to have been taken alive in that affair. The Bayagoulas, with whom the armor was found, lived thirteen leagues below Baton Rouge.

The artificial mounds scattered over the alluvial lands of the lower Mississippi show how populous at one time these lands have been. But besides these mounds there are other evidences, occasionally found, of large settlements, villages, or towns, such as stone implements and pottery. These, owing to the inundations of the Mississippi, have no doubt, in most localities, been buried beneath the soil, or, by the action of the current, been buried in the beds of the river. The late Colonel George Hancock, an honored citizen of Kentucky, distinguished by his excellent intellectual qualities and exemplary virtues, had an interesting cabinet of antiquities, in which were specimens of ancient pottery, which he found seventeen feet beneath the surface of the alluvial soil of the Mississippi, where the extent of the remains of broken pottery indicated a large town. Having heard Colonel Hancock speak of this buried ancient town, and believing that it might probably be the site of Quiguate, I wrote to Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, of Frankford, Kentucky, with whom I thought Colonel Hancock had left his cabinet, to obtain information in regard to the locality of this buried city, and received a reply from which I make the following extract:—

"The place at which Colonel Hancock found the relics of which you speak, was at the mouth of Barney's Bayou, about forty miles below Helena, Arkansas, on the west bank of the Mississippi. There are similar remains found in all that region. I do not regard that the finding of this pottery, at a point where the river caved, seventeen feet from the surface, is any proof that there was once a city which had been sunk. The place might have been, at a recent period geologically speaking, a creek bottom, and suddenly covered up by deposit from the river. The making of a cut-off, or some such local cause, will sometimes in one overflow lead to a deposit of such depth. Seventeen miles above the point at which Colonel Hancock found these articles, is what is known as Old-town landing, and near by is Old-town lake, where I lived from 1855 to 1859. There are evidences of a large town there for many miles, with remains found there, everywhere, similar to those found by Colonel Hancock. The location of the mounds, which are numerous, is upon ground of a normal level, and no indication of earthquakes. The New Madrid disturbance, the only one of which we have any account or undoubted evidence, did not extend so low by near two hundred miles.

You are in error in supposing I have Col. Hancock's cabinet. He left it by will to Gen. Wm. Preston."

NOTE (26), page 439.

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF DE SOTO.

Biedma merely says: Soto "fell sick and died." But the Elvas Narrative is more particular. It says: "The 21st of May, 1542, departed out of this life the valorous, virtuous, and valiant Captain Don Fernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba, and Adelantado of Florida. Luis de Moscoso determined to conceal his death from the Indians, because Fernando de Soto had made them believe that the Christians were immortal. The adelantado made them believe that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselves, without their knowledge how or in what manner he came by it; and that the figure which appeared in a glass which he showed them, did tell him whatsoever they practised and went about; and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt anything that might be prejudicial unto him.

As soon as he was dead, Luis de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in the house, where he remained three days; and removing him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the town, within the wall. The Indians, passing by the place where he was buried, seeing the earth moved, looked and spoke one to another. Luis de Moscoso learning this, commanded him to be taken up by night, and to cast a great deal of sand into the mantles wherein he was wound up, wherein he was carried in a canoe, and thrown into the midst of the river."

No mention is here made of the "oak log hollowed out," neither is there mention that the body of De Soto was taken from a coffin when it was disinterred; yet it is probable that it was at first buried in a coffin, and it is not probable that the Spaniards would have put the body of De Soto merely wrapped in mantles into the Mississippi River to be devoured by the fishes. What is probable is this: that both Garcilasso's and the Elvas account are correct as far as they go; and that the mantles in which the body was wrapped were filled with sand (as there were no rocks in that place); that the body was then placed in the hollowed oak, the cavity filled with sand, a plank closely nailed over the cavity, and the whole committed to the depths of the Mississippi River. Thus the Mississippi is the appropriate monument of its discoverer.

NOTE (27), page 440.

THE ROUTE OF MOSCOSO. FROM THE ELVAS NARRATIVE, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES.

On Monday the 5th of June (1542), Moscoso departed from Guachoya. He passed through a province called Catalte; and, having passed a wilderness of six days' journey, the 20th he came to Chaguate. The cacique went with him to the town where he resided, which was a day's journey from thence. They passed through a small town where there was a lake where the Indians made salt; and the Christians made some one day while they rested there, of a brackish water which sprang near the town in ponds, like springs. The governor stayed six days in Chaguate. There they told him that three days'

journey from thence was a province called Aguacay. He came to this town on Wednesday the 4th of July. Here they had knowledge of the South Sea.* Here (at Aguacay) was a great store of salt made of sand which they gathered in a vein of ground like pebbles, and was made as the salt in Cayas. The same day that he departed from Aguacay, the camp was pitched hard by a lake of salt water; and that evening they made salt there. The fourth day after his departure from Aguacay he came to the first habitation of a province called Amaye, a day and a half journey from Naguatex. Having passed the peopled country of Amaye, on Saturday the 20th of July they pitched their camp at noon in the corner of a grove between Amaye and Naguatex. That night he lodged there; and the next day he came to the habitation of Naguatex. He inquired where the cacique's chief town was. They told him that it was on the other side of a river that passed thereby; he travelled thitherward and came unto it. And because he knew not where it could be waded, he determined to rest some days in the town where he was. So he pitched his camp a quarter of a league from the river. The weather was very hot. Within ten days after, he sent two captains, with fifteen horsemen apiece, upward and down the river; and they crossed it, and found on the other side of it great habitation and great store of victuals. The governor sent an Indian from Naguatex, where he lay, to command the cacique to come and serve him. The cacique came with many of his men; they came all in a rank one before another on both sides, leaving in the middle a lane where he came. They came where the governor was, all of them weeping after the manner of Tulla, which was not far from thence towards the east. (a) Within four days the governor departed thence, and coming to the river he could not cross it, because it was grown very big, which seemed to him very wonderful, being at the time it was, and since it had not rained for a month. The governor returned unto the place where he had lodged before, and learning within eight days that the river was fordable he departed. He crossed over the river and found the town without people; he lodged in the field. Presently he departed from Naguatex, and within three days' journey came to Nissoone. He came to another miserable town called Lacane; an Indian here said that the country of Nondacao had great habitation, and great store of corn. The cacique of Nondacao came with his men weeping like those of Naguatex and Tulla; for this is their custom in token of obedience. The governor departed from Nondacao towards Soacatino, and in five days' journey came to a province called Aays. He came to Soacatino, which was a very poor country. Here the Indians said that a little way to the south they heard there were Christians. The governor travelled twenty days through a country where he suffered great scarcity and trouble. At last coming to a province called Guasco, they found corn wherewith they loaded their horses and the Indians that they had. From thence they went to another town called Naquiscoca. The Indians here said they had no notice of any other Christians. The governor commanded them to be tortured. They then said that the Christians first came to Nacacahoz, and from thence returned again to the west from

* They probably heard of the Gulf of Mexico, and mistook it for the South Sea (Pacific Ocean).

whence they came. The governor then came in two days to Nacacahoz.(b) Here a woman said she had seen Christians, and had been taken by them and had run away. The governor sent a captain with fifteen horsemen to the place where she said that she had seen them. After they had gone three or four leagues, the woman, who guided them, said that all that she had told them was untrue. And so they held all the rest that the Indians had said of seeing Christians in Florida.* And because the country that way was poor of corn, and towards the west there was no notice of any habitation, they returned to Guasco. The Indians there told them that ten days' journey from thence towards the west was a river called Daycao (probably the Trinity), whither they went sometimes to hunt deer; and that they had seen people on the other side, but knew not what habitation was there. There at Guasco the Christians took such corn as they could carry, and going ten days through a wilderness came to that river which the Indians had told them of. Ten horsemen passed over the same, and went in a way that led from the river, and lighted upon a company of Indians that dwelt in very little cabins; who escaped, leaving that which they had; all which was nothing but misery and poverty. The horsemen took two Indians and returned with them to the river, where the governor stayed for them. There was none in the camp that could understand their language. The governor assembled the captains and principal persons to determine with their advice what to do. And the most part said that they thought it best to return back to the Rio Grande (Mississippi) of Guachoa. And they held that the country beyond the river Daycao (probably the Trinity), where they were, was that which Cabeça de Vaca mentioned in his relation: *that he passed; of the Indians which lived like the Alarbes, having no settled place, and fed upon tunas and roots of the field, and wild beasts that they killed.* The governor presently (the beginning of October) returned the same way that he came. From Daycao, where now they were, to the Rio Grande, was one hundred and fifty leagues.† And by the way as they returned back they had much ado to find corn; for where they had passed the country was destroyed. The towns which in Naguatex they had burned were repaired again, and the houses full of corn. In that place are vessels made of clay which differ very little from those of Estremoz or Montemor.(c) He departed from Chaguata and crossed the river by Aays; going down by it he found a town called Chilano, which as yet they had not seen. They came to Nilco, and found so little corn that it could not suffice till they made their ships. The Indians of Nilco told them that two days' journey from thence, near unto the Rio Grande, were two towns whereof the Christians had no notice, and that the province was called Minoya, and was a fruitful soil. The governor sent a captain thither, who came to Minoya and found two great towns seated in a plain and open soil, half a league distant, one in sight of the

* The Spaniards travelled south from Guasco to Nacacahoz. These Christians probably were the Spaniards of the two vessels of Narvaez's expedition, that were forced ashore on Galveston Island; and it is not improbable that some of the inhabitants of Soacatino, and of Nacacahoz may have seen, or have heard of them. The Spaniards had great difficulty in interpreting what the Indians said, and doubtless often misunderstood them.

† Legua, five thousand varas, two and one-third English miles.

other, and great store of corn. Presently he sent word to the governor what he had found, who thereupon departed from Nilco in the beginning of December. And when they arrived at Minoya, the Christians lodged in one of the towns, which was fenced about and distant a quarter of a league from the Rio Grande.

(a) THE BISKATRONGE OR WEEPERS.

Hennepin, relating the account that Father Anastasius wrote of La Salle's voyage, says: "After some days' march through a pretty sort of country, wherein, however, they were forced to cross many great brooks on *cajoux* (rafts), they entered a country far more agreeable and pleasant, where they found a numerous nation who entertained them with every demonstration of kindness. These savages presented them with hides of wild bulls, well dressed and soft. This nation is called Biskatronge; but the Europeans call them the Nation of Weepers, and give the same name to their river, which is very fine. The reason of it is, that at their (the French) arrival these people fell a crying most bitterly for a quarter of an hour. This is their custom whenever there come among them any strangers from afar off, because their arrival reminds them of their deceased relations whom they imagine to be upon a great journey, and whose return they expect every hour."

Joutel, in his "Journal of the Last Voyage performed by Monsieur de La Salle," gives the following account of his reception among the *Cenis*, probably at *Naguatex*, who appear to be the same people or nation referred to by Hennepin. Joutel says: "When it was day we held on our way to the village, and the elders came out to meet us in their formalities; all their faces were daubed with black or red paint. There were twelve elders, who walked in the middle; and the youth and warriors in ranks on the side of these old men. Being come up to us in that manner, he that conducted us made a sign for us to halt, which, when we had done, all the old men lifted up their right hands above their heads crying out in a most ridiculous manner; but it behooved us to have a care of laughing. That done they came and embraced us, using all sorts of endearments."

The *Cenis* were an Indian nation; besides there was a village or town called *Cenis* of the same nation, which, on some maps, is placed on a western branch of the Trinity, and on others on or near the Red River, west of the *Cadodquois*, who were near and above the great bend of the Red River, near the southwest boundary of the State of Arkansas. The inhabitants of *Tulla*, *Naguatex*, and *Nondacoe* may have belonged to the *Cenis* nation, or been related to it, or may have had the same *religious* ideas.

(b) AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE INDIAN TRIBES ON THE ROUTE OF
DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION.

Joutel, who wrote a Journal of the Last Voyage of La Salle, set out with him from the Bay of Metagorda to go to Montreal, and, after La Salle was murdered, he, with several others, continued on, and reached Montreal. In his journal this journey is included. He says in regard to the *Cenis*, a nation of Indians who inhabited the country on the head-waters of the Trinity River, and on the Red River: "The word nation is not to be understood among these

Indians to denote a people possessing a whole province or vast extent of land; these nations are no other than a parcel of villages dispersed for the space of twenty or thirty leagues at the most, which compose a distinct people or nation; and they differ from one another rather in language than in manners, wherein they are all much alike, or at least they vary but little."

There were, among the Ceniz, two Frenchmen, who had deserted La Salle when he first visited that place. Of them Joutel says: "They confirmed what I had been told before; that the natives had talked to them of *the great river [Arkansas] that was forty leagues off towards the northeast*, and that there were people like us that dwelt on its banks.

From the Ceniz, Hiens, one of the murderers of La Salle, departed, with the natives, four of our comrades, and the two half-savage Frenchmen, to attack the Cannohatinao Indians.

From the Ceniz Joutel went to the Nahordikhe that were allies to the Ceniz. Thence he went to the "*Assonys, who were not farther off than about three leagues*," where rains compelled him to remain until the 13th of June. On "the 16th we came to a *great river* (probably the Red River) which we crossed," and on the 23d they came to a village on the river they had crossed. During their stay in this place they "were informed that the villages belonging to our host, being four in number all allied together, were called Assony, Nathasos, Nachitos, and Cadodaquio."

From these names it is evident that Joutel was now travelling through the lands visited by the Spaniards of De Soto's expedition. In regard to some of these Indians here mentioned by Joutel, and also mentioned in the accounts of De Soto's expedition, Schoolcraft, in his "American Indians," p. 244, says: "Adaes or Adaize, a tribe of Indians who formerly lived forty miles southwest from Natchitoches; they were located on a lake [Caddo], which communicates with the branch of Red River passing Bayou Pierre. This tribe appears to have lived at that spot from an early period. Their language is stated to be of difficult acquisition, and different from all others in their vicinity. They were intimate with the Caddoes, and spoke their language. At the last dates [1812] they were reduced to twenty men, with a disproportionate number of women. The synonyms for this now extinct tribe are Adayes, Adees, Adaes, Adaize.

Besides there is the following from a note to Penicaut's "Annals of Louisiana," in Historical Collections of Louisiana by B. F. French: The Cadohadacho, in the early settlement of Louisiana, were united to several brave and warlike tribes, among whom were the Natchitoches and Assonis, who lived on the south bank of Red River, in a pleasant and fertile country several hundred miles above the present town of Natchitoches. They exercised a great influence over the surrounding tribes—the Yattasees, Nabadachies, Innies, Keychies, Adaies, Nacogdoches, and Nandakoes—all of whom speak the Caddo language, and look up to them as their fathers.

"On the 28th of April, 1699, M. de Bienville set out [from the Mississippi] for the Ouachita village situated on the river of that name which empties into Red River several leagues from its mouth. He was informed by this nation that six leagues to the northeast there was a Courois village, consisting of about a hundred men. On the 30th he crossed Red River, and continued his journey on foot. On the same day, he met with six Natchitoches Indians who

were taking *salt* to the Courtois. On the 7th of May he arrived at the Ouachita village, where he procured some provisions and a guide to conduct him to the Yatasse nation. On the 18th, he passed two small nations called the Nadassa and Nacasse, and on the 20th he arrived at the Yatasse nation which consisted of about two hundred men. Here he obtained some information respecting the distance to the Nadaco and Cadadoquiou villages. As the time given him by M. d'Iberville had now expired, he embarked on the 23d in four pirogues, and descended Red River. On the 26th he visited one of the villages of the Adayes. On the 28th he stopped at the village of the Dulchanois about three leagues from Natchitoches. A few days after, he entered the Mississippi, and arrived at the Bayagoula nation, where he learned they had entirely destroyed their neighbors, the Mongoulaches.

The Duke de Lignares, viceroy of Mexico, engaged St. Denis, who arrived in the city of Mexico, 25th of June, 1715, to accompany nine missionaries who were going to establish themselves among the Adays, Nacodoches, Youays, Assinays, Natchitoches, and Nadacos in the province of Lastekas. On the 25th of October, St. Denis left Mexico on this expedition. On the 4th of June, 1716, he returned to the Assinays, and on the 25th of August, he arrived at Mobile." (Bernard de la Harpe.)

Bernard de la Harpe arrived in Louisiana, August, 1718, and set out for Red River with fifty men. He returned to New Orleans the following October, and on the 10th of December, he set out again for Red River, with a detachment of troops to establish a fort among the Cadodaquiou. When he arrived at Natchitoches [where a fort is built], he found Blondel in command, and Father Manwel at the mission of the *Adayes about nine leagues distant*.

At Natchitoches he was informed that Don Martin de Alarconne, commandant of the province of Lastekas, had arrived from the Rio [Brayo] del Norte, where he had established several missions and a post at Espirito Santo Bay in the vicinity of the rivers Gaudaloupe and St. Mark. He then went to the country of the Assinays to establish a post among the Cadodaquiou. On the 6th of February, 1719, La Harpe proceeded to the Assinays to prevent the Spaniards from making an establishment there. After a *circuitous* and very difficult navigation, he arrived at the *Nassonites* on the 21st of April, 1719, having travelled *one hundred and fifty leagues in a northwest direction from Natchitoches*. *The Indians of this country, viz., the Nassonites, Natsoos, Natchitoches, Yatasses, and Cadodaquiou, having been informed of his arrival, prepared a great feast for him and his officers, consisting of buffalo meat and smoked fish. After the feast La Harpe informed the chiefs that the great French king heard of the wars of the Chicachas [Chicacas] with them, and had sent him with warriors to live among them, and protect them from their enemies.*

Upon which a venerable old Cadodaquiou chief rose and replied: "It was true that most of their nation had been killed or made slaves; that they were now but few in number; they knew the *Nadouches and other wandering nations* had been at peace with them *since the arrival of La Salle*, which was many years ago."

After he had sat down, La Harpe asked them the way to the nearest of the Spanish settlements. They told him he would find them at a *distance of fifty*

leagues off among the nations of the Nadaco and Amediches, but that he could not go there on account of the low water. That at sixty leagues on the right of Red River ascending, there were many nations at war with the Panis [Pawnees] where the Spaniards had established themselves, and that at ninety leagues to the north of their villages there were powerful nations on the Rio Grande of whom they knew but little.*

On the 27th of April La Harpe went to visit some land ten leagues from the Nassonites *on the borders of a river where the Natsoos formerly lived.* He found the situation beautiful, the land rich, the prairies fertile, and he would have built a fort there, but for the desertion of the Indians who agreed to furnish him with provisions.

The Cadodaguiques lived at this time ten leagues above the Nassonites; and the Natsoos and Natchitoches three leagues above them, on the right of the river (Red). These tribes are scattered over the plains, and not living in villages, which has been the cause of their destruction. Ten years before they numbered about four hundred persons, which composed some families of the Yatassee nation who had come to live among them. The Yatassees formerly lived about fifty-six leagues above the Natchitoches on Red River, but this nation has been almost destroyed by the Chicachas, excepting those who sought refuge among the Natchitoches and Nassonites.

The land of this country is generally flat, with some hills and extensive prairies. La Harpe fixed his establishment upon the land of the Nassonites in latitude 33° 55', distant eighteen leagues in a straight line from Natchitoches.†

(c) INDIAN POTTERY.

The Indian, before being acquainted with the European, dependent on his own ingenuity to supply his wants, showed much skill in the manufacture of articles which he ceased to fabricate after European industry introduced the necessaries he required. Earthenware was to the Indian an article of great utility, and of almost universal use, as the fragments of pottery found in every portion of America testify. But it is not an evidence of any great degree of civilization, for these relics of Indian skill and industry were found among the least, and also among the most enlightened of the Indian tribes, from the banks of the Mississippi to those of the Amazon. The following extracts will give some interesting information in regard to the manufacture of pottery by the Indians. The first extract is from Humboldt's ("Voyage au Nouveau Continent") travels in South America. He thus speaks of the potteries of Maniquarez, four hours' travel from Cumana. "The potteries of Maniquarez, celebrated from time immemorial, form a branch of industry that is exclusively in the

* The route then must have been by water, by some river, probably Red River.

† La Harpe. Major Amos Stoddard, in his "Historical Sketches of Louisiana," says: this fort was "called St. Louis de Charlorette on the right bank of that river" (the Red). And in a note is this: "The author has had access to the manuscript journal of this gentleman (La Harpe), which has been transmitted to this time" (1804). Stoddard writes the name "Bernard de la Harp." Major Stoddard, in the month of March, 1804, took possession of "upper" Louisiana, under the treaty of cession. The records and other public documents were open to his inspection, and it was probably among these he found the manuscript journal of La Harpe.

hands of Indian women. The fabrication is still made according to the method employed before the conquest. It shows, at the same time, the infancy of the art, and that unchangeable custom which characterizes all the indigenous peoples of America. Three centuries have not sufficed to introduce the potter's lathe upon a coast which is but thirty or forty days' sail from Spain. The quarries whence they take the clay are half a league to the east of Maniquarez. This clay is due to the decomposition of a micaceous schist colored red by the oxide of iron. The Indians prefer the parts most charged with mica. They form, with much skill, vases that are two or three feet in diameter, the curve of which is very regular. As they do not know the use of kilns, they place the brush of *Desmanthus*, *Cassia*, and arborescent *Capparis*, around the pots, and bake them in the open air. Farther to the east of the quarry which furnishes the clay, is the ravine of the Mina. They assert that a short time after the conquest, Venetian gold hunters there extracted gold from the micaceous schist. It appears that this metal is not united in the veins of quartz, but that it is disseminated through the rock, as it is sometimes in granite and gneiss."

In this connection it is proper to remark that in the same vicinity of Cumana, were salines.

The next extract is taken from the "Navigator, or Ohio and Mississippi River Guide," published in 1810. It is as follows: "Up the Saline River, twelve miles from the Ohio, are extensive salt works.* At and in the vicinity of these works, are to be found fragments of ancient pottery of uncommon large size, large enough, it is stated, to fill the bulge of a hogshhead, and thick in proportion. On Goose Creek,† and in many other parts, in the neighborhood of salt springs particularly, similar fragments of ware are found, which would induce a belief that its makers used it to boil their salt in. This is by no means improbable; some pots of a similar composition, but of a smaller kind, for cooking, are still [1812] found in use among many of the tribes of American Indians, both northern and southern. The Chocktaws and Chickasaws about Natchez are frequently seen with pots of this composition, carrying them about with them from camp to camp, in which they boil their hominy, or other victuals. I procured a small pot of this kind from the Chocktaw Indians at Natchez, and when I returned to Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1812, I deposited it in Peale's Museum, in Philadelphia. . . . When in Kentucky, in the year 1810, I got a very ancient pot of this ware, that had been found buried in the sand of a saltpetre cave at the head of Licking River. It was of the same character, in composition, shape, and purpose for which it had been made, viz., for the fire, as that got from the Chocktaws at Natchez. It being very old and tender, the composition was easily seen by crumbling pieces of it between the fingers. Pounded shells, clay, and sand, appeared to be the component parts of this ware; it did not seem as if it had been turned on a lathe, though nearly as regular as if it had. The manner of burning it, I was told by a white woman in habits of intimacy with the Chocktaws, is as follows: The pot, when formed and sun-dried, is put in the centre of a ring of fire, at such a distance as at first to gently warm it throughout, and, as it gets able to

* Probably the salt works near Shawneetown in the state of Illinois.

† Probably that which empties into South Fork of the Kentucky River.

bear more heat, the fire is moved in gradually to the centre, and increased, and, when the pot is thought sufficiently hot, it is then covered over with embers, coals, and fire, and so continued baking until it is fit for use, the length of time it takes to burn being known only by experience, and is governed by the size and thickness of the vessel. It may be asked where shells are got by the Indians for this manufacture. It is answered that vast banks of oyster-shells are found in Georgia, many miles in length, and also a bank in the Mississippi Territory, about one hundred and fifty miles from Natches, and which is crossed on the road from that place to Nashville. The length and breadth of this bank have not perhaps been ascertained, but it is evidently very extensive. Our rivers all afford the mussel-shell.

I have heard the ware on Goose Creek spoken of through several channels. A gentleman of Chillicothe assured me there had been one large kettle found entire on that creek, and which was dug up from under the roots of a large tree that had fallen by the wind, and that it was not uncommon to find them in numbers, when digging for salt at that place."

As I have seen nowhere else an account of Indian brick, I will give the following from the "Geological Survey of Mississippi": "The alluvial plain of the Mississippi River, in the state of Mississippi, appears to have been the home of a tribe of Indians who, at an early period, inhabited this country, it is especially there that their remarkable mounds surrounded with brick walls are found. . . . The bricks of the walls that surround the mounds are of a singular and fine vermilion color, and have the appearance as if they had been burned upon cane, being fluted in that manner; they seem to contain a great deal of lime." It is to be regretted that the particular locations of these mounds were not mentioned.

TONTI'S ROUTE TO THE NAOUADICHES.

After the expedition of De Soto, the Mississippi was not again visited by Europeans till the year 1673, when Joliet and Marquette descended it from the mouth of the Wisconsin to near that of the Arkansas. In 1682 La Salle and Tonti descended the Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois to the Gulf of Mexico. In 1685 La Salle formed a settlement on the Bay of Metagorda, and thence made excursions into the interior. When La Salle was murdered in 1687, at a place three days' journey west of Naouadiches, Cavelier, his brother, conducted seven of his followers to the fort that Tonti had built in 1686 on the Arkansas River. In October, 1689, Tonti set out from Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River "to bring back M. de La Salle's men, who were on the sea-coast;" and in April, 1690, arrived at Naouadiches whence he returned. In 1714 St. Denis penetrated beyond the Mississippi to the missionary establishment of St. John the Baptist, two leagues west of the Rio Bravo del Norte. All these expeditions were into the region visited by De Soto or his followers, and are the earliest notice of the Indian tribes inhabiting it, and it is especially from the two last, that of Tonti and that of St. Denis, that is derived the best account of the location of these tribes beyond the Mississippi. These two expeditions, therefore, will here be briefly given.

The Memoir of the Sieur de Tonti has the following: "On the 7th of April [1688], Coutoure brought to me [at Fort St. Louis] two Arkansas who danced

the calumet. They informed me of the death of M. de La Salle, with all the circumstances which they had heard from M. Cavelier, who had fortunately discovered the house I had built at Arkansas, where the said Coutoure stayed with three Frenchmen.

M. Cavelier told me that the Cadadoquis had proposed to accompany him if he would go and fight against the Spaniards. He had objected on account of their being only fourteen Frenchmen. I would not undertake anything without the consent of the Governor of Canada. I sent the said Coutoure to the French remaining in Naouadiche to get all the information he could. He set off, and at a hundred leagues from the fort was wrecked, and, having lost everything, returned.

In the interval M. de Denonville informed me that war was declared against Spain. Upon this I came to the resolution of going to Naouadiche to execute what M. Cavelier had ventured to undertake, and to bring back M. de La Salle's men who were on the sea-coast, not knowing of the misfortunes that had befallen them. I set off on the 3d of October [1689], and joined my cousin who was gone on before, and who was to accompany me, but as M. de la Foret did not come to take command in my absence, I sent my cousin back to command the fort.

I bought a larger boat than my own. We embarked five Frenchmen, one Chaganon, and two slaves. We arrived on the 17th at an Illinois village at the mouth of their river. We reached the village of the Capps on the 16th of January, where we were received with demonstrations of joy, and for four days there was nothing but dancing, feasting, and masquerading after their manner. They danced the calumet for me, which confirmed the last alliance. On the 20th of January [1690], we came to Tongenga, and on the 22d arrived at the Torremans. Leaving my crew I set off the next day for Assotone, where my commercial house is. These savages had not yet seen me, as they live on a branch of the river coming from the west [the Arkansas River]. They did their best, giving me two women of the Cadadoquis nation, to whom I was going. I returned [down the Arkansas] to Torremans on the 26th, and bought there two boats.* We went away on the 27th. On the 29th, finding one of our men asleep when on duty as sentinel, I reprimanded him, and he left me. I sent two of my people to Coroua to spare myself the fatigue of dragging on with our crew six leagues inland. The Frenchman with whom I had quarrelled made with them the third. We slept opposite the rivers of the Taencas, which run from Arkansas. They came there on the 2d [Feb. 1690], this being the place of meeting.

On the 4th February the rest of the party arrived. On the 5th, being opposite Taencas, the men whom I had sent to Coroua not having brought any

* These villages were in the following order in descending the Mississippi: The first is Kappa or Cappa; the second, eight leagues below, is Torengen or Torgenga or Tonningua; then two leagues below is Toriman or Torremans. All these three were on the Mississippi River; but Assotone, or Ootonoy, or Atsotochove was six leagues up the Arkansas River, on the east bank. Toriman appears to have been at or very near the mouth of the Arkansas. I have given the different ways of writing these names, and it is but one of many examples of a similar kind, as for instance, Naoudiche, which is written several different ways.

news of the two Frenchmen whom I was anxious about, I sent them to Natchez. They found that this nation had killed the two men. They arrived on the 8th of February. We set off on the 12th with twelve Taencas, and after a voyage of twelve leagues to the northwest we left our boats and made twenty leagues' portage, and on the 17th February, 1690, came to Natchitoches. They made us stay at the place, which is in the midst of the three villages called Natchitoches, Ouasita, and Capiche. The chiefs of the three nations assembled, and before they began to speak the thirty Taencas who were with me got up and leaving their arms went to the temple, to show how sincerely they wished to make a solid peace. After having taken their god to witness, they asked for friendship. I made them some presents in the name of Taencas. They remained some days in the village to traffic with salt, which these nations got from a lake in the neighborhood.* After their departure they gave me guides to the Yataches; and after ascending the river, always towards the northwest, about thirty leagues, we found fifteen cabins of Natchez who received us pretty well. We arrived on the 16th of March at Yataches about forty leagues from thence. The three villages of Yataches, Nadas, and Choye are together. As they knew of our arrival, they came three leagues to meet us with refreshments, and on joining us we went together to their villages. The chief made many feasts for us. I gave presents to them, and asked for guides to the Cadadoquis. They granted me five men, and we got to Cadadoquis on the 28th. At the place where we were encamped we discovered the trail of men and horses. The next day some horsemen came to reconnoitre us, and after speaking to the chief's widow, whom I brought back with me, carried back the news. The next day a woman, who governed this nation, came to visit me with the principal persons of the village. She wept over me, demanding vengeance for the death of her husband and of the husband of the woman I was bringing back, both of whom had been killed by the Osages. To take advantage of everything, I promised that their death should be avenged. We went together to their temple, and after the priests had invoked their god for a quarter of an hour, they conducted me to the cabin of their chief. Before entering they washed my face with water, which is a ceremony among them. During the time I was there I learned from them that eighty leagues off were the seven Frenchmen whom M. Cavelier had left. I hoped to finish my troubles by rejoining them, but the Frenchmen who accompanied me, tired of the journey, would go no further. All that I could do was to engage one of them, with a savage, to

* Iberville, in April, 1699, going to the Ouchita village, on the Ouachita River, met six Natchitoches Indians who were taking salt to the Courtois. And Du Pratz says: "Up the Black River about thirty leagues we find on the left (ascending) a brook of salt water which comes from the west. In going up this brook about two leagues, we meet with a lake of salt water, which may be two leagues in length by one in breadth; and a league higher up to the north we meet another salt lake almost as long and as broad as the former. The Indians came a great way off to this place to hunt in winter and make salt. Before the French trucked copper with them, they made upon the spot pots of earth for this operation; and they returned home loaded with salt and dry provisions." Some of the large earthen vessels in which the Indians made salt have been found at some of the salines in Kentucky and Illinois. They are represented as large as the head of a hog's head.

accompany me to the village of Naouadiche where I hoped to find the seven Frenchmen.

The Cadadoquis are united with two other villages, called Natchitoches and Nasoui, situated on Red River. All the tribes of this nation speak the same language. Their cabins are covered with straw, and they are not united in villages, but their huts are distant one from the other. Their fields are beautiful. They wage cruel wars with each other—hence their villages are but thinly populated. I never found that they did any work except making very fine bows, of which they make a traffic with distant nations. The Cadadoquis possess about thirty horses. The men and women are tattooed in the face and all over the body. They call this river the Red River because, in fact, it deposits a sand which makes the water as red as blood.

I left this place on the 6th of April, directing our route southward, with a Frenchman, a Chaganon, a little slave of mine, and five of their savages, whom they gave me as guides to Naouadiche. On our road we found some Naouadiche savages hunting, who assured me that the Frenchmen were staying with them. On the 23d, we slept half a league from the village, and the chiefs came to visit us at night. I asked them about the Frenchmen. They told me they had accompanied their chiefs to fight against the Spaniards seven days' journey off; that the Spaniards had surrounded them with their cavalry; and that the chiefs having spoken in their favor, the Spaniards had given them horses and arms. Some of the others told me that the Quanouatins had killed three of them; and that four others had gone in search of iron arrow-heads: I did not doubt but they had murdered them. I told them that they had killed the Frenchmen. Directly all the women began to cry, and thus I saw what I had said was true. I would not, therefore, accept the calumet. I told the chief I wanted four horses for my return, and having given him seven hatchets and a string of large glass beads, I received the next day four Spanish horses. As this nation is sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war with the neighboring Spaniards, they take advantage of a war to carry off their horses. There is not a cabin which has not four or five. We harnessed ours as well as we could, and departed on the 29th, greatly vexed that we could not continue our route as far as M. de La Salle's camp. We were unable to obtain guides from this nation to take us there, though not more than eighty leagues off. It was at the distance of three days' journey from hence that M. de La Salle was murdered.

We reached Cadadoquis on the 10th of May. We stayed there to rest our horses, and went away on the 17th, with a guide who was to take us to the village of Corouas. After four days' journey, he left us. When our guide was gone, I directed our course to the southeast, and, after about forty leagues' march, crossing seven rivers, we found the river Corouas. We made a raft to explore the other side of the river, but found there no dry land. We resolved to abandon our horses, as it was impossible to take them on, because of the great inundation. In the evening, as we were preparing to depart, we saw some savages. We called to them in vain—they ran away, and we were unable to come up with them. Two of their dogs came to us, which, with two of our own, we embarked the next day on our raft, and left our horses. We crossed fifty leagues of flooded country. The water, where it was least deep,

reached half-way up the legs; and in all this tract we found only one little island of dry land, where we killed a bear and dried its flesh. It would be difficult to give an idea of the trouble we had to get out of this miserable country, where it rained night and day. We were obliged to sleep on the trunks of two great trees placed together, and to make our fire on the trees, to eat our dogs, and to carry our baggage across large tracts covered with cane; in short, I never suffered so much in all my life as in this journey to the Mississippi, which we reached on the 11th of July. Finding that we were only thirty leagues from Corouas, we resolved to go there, although we had never set foot in that village. We arrived there on the evening of the 14th. We had not eaten for three days. The savages received me very well. During three days they did not cease feasting us. I left them on the 20th, and reached the Arkansas on the 31st, where I caught a fever, which obliged me to stay there till the 11th of August, when I left. The fever lasted until we got to the Illinois, in September, 1690. (His. Col. La., by B. F. French.)

ST. DENIS'S ROUTE TO MEXICO.

On the 23d of August [1713], St. Denis set out with thirty Canadians, to make a reconnoissance of the Spanish mission in the province of Lastikas, near Red River. On the 15th of November, he arrived at the Assinays, west of Natchitoches, and not finding any Spaniards there, returned to the Natchez, where he re-enforced himself with five Canadians. He then reascended Red River to Natchitoches, and marched to the Assinays, where he took twenty Indians and some horses, to conduct him to the missionary establishment of St. John the Baptist, two leagues west of the Rio Bravo [now Rio Grande]. Capt. Raimond, the commandant of this post, informed the Duke of Ligneres, Viceroy of Mexico, of the arrival of St. Denis, and of his approaching marriage with his niece. The Viceroy sent orders for St. Denis to repair immediately to the city of Mexico, where he arrived on the 25th of June, 1715. He engaged St. Denis to accompany nine missionaries, who were going to establish themselves among the Adays, Nachodoches, Youays, Assinays, Natchitoches, and Nadacos, in the province of Lastikas. On the 26th of October, he left the city of Mexico on this expedition, and visited St. Louis de Potosi, St. Louis de la Paz, Charcas, Saltillo, Boca de Leon, and St. John the Baptist, on the Rio del Norte [now Grande], where he was married. On the 4th of June, 1716, he returned to the Assinays, and on the 25th of August, he arrived at Mobile.

In October St. Denis, Graveline, La Freniere, Beaulieu, Freres, Derbanne [all Canadians], formed a commercial copartnership. They purchased from the stores of Crozat sixty thousand livres of merchandise to sell to the Spaniards in the kingdom of New Leon; and on the 10th of October, 1716, they set out from Mobile to go to Mexico. They arrived at Natchitoches on the 25th of November, where they purchased some horses, and on the 25th of December they reached one of the villages of the Adayes [where they found a Spanish mission-house]. From the 29th of December to the 4th of January, 1717, they travelled eighteen leagues through a country abounding in game. On the 6th they crossed the river Adayes, and slept in the village of the

Ayiches, where they found a Spanish mission-house established, consisting of two priests, three soldiers, and a woman. The country was interspersed with beautiful prairies, and watered by several streams. From the 12th to the 13th they travelled nineteen leagues, and slept at the mission-station of Nachodoches, where they found four priests, two soldiers, and a Spanish woman. From the 18th to the 21st, they travelled nine leagues, to the Assinays or Cenís, where they found two priests, one soldier, and a Spanish woman.

At Le Presidio,* which was seventeen leagues further on, they met a captain, ensign, and twenty-five soldiers. On the 22d they crossed two rivers, and at a distance of ten leagues further they passed the last mission-station of the Assinays or Cenís, which consisted of two priests and several soldiers, who furnished them with a relay of horses. From the 23d to the 24th they travelled eighteen leagues to Trinity River, where they rested. From the 26th to the 28th they advanced twenty-four leagues, to the river des Irrupines [probably Brazos], where they saw a great herd of wild buffaloes. On the next day they crossed the river, which has two branches, and slept at night in a village of the same name. From the 2d to the 8th of April they travelled thirty-six leagues, and crossed a desert to the Colorado River. Here they were attacked by sixty Indians on horseback, who were covered with buffalo skins and armed with bows and lances. The conflict was soon ended; but in their retreat the Indians threw themselves upon their rear guard, and carried off twenty-three mules, one of which was loaded with all their wearing apparel.

On the 11th they made nine leagues, and forded the river St. Marks. On the next day they crossed two branches of the river Guadaloupe. From the 13th to the 14th they travelled thirteen leagues, and forded the rivers St. Anthony and Madeline.† From the 15th to the 19th they travelled twenty-seven leagues, to the river Nueces. From the 20th to the 21st they travelled to the river Del Norte [Grande], and two leagues to the west of which they arrived at the Presidio, where they found a captain, lieutenant, and thirty Spanish soldiers. In this place were established the missions of St. Bernard and St. John the Baptist. Their houses were built around a square which formed their fortress. These missionary-stations are situated about two hundred and fourteen leagues from Natchitoches, in latitude $29^{\circ} 10'$. Here Graveline and Derbonne learned that the merchandise brought by St. Denis had been seized by Raimond, commandant of the post, and that he had gone to the city of Mexico to have them restored to him.

This news compelled them to intrust the goods they had brought with them to the Franciscan fathers, who sold them by degrees to the merchants of Boca de Leon. On the 1st of September they heard of the imprisonment of St. Denis, which obliged them soon after to set out for Mobile, where they arrived on the 25th of October, 1717. They visited, on their route, a Spanish

* Presidio is the Spanish name for fort or garrison. That here mentioned was Cenís probably. The Presidio St. John the Baptist was in latitude 28° . The Presidio del Paso del Norte and Presidio del Norte are or were also on or near the Rio Bravo del Norte or Rio Grande del Norte.

† Now Medina, probably contraction or corruption of Madeline.

mission on the Aadayes, St. Michel-Archange de Lingares, which was founded on the 29th of January, 1717, by the Reverend Father Augustin, Patron de Guzman, of the order of Franciscans.

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MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

When, on the 13th of May, in the year 1673, Joliet and Marquette passed from the Wisconsin into the great river that they were in search of, they called it by the name which the Indians of that section called it, viz., Meschacebe, or, as Hennepin has it, Meschasipi. When they passed the mouth of the Pekitanoni, now the Missouri, they observed the great rapidity of that river and the turbidness of its waters, and that the character of the river they had descended to that point, was entirely different from the river below it; but they had no knowledge of the great extent of the Pekitanoni; had they had this knowledge, the Pekitanoni, in all probability, would have been so known from the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Mexico; but they continued the name of Meschasipi to the river as they descended it, and thus a tributary of the great river gave its name to a portion of that great river which should have been called by a single name from its mouth to its source.

The name of Meschasipi was afterwards written Missisipi, and finally Mississippi. There is probably no river that has had so many names as this great river. The Indians, according to their different localities and different languages, had different names for it. Soto first knew it by the name Chucagua. The French several times changed its name, calling it St. Louis, Colbert, etc.

The Mississippi, as now known, might, according to its characteristics, be called upper, middle, and lower. The first, all that portion above the mouth of the Missouri; the second, all between the mouth of the Missouri and that of the Ohio; and the third, all below the mouth of the Ohio, or rather from the terminus of the limestone cliffs on the Mississippi, twenty-eight miles above the mouth of the Ohio, where, two hundred and eighty-five feet above the level of the sea, begins the great fluvial deposit that extends five hundred miles, to the Gulf of Mexico, and has an area of forty thousand square miles.

Through this immense plain the lower Mississippi winds its way, in a southerly direction, twelve hundred and six miles to the Gulf of Mexico, flowing first from the Ohio to Memphis, along its eastern margin, near the bluffs that bound it on that side, and at some half dozen points present themselves on the borders of the river; then, from Memphis to the mouth of the St. Francis River, it crosses this plain, and then flows along its western margin from the St. Francis to Lake Providence. From Lake Providence it again crosses the plain, reaching the eastern side at Vicksburg, and then continuing along the eastern side and very near the bluffs that present themselves on the banks of the river at five or six points, it reaches the hills of Fort Adams, twelve miles above the mouth of the Red River, by some considered the head of the delta: but the river Mississippi still continues along the eastern margin of its plain to Baton Rouge, the highlands appearing at three or four points. At Baton Rouge the highlands diverge eastward (in regard to side) from the river, and terminate on Bayou Manchac, about fifteen miles, by land, below,

where the delta stretches eastward to Lake Pontchartrain; and the Mississippi flows southeastwardly two hundred and twenty-six miles to the Gulf.

From what has been said it will be perceived that the Mississippi crosses its plain twice, and in each instance diagonally; firstly, from Memphis to the mouth of the St. Francis, a distance of eighty miles, while the width of the plain at Memphis, and at Helena, about eight miles, by land, below the St. Francis, is thirty-five miles; secondly, from Lake Providence to Vicksburg, a distance of seventy-six miles, while the width of the plain at Vicksburg is thirty-five miles; and at Natchez, seventy miles, by the river, below, it is thirty miles. The plain of the Mississippi, from Manchac or from Red River to the Ohio is thus divided into three sections; the first extending from the Ohio to Memphis, the second from Memphis to Vicksburg, and the third from Vicksburg to the Red River, or to Manchac. The middle section is one hundred and eighty-four miles long and sixty-eight miles wide, on the east side of the Mississippi; if to this be added the greatest width on the west side, the greatest width of this section of the plain would be about one hundred miles.

The computed length of the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, is one thousand one hundred and seventy-eight miles. The width varies from two thousand one hundred and seventy, and two thousand four hundred and twenty-five, to five thousand six hundred and thirteen and five thousand nine hundred feet. The average width, from Cape Girardeau to eleven miles below New Orleans, is three thousand two hundred and thirty-six feet. The depth at the high water of 1850 was, below the Ohio, from seventy-one to one hundred and thirty-five feet. From Vicksburg to New Orleans the average depth in mid-channel, at high water, may be fairly assumed to be one hundred and fifteen feet, though there are many points where the depth exceeds one hundred and eighty feet, and others where the extreme does not exceed seventy feet. Under the bluffs at Grand Gulf, the lead reached two hundred feet. The average descent, at high water, is three and one-fourth inches per mile. The average surface velocity in the centre of the river, at high water, is about seven feet per second, or nearly five miles per hour.

Along the Mississippi and near it are found lakes in the shape of a horse-shoe, having the ordinary width of the Mississippi River. These lakes were once deep bends of the river, and have been formed by the river washing through the narrow neck which connected the peninsula with the mainland. About a dozen of these lakes have been formed within the last forty years. They vary in length from ten to thirty miles. Besides this action of the river, the sand-bar points opposite the bends increase and encroach upon the bed of the river, until forced out of its original channel, the river forms for itself a new one in the opposite bend. Where, about twenty-five years ago, a depth of two hundred feet was found in the Mississippi, the river no longer flows, and for about three miles extending *above that point* the Mississippi has gradually left its old bed, and now flows parallel to it.

These operations of the Mississippi have been in action from the time when it created the immense plain through which it flows, and it is probable that, in the lapse of ages, it has occupied every portion of its plain, and even extended its area by its encroachments on the bluff barriers that bound it on

either side. But notwithstanding all these changes, the length of the lower Mississippi for one hundred and eighty years has varied but very little.

During the three hundred and forty years that have elapsed since Soto, in 1541, crossed the Mississippi, about the latitude of Helena, such great changes have taken place in that river, that, in all probability, scarcely a vestige now remains of the channel through which it then flowed. It therefore is not on the borders of the present channel of the Mississippi that must be sought the theatre of the exploits of De Soto. It is not there that must be expected traces of his route, if any such remain, but on the borders of the old lakes and of the old beds of the Mississippi, now probably hid in the dense forests of its fertile plain.

NOTE (29), page 487.

THE ROUTE OF DE SOTO IN FLORIDA.

A large artificial mound near the eastern shore of the eastern branch of Tampa Bay* marks the starting-point in Florida whence De Soto set out to explore the country. It was here that he encamped, after landing his horses and soldiers on the shores of the bay near its entrance, and sending his sailors and vessels up the bay to anchor near the great mound.

De Soto took with him, on his expedition, a number of hogs. Hernando Cortes did the like on his expedition to Honduras, and Gonzales Pizarro also took swine with him on his expedition to the Napo. These animals travel from twelve to fifteen miles a day, and this was the rate at which De Soto travelled through populated countries, for the Elvas Narrative says they travelled five or six leagues a day through populous countries, and as fast as they could through countries not populated. A Spanish league is five thousand varas, or two and one-third English miles, which would make five or six leagues twelve or fourteen English miles. When they travelled as fast as they could they made eight leagues a day, as when they passed through a wilderness on their way from Patofa to Cofachique, and eight leagues would be about eighteen miles. But the character of the country made a great difference in their rate of travel; and what has been said in regard to their speed must be understood of their travel in general, and under favorable circumstances; through marshes, canebreaks, and thickets, it must have been less, especially where there was no path. But it is probable that De Soto followed the Indian *trails* through the country, except where he was misled by his guides.

The troops first marched to Hurripacuxi, who lived about twelve leagues from the coast. They marched at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the coast to Apalache, which was a hundred and ten leagues from Tampa Bay. The sea was nine leagues from Apalache, says Biedma—the Elvas Narrative says ten—that would be twenty-three miles; and that six leagues on the way was a town named Ochete (Aute). “Apalache has a great number of habitations, many villages of fifty and sixty houses each; there are many ponds, and they fish there all the year. To the north the land is fertile, and there are neither woods nor marshes. To the south [that is, towards the sea] there is nothing

* It is thus I find it on the map in the “Conquest of Florida,” by Theodore Irvin.

but forests and marshes." Such is the description given of Apalache, taken from the different accounts of De Soto's expedition. Garcilasso makes it thirty leagues from the sea; but the other two almost agree, one giving nine and the other ten leagues to the sea from Apalache. Apalache, probably, was somewhere in the neighborhood of Tallahassee.

De Soto, after spending at Apalache the winter that began in 1539, departed the 3d of March, 1540, to go to Yupaha,* the country in which was Cofacique, a town on the east side of the Savannah River, not far from where Augusta now is. He marched northward five days and came to a *large* and *rapid* river, which he crossed in boats. Elvas says almost the same. Here was a town called Capachiqui (in this they agree). This river, probably, was the Ocmulgee. He then came to a *small* river; here was Achese, a town. He then came to Ocute, where he travelled up a river very well inhabited. He travelled and passed two rivers, which were waded; *each* was two crossbow-shots over (eight or ten hundred yards); the water came to the stirrups, and had so great a current that it was needful for the horsemen to stand one before another that the footmen might pass over above them, leaning unto them. He came to another river of great current and largeness, which was passed with more trouble, because the horses did swim, at the coming out, about a lance's length. Having passed this river he came to a grove of pine trees. They had now travelled sixty-three or seventy-two leagues from Patofa, according to Elvas. Here they were at a loss, but Danusco discovered a town down† the river at a distance of twelve or thirteen leagues. They went thither, and thence, in two days' journey, came to Cofacique, which was on the east side of a river they had to cross in boats, and in which river some of their horses were drowned in crossing. Biedma says from Chisi [Achese] they went to a province called Attapaha. "Here they found a river which flowed towards the *south*, like those we had already passed (crossed), and emptied into the sea, where Vasquez de Ayllon had landed" (conjecture). He says from Cofa they travelled in an easterly direction. He gives nearly the same distance from the hamlet, that Danusco discovered, to Cofacique. Biedma mentions four large rivers that they crossed between Apalache, and the river on which was Cofacique or Cofacique. The first river appears to have been larger than the two rivers they crossed by wading, which were wide and shallow; the next the horses had to swim a spear's length. But when they reach the river on which was Cofacique, so deep and violent was the river that four of their horses were drowned, according to Garcilasso. The Savannah River is five hundred yards wide at Augusta.

Cofacique was two days' journey from the sea, according to Elvas Narrative. But Biedma says: "The Indians told us that the sea was only about thirty leagues distant." From Cofacique to Chiaha was twelve days' journey, that is from Augusta to Rome. Soto, on leaving Apalache, travelled five days to the first river; he travelled nine days from Patofa and two days from the village that Danusco discovered to reach Cofacique; all this, without count-

* The Elvas Narrative makes Yupaha the country of Cofacique, but he does not mention Yupaha after Soto leaves Apalache. Biedma mentions Attapaha—which sounds very much like Altamaha—where there was a river which emptied into the sea. Garcilasso puts the first town of the province of Altamaha three days' journey from Apalache, and Achalaque next after Altamaha; this name is still more like Altamaha.

† Garcilasso says *up* the river, and probably is right.

ing distances that have not been given, amounts to sixteen days' travel. The distance from Patofa to Cofacique was equal to the distance from Cofacique to Chiaha, according to this, but he was fifteen days travelling from Cofacique to Chiaha. They left Cofacique the 3d of May, 1540, to go to Chiaha, which was twelve days' journey thence; they marched in a northerly direction eight or ten days through a mountainous country and reached Xualla; from Xualla to Guachoule they crossed very rough, high hills. Guachoule was situated among many streams which passed on both sides of the town, and came from the mountains which are around it. The dwelling of the chief was upon a mound, with a terrace around it, where six men could walk abreast.

I believe that this mound will be recognized in the following by M. F. Stephenson: "Two miles below Cartersville, in Bartow County, Georgia, on the Chattahoochee River, are the remains of a magnificent temple, eighty-seven feet high, with an escarpment on the east of near twenty feet high and twenty feet wide, where a granite idol was plowed up by the Indians fifty-two years ago, and sold to an Englishman, who sold it to the Salisbury collection in England; and in 1871 the goddess was plowed up at the same place, and is now in the possession of Capt. Lyon, who loaned it to the Smithsonian Institute, at Washington, to take casts and electrotypes from." This temple is surrounded by a ditch thirty feet deep from river to river, in a bend of fifty acres, on which are four watch-towers (mounds).

De Soto departed from Guachoule, and in two days came to Canasaqua, and thence journeyed five days through a desert to Chiaha. The Elvas Narrative says: "The town was on an island between two arms of a river, and was seated nigh one of them. The river divideth itself into these two branches, two crossbow-shots above the town, and meeteth again a league below the same. The plain between the two branches is sometimes a crossbow-shot, sometimes two crossbow-shots over. The branches are very broad, and both of them may be waded over."*

Garcilasso places Guachoule and Chiaha on the same river, and says: "For to go there (to Chiaha) he descended along many streams which pass by Guachoula, unite at some distance from there, and make a river so powerful, that in the province of Iciaha (Chiaha), distant thirty leagues from the other, it is larger than the Guadalquivir at Seville."

Biedma calls Chiaha, Chisca. The description he gives of Chisca suits Chiaha, as described by the Elvas Narrative, which places Chisca in the gold region of Georgia. There were two Christians sent from Chiaha to Chisca, according to Elvas.

From Chiaha De Soto travelled down the river to Coste, and in seven days arrived there, "where the villages were likewise built on the islands of the river" (Biedma). Garcilasso says: "The troops marched along the island (river?), and at five leagues from Iciaha, where unites the river of this country with that where they were entering, they came to the capital of Acoste." The junction of the two rivers here mentioned is that of the two which form the Coça River.

* An Indian bow will send an arrow four hundred yards. De Soto was at Chiaha in the month of June, a season when the river, probably, was very low.

Coste was in the province of Coça, which was the richest country in Florida. After travelling some days, probably along down the Coça River, Soto diverged to the southeast and came to Ytaua where he was detained six days on account of a river there that was very high at that time. This river was, in all probability, the Tallapoosa. He there crossed the river and proceeded through a populous country, and came, on the 18th of September, to Talisse, a great town situated near unto a main river (Tallapoosa).

From Talisse De Soto proceeded until he came to the Alabama River, probably not far from the mouth of the Tallapoosa. He crossed the Alabama River and went to Mauvila. The Elvas Narrative says that after crossing he travelled three days, and the third day he passed all day through a peopled country, and came to Mauvila, Monday, 18th October, 1540, and that "Here the governor understood that Francisco Maldonado waited for him at the Port of Ochuse (or Achusse); and that it was six days (seventy-two miles) journey thence." Biedma says: "We came to a large river which empties into the bay called Chuse (Ochuse, or Achusse). The Indians informed us that Narvaez's vessels had touched there for water, and left a Christian named Teodoro, who was still living among the Indians. They showed us a poniard which had belonged to him." Garcilasso places Mauvila two leagues—about five miles—from the river at the place where they crossed; and what Elvas says above of the three days' travel, Garcilasso makes that the distance from Talisse to the capital of Tascaluca. "This town was very strong, because it was in the midst of a peninsula formed by the river that passes by Talisse, which is much larger and more rapid at Tascaluca than at that town." It was the Alabama, not the Tallapoosa. Garcilasso says they learned from prisoners that the sea at Achusse was thirty leagues (seventy miles) from Mauvila. Biedma says the Indians told them that Mauvila was more than forty leagues from the sea.

De Soto left Mauvila Sunday, the 18th of November, 1540, and marched northward, and came to a town called Cabusto, near a great river, which he crossed in a barge. He then travelled five days through a desert, and came to another river, which he also crossed in a barge. In both these instances the barge was built by the Spaniards. Having crossed this river, the next day, the 17th of December, he came to Chicaca. This country was very well peopled. Biedma says that from Mauvila they marched north ten or twelve days. "The Indians defended the rivers we crossed." Garcilasso mentions but one river which "was great, deep, and had high banks." He describes Chicaca thus: "This town has two hundred houses, situated upon a hill, which extends north and south, and is watered by many small streams." There are but two rivers that answer the description here given; they are the Tuscaloosa, now changed to Black Warrior, and the Tombigbee, and these probably are the two rivers they crossed in boats. De Soto passed at Chicaca the winter that began in 1540.

The 25th of April, 1541, De Soto departed from Chicaca, and marched northwest until he reached the province of Alibamo, which was probably on the waters of the Tallahatche. From Alibamo to Quizquiz or Chisca, on the Mississippi River, "he travelled seven days through a desert of many marshes

and thick woods;" that is, through the swamps of the Mississippi River bottom.

Near Chisca De Soto crossed the Mississippi River, there called the Chucagua. After crossing, he ascended the river a league and a half, and came to a great town of Aquixo, the name of the province. He there learned that three days' journey from thence was a great cacique named Casquin. He came to a small river [St. Francis], where a bridge was made,* on which they crossed. That day, till sunset, they travelled in water which came to the knees, and in some places to the waist. They arrived at Casquin, and found the country *higher, drier, and more champaign* than any part bordering near the river, that until then they had seen.† Garcilasso says this river was as large as the Guadalquivir at Cordova. According to him they travelled three days up this river.

From Casquin De Soto went to Pacaha, on the Mississippi River, two days' journey from Casqui. Pacaha, or Capaha as Garcilasso calls it, was the highest point on the Mississippi that De Soto reached. From Pacaha De Soto sent a detachment northwest, which travelled eight days through swamps, and came to a place called Calusi. When this detachment returned, De Soto returned to Casqui, and thence went southwest to Quiguate, the largest village in all Florida. It was situated on one of the branches of a great river. From Pacaha to Quiguate may be a hundred leagues. Garcilasso says he [Soto] refreshed himself five days at Casqui, and then marched four down along the river through fertile and populous places, and arrived at the *province* of Quiguate; he then continued his journey five days, descending along the river through places abounding in provisions, and the fifth arrived at the capital, called Quiguate. From this and from what the Elvas Narrative says of De Soto's travel when he left Quiguate, it is quite evident that it was on the Mississippi River.

From Quiguate Soto went to Coligoa; this place was forty leagues northwest of Quiguate, and situated among the mountains or hills of Arkansa, on a small river.

From Coligoa Soto went southwest over mountains five days, and came to Tatel Coya on the Arkansa River. From thence he went four days up the river to the province of Cayas, where he stopped at a town called Tanico, near a river. In the province of Cayas the Spaniards made salt, and in it was a lake of hot brackish water. Soto had crossed the Arkansa either at Tatel Coya, or in going from there to Cayas.

From Tanico Soto went to Tulla, a day and a half's journey south from there; but to reach it he had to cross high mountains.

From Tulla he went southeast "ten days" or "eighty leagues" to Autiamque. He first went five days over rough mountains to Quipana, at the foot of high mountains. From thence he turned east, and, crossing these mountains, descended into a plain where was Autiamque, on the banks of the Arkansa. Here he went into winter quarters, and spent the winter that began in 1541.

On Monday, the 6th of March, 1542, Soto departed from Autiamque to seek

* These bridges were floating beams with their ends fastened together, so as to extend from one bank to the other.

† Since then earthquakes have produced great changes in that region.

Nilco, which the Indians said was near the great river. He spent ten days in travelling from Autiamque to a province called Ayays, and came to a town that stood near the river that passes by Cayas and Autiamque [Arkansa River]. There he crossed the river, and then descending along it he came to Nilco the 29th of March. So he was nineteen days travelling from Autiamque to Nilco, for there were four days that it snowed so that he could not travel; but his route was through swampy inundated country much of the way, so he could not travel far in a day; besides he was delayed a whole day at a lake in trying to cross it.

Nilco was on the Arkansa River near and above its mouth. He left it the 17th of April, and went to Guachoya, which was on the west side of the Mississippi, and just below the mouth of the Arkansa. Guachoya was above Minoia or Aminoia, and Minoia was nine leagues from Nilco, which was nine leagues from the high land. Fernando de Soto died at Guachoya the 21st of May, 1542.

A LIST OF ALL THE INDIAN NAMES MENTIONED IN THE ELVAS NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION OF DE SOTO IN FLORIDA.

This narrative gives nearly every name mentioned by the other accounts, and many more names in addition. The names are generally written differently in the different accounts of the same place, but they are easily recognized by the sound and orthography, and by the location; for instance, Hurripacuxi and Paracossi are intended for the same place and person; the former has a prefix, the other has not. Paracuxi is intended for Paracossi. Etocale in Biedma is Cale in the Elvas Narrative; and Biedma's Chaviti is Chaguate in the Elvas Narrative. The names are in the order the Spaniards came to them on their journey. Where they are otherwise, it will be noticed.

The names from Ucita to Apalache, both inclusive, are from Tampa Bay to Tallahassee; those from Apalache to Cutifachique are from Tallahassee to Augusta, in Georgia. Those from Cutifachique to Chiaha are from Augusta to Rome, in Georgia. Those from Chiaha to Piache are on or near the Cooca or Tallapoosa rivers, and are from Rome to near Montgomery, Alabama. Those from Piache to Quizquiz are from Montgomery to a point near Delta or Friar's Point on the Mississippi River. Casqui was on the St. Francis River, Pacaha on the Mississippi and above the St. Francis. Quiguate was on the Mississippi, and about a hundred Spanish leagues below Pacaha. Coligoa was forty Spanish leagues northwest from Quiguate. From Cayas to Ayays, both included, are on the west side of the Arkansas River, between it and probably the Washita. From Guachoya on the Mississippi, just below the Arkansas, to Naguatex, the places are between the Arkansas and Red Rivers. All the remaining places as far as Daycao are between the Red River and the Trinity.

The Indian names :—

UCITA	Cale	Caliquen
Mocoço	Ytara	Napatuca
Paracossi	Potano	Hapaluya
Acela	Utinama	Uzachil
Tocaste	Cholupaha	Axille

Vitachuco	Tascaluca	Tietiquaquo, chief
Uzela	on the Tallapoosa	†AYAYS
ANAICA APALACHE	PIACHE on the Alabama	†Tutelpinco
Ochete and Ochus	Mavilla	†Tianto
Capachique	Pafallaya	†Nilco
Toalli	Taliepatava	*GUACHOYA
Achese	Cabusto	*Huasene
Yupaha	Chicaça	*Quigalta
Altamaca	Alimamu [Alibamo]	Catalte
Ocute	Nicalasa, chief	Chaguete
Cofaqui	Saquechuma, chief	Aguacay
Patofa	*QUIZ-QUIZ	Pato
Aymay	*Aquixo	Amaye
CUTIFACHIQUE	Casqui on the St. Francis	NAGUATEX on Red River
Chalaque	*Pacaha	Hacanac, chief
Xualla	Caluça	Nissoone
Guaxula	Macanоче, woman	Lacane
on the Chatahoochee	Mochila, "	Nondacao
Canasaqua	*Quigaute	Aays
†CHIAHA	Coligoa	Chilano
Chisca	Palisema	Socatino
†Coste	†Tatalicoya	Guasco
†Tali	†CAYAS	Naquiscoca
†Coça	†Tanico	Nacacahoz
Tallimuchase	Tulla	DACYAO, the Trinity Riv.
Ytaua	Quipana	*Minoya
Ullibahali	Guahate	*Taguanate
Toasi	Anoixi	Tamaliseu
Tallise on the Tallapoosa	Catamaya	Tapatu
Casiste	†Autiamque	Mico and Ri

names
of the
Mississippi.

Ochete was Aute, and was between "Apalache" and the sea. Ochus is Achusse, the Bay of Pensacola. Chisca was north of Chiaha several days' journey. It was in the gold region of Georgia. Biedma calls Chiaha, Chisca. Caluça was northwest several days' journey from Pacaha. Coligoa was forty Spanish leagues northwest of Quiguate. Dacayo was the furthest place west that the Spaniards under Moscoso reached; it was one hundred and fifty Spanish leagues from Guachoya on the Mississippi, near and below the mouth of the Arkansas. Chilano is put where it is to show its situation on the Aays; it was not seen on their route out, but on their return; on which Chilano and Minoya are the only new places mentioned. As all the others had been previously mentioned, it was not necessary to repeat them, or rather those of them through which they passed on their return.

* On or near the Mississippi River.

† On or near the Arkansas River.

‡ On or near the Coça River.

Indian names mentioned by Garcilasso in his "Conquest of Florida" :—

Hirriga or Hirrihigua	Cofaqui	Chisca
*Mucoço	Patofa	Chucagua
Urribaracuxi	Cofaciqui	*Casquin
Acuera	Talomeco	*Capaha
Ocaly	Chalaques	Quiguatex
*Ochile	Chovala	Colima
*Vitachuco	Guachoula	Tula
Ossachile	Iciaha	Utianque
*Apalache	Acoste	Naguatex
Capasi	*Coça	Guacane
Ante	*Talissee	Anilco
Achussi	*Tascaluca	Guachoia
*Altapaha	Mauvila	Auche
Achalaque	*Chicaça	Aminoia
Cofa	*Alibamo	Quigualtanqui.

The upper world,	Hamampacha.
The lower world,	Ucupacha.
The devil,	Cupai.

Indian names, nearly all of the Peninsula of Florida, from the accounts of Ribault, Laudonniere, Gourgue, and Fontanedo :—

Appalatey	Mayara	Serranay
Chigoula	Mollua	Allimacany
Chenonceau	Olate Ouæ Utina	Maquarqua
Audusta	Cadecha	Hostaqua
Wayon	Chilili	Marracou
Hoya	†Guaragunve	Mathiaca
Touppa	Cuchiyaga	Calos
Stalame	Eclauou	Sarrope
Toya	Enacappe	Hiocaia
He Toya	Calany	Hiatiqui (interpreter)
Iawas	Anacharaqua	Edelano
Couexis	Omitiaqua	Eneguape
Oude	Acquera	Patica
Maccoa	Moquoso	Mayaimi
Antipola Bonassou	Potanou	Guasaca
Paracoussy	Hyou (exclamation)	Coÿa
Satouriousa or Satirousa	Malico •	Astina
Athore	Omoloa	Enecaque
Thimogoa	Onathaqua	Esquine

* Names found on maps made at different dates. The Casquins were the Kaskaskias ; the Capahas were the Quappas or Cappas ; the Cayas were the Kansas ; and the Quip-
anas were the Pawnees. These appear on the maps in their MODERN names, which,
in all probability, are but corruptions of the originals.

† The village of Tears on one of the Florida Keys.

Casti	Cl.	
Nia Cubacani	Zeru.	
Saraurahi	Sequel.	
Iracana	Tuchi	
Apalou	Sinacsta	
Tacadocorou	Calaobe	
Homoloa	Guaya	
Malica	Casitoa	
Seloy	Futun	
Sieroa Pira (copper)	Luiseyove	
Olotoraca or Olotacara	Tonsobe	
Salinacani	Feaga	
Saracary	Mayaca	
Catacouru	Icaga, name of an island	Y.
Cassine	Abolachi	Mu.
Helicopile	Olagale	Coyc
Tacatacourou	Guasaca-Es-Qui	Comaca
Sarabay	Tocobajo	Tavaguer
Tegesta	Sogo No	Ais
Orista or Chicora	Metamapo	Olatatano
Quate or Gualdape	Estame	Guacata
Otopali	Guevu	Se-le-te-ga.
Olgatano	Talesta	

The following dates show the progress that De Soto made in his exped.

1539. May 18th. Left Havana.
 May 25th. Saw the land of Florida.
 May 30th. Friday, landed in Florida.
 Aug. 1st. Sets out on his expedition about this time.
 Aug. 2d. Leaves Cale.
 Oct. 27th. Arrives at Aniaca Apalache. Wintered.
1540. March 3d. Leaves Aniaca Apalache.
 April 12th. Leaves Ocute.
 April 26th. Arrives at Aymay, two days' journey, twenty-four miles from Cofacique.
 May 3d. Departs from Cofacique.
 July 2d. At Coste.
 July 9th. Leaves Coste.
 July 26th. At Coça.
 Sept. 18th. At Tallise.
 Oct. 18th. At Mavilla.
 Nov. 18th. Leaves Mavilla.
 Dec. 17th. At Chicaca. Wintered.
1541. April 25th. Leaves Chicaca.
 June 19th. At Pacaha. Rested forty days.
 Aug. 4th. At Quigaute.
 Dec. 1st. At Autiamque. Wintered.

1542. Mar. 6th. Leaves Autiamque.

Mar. 29th. At Nilco.

April 17th. At Guachoya.

May 21st. De Soto dies.

De Soto just before his death appointed Luis de Moscoso de Alvarado Governor. Moscoso conducted the Spaniards one hundred and fifty leagues westward to the Trinity River, which he reached about the 1st October, 1542, and then returned to Minoya, where they spent the winter 1542-3. In March, 1543, was a great flood. They finished seven brigantines in June, 1543, and July 2d, 1543, sailed from Minoya. The 18th July, 1543, they went to sea; Sept. 10th, 1543, they came into the river Panuco. The Spaniards wintered at Apalache, Chicaca, Autiamque, and Minoya.

25th May, 1539, was Pasca de Spirito Santo; hence Tampa Bay was formerly called Spirito Santo Bay.

NOTE (30), page 504.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT OF PROTESTANTS TO FORM A RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT IN AMERICA.

In 1555, Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, Knight of Malta, and Vice-Admiral of Bretagne, given to the opinions of the new Sectarians, conceived the project of forming, in America, a colony of Protestants. He was a man of rare merit. To a superior mind, he joined all the knowledge that could be acquired by study and reflection. He had, besides, given proof of courage on more than one occasion. He presented his design to the court under the single idea of forming a French settlement in the New World. He obtained from Henry II. two or three vessels well equipped, which he filled with Calvinists, left Havre de Grace in the month of May, and arrived on the coast of Brazil in the month of November following. He did not exercise his usual prudence in choosing a port. He landed upon a great rock, from which the tide very soon drove him; having advanced farther, he entered a river nearly under the tropic of Capricorn, and took possession of a little island, in which he built a fort, which he named Fort Coligny. Scarcely was the work begun, when he sent his vessels back to France with letters, in which he gave an account to the court of his situation; and he sent with them others to some friends that he had at Geneva. There were at that time in Brazil, several Normans who had been shipwrecked upon the coast, and who, mingling with the natives, had learned their language. Villegagnon attracted them to his fort, and made use of them to trade with the Brazilians.

The Genevese, having received his letters, seized with eagerness the opportunity that presented itself of establishing themselves in a country where they hoped to have the free exercise of their religion. Admiral de Coligny, to whom Villegagnon had not failed to write, became deeply interested in this affair. He knew the zeal of an old gentleman, named Philippe de Corguilleray, but better known under the name of Dupont, who had retired to Geneva to live peaceably in the exercise of his religion. The admiral solicited him

to consent to put himself at the head of those who should go to Brazil. The old man, still more stimulated by the exhortations of Calvin, whose reputation and authority had reached the highest degree among those who were opposed to the Roman Church, made no difficulty to sacrifice his repose to the services of his partisans.

With a chief of this importance, it was necessary to find men of willingness, who would be disposed to abandon forever their country, ministers of religion, artisans, and all the things necessary to lay the foundations of a new republic. They found two ministers of known merit, and who, it was believed, would do honor to the choice they had made of them. A multitude of persons of different conditions and ages went to present themselves to Dupont, in order to leave with him; but the old man, who was sincere, told them that in the projected enterprise there would be one hundred and fifty leagues to travel by land, and more than two thousand by sea; and that on arriving at the end of it, they would be obliged to do without bread; to content themselves with fruits and roots; to do without wine, because the country produced none of it; in a word, that they would be obliged to live in a manner entirely different from that of Europe. This picture made some of them change their minds; there were found but fourteen of them who persisted in the resolution of crossing the sea, and going to expose themselves to the dangers and suffering that awaited them in Brazil.

Dupont failed not to make them pass by Chatillon Sur Loing, where the admiral had an estate worthy of his rank, in one of the most beautiful castles of France; the admiral encouraged them all by his exhortations and promises. They afterwards repaired to Paris, where they found quite a considerable number of Protestants, who determined to increase their company; they afterwards passed to Rouen, and made some recruits there. Hoping to discover mines in the country where they were going, they had the precaution to take with them some men who had a knowledge of that business. They repaired to Honfleur, where they were to embark; but the inhabitants, having learned that they had celebrated the Lord's Supper during the night, contrary to the king's ordinances, which did not permit Protestants to assemble except during the day, massacred a great part of them. Those who were in a condition to work the mines had the misfortune to perish, which caused much disappointment to the chiefs of the enterprise, when they arrived in Brazil.

The commotion of the inhabitants of Honfleur caused them to hasten their departure; they embarked upon four vessels, which the king had caused to be equipped. They took with them five young women, and a woman to govern them, and six youths, who were to learn the language of the country, to familiarize themselves with the savages. The equipage might amount to three hundred persons. Lery, from whom we borrow the greater part of what we have to say, was of the number.

After having experienced terrible tempests, the three vessels arrived the 16th February, 1557, in view of America, near the country of the Margajas, who were allies of the Portuguese. They fired some cannon, and sent the boat ashore. A troop of savages advanced to the border of the shore; they showed to them from a distance knives, mirrors, combs, in the hopes of obtaining provisions from them. The savages comprehended what they asked, and were eager to

bring refreshments. Six of them entered the boat, with a woman, and permitted themselves to be conducted to the vessels.

The next day, fearing to push too far their confidence in these barbarians whom they knew not, they weighed anchor, in order to follow the land. Scarcely had they made nine or ten leagues, when they found themselves before a Portuguese fort, named St. Esprit. The Portuguese of the garrison, recognizing a Portuguese caravel, which the French Protestants had picked up on their route, fired some cannon-shot at them, to which they replied with much vigor. They continued to advance towards a place named Tapemiry, the inhabitants of which did not give any signs of hate to the French, they coasted the habitations of many savages, they met many isles, and arrived upon the lands of the Topinamboux, allies of Villegagnon. These savages, recognizing the flag of France, showed their joy by a thousand demonstrations of friendship. The French did not hesitate to anchor. Besides the refreshments which they received from the savages, they had a good fishing. They sailed again, and in a little while entered the river of Rio Janeiro: it was the 7th of March, 1557.

Villegagnon and his men, who had retired to a small island of the river, hastened to reply to the cannon of the vessels, and comprehended that succors had arrived. The eagerness to meet was equal on both sides; the squadron having advanced to the borders of the island was there received with hearty acclamations. The pleasure which they reciprocally enjoyed in seeing one another, caused the one to forget a year of solitude and ennui, and the other, the dangers which they had experienced in their voyage, and, to felicitate each other for their common happiness, they returned thanks to Heaven for it.

The new-comers went afterwards to visit Villegagnon, who awaited them in a room. After reciprocal embraces, their chief said to him that they had come to this country to establish in it a reformed church according to the word of God. He replied that all his efforts would be to second their intentions; then raising his hands to heaven, he added: "Lord, I thank thee for having sent what I so long desired." Then turning to his new companions, he continued in these terms: "My children, for I would serve you as a father, this place should be a safe asylum for the persecuted Protestants of Europe." Afterwards he gave orders for all his people to assemble in a place designated, with those who had just arrived, to perform divine service and to hear a sermon which was delivered by one of the clergymen who had accompanied Dupont. They had quite a frugal repast; everybody went to labor on the fort which was being built. This work was continued during a month, and was never interrupted except to pray and to eat.

Villegagnon, a zealous partisan of the doctrine of Calvin, desired to establish in the colony a discipline conformable to the laws of his reform, but he found obstacles to it; disputes arose, and became so warm, that they agreed to send to France, in order to consult Calvin. While waiting his reply, Villegagnon made very severe laws among his companions, and had them executed by his example and his firmness. He married the five young women whom they had brought with them, to the five young men, and forbid, under penalty of death, all the Christians of the colony from cohabiting with any Indian woman or

girl. He, however, permitted them to marry those who were instructed or baptized.

This conduct of Villegagnon seemed to announce that he was going to be an apostle of Calvin, but they saw him suddenly change his religious opinions. The day of Pentecost having been appointed to celebrate the Lord's Supper, he said that St. Cyprien and St. Clement had written that water must be put in the wine, and required them to conform to this practice; he undertook to convince the assembly that consecrated bread was not less useful to the body than to the soul. He claimed afterwards that salt and oil should be mingled with the water of baptism, and that an ecclesiastical minister could not marry a second time. One of the clergymen, wishing to make a display of his knowledge, undertook on his side to deliver a public discourse, which increased the trouble and division. The disorder went so far, that Villegagnon, without awaiting the reply of Calvin, renounced suddenly the opinion which he had of him, declared that he regarded him as a heretic devoid of the faith. From this moment he ceased to show friendship for the Protestants. He limited the duration of a sermon to half an hour, although he rarely assisted at it. They finally believed that he had been dissembling to that time. They claimed that the cause of this so sudden change on the part of Villegagnon was a letter which he had received from the cardinal of Lorraine by a vessel which had arrived at Cape Frio. This prelate severely reproached him for having abandoned the Roman religion, and fear induced this officer to hold a different conduct. Lery, who was a zealous Calvinist, asserts that Villegagnon became so vexed, that he swore every instant by the body of St. James; that he would punish all those who dared to reply to him with firmness; that no one dared to approach him. Finally he rendered himself so intolerable, that several of the French formed the project of casting him into the sea. This conspiracy was discovered, and the conspirators he put in irons. Having learned that one named Le Roche was one of the chiefs, he had him laid on his back upon the ground, and caused so many blows with a stick to be given him upon his belly, that this unfortunate man lost his breath by it. His cruelty not being satisfied he had him turned upon his belly, and ordered that they should give him as many blows upon his back. He forced him afterwards to go to work.

Those who composed the colony conceived so violent a hate against Villegagnon, that they would have put him to death, but for the fear of displeasing the Admiral de Coligny. They contented themselves with not inviting him any more to their meetings, and with celebrating the Lord's Supper without him. This conduct in regard to him so enraged him, that he declared that he would no longer suffer the Protestants in his fort, and he forced them to leave it.

These unfortunate beings, after having passed eight months in a fort which they had helped to build, were obliged to retire to the sea-shore to await the arrival of some vessel. They would have been exposed to all the horrors of famine if the savages, more humane than Villegagnon, had not brought them provisions. They passed two entire months in this condition, without having other resource than the kindness of these Indians. It was during this time that Lery made the observations which he has given in his voyage.

These French fugitives named the place where they had retired, la Brique-

terie. They built cabins there, and formed the design of establishing themselves there, if they should receive sufficient assistance from Europe, and if they could withdraw themselves from the authority of Villegagnon, who was invested with the orders of the king. This officer, seeing that a part of those who appeared to remain attached to him abandoned him to join the Protestants, fearing a total desertion, forced them to leave, and wrote to the captain of a vessel that was in these parts that he could take them on board. He even sent them a discharge signed with his own hand. Lery asserts that he had the cruelty to remit to the captain a casket in which was an action against all the Protestants, and that he ordered the first judge to whom he should deliver it in France, to arrest them all, in order that they all might be burnt as heretics. They all embarked, and their vessel sailed the 4th of January, 1558. Their number might amount to forty-five men, both sailors and passengers. They arrived at the port of Blavet, the 26th of May, after having experienced all the misfortunes to which they were exposed upon the sea. From thence they repaired to Hennebon, a little town of Bretagne, which was distant but two leagues from it. There they were menaced with another danger, of which they had no suspicion. The casket in which Villegagnon inclosed his action against them, was delivered to the judges of this town: but Dupont knew some of them, as much attached to the church of Geneva as he. They informed him of what was going on, and, far from regarding these odious accusations, they suppressed them, and rendered acts of kindness to those whose destruction they could have occasioned.

A short time after the departure of the Protestants, the Portuguese attacked Fort Coligny, drove Villegagnon from it, and took possession of it. Villegagnon returned to France, where he was one of the most cruel persecutors of the Calvinists. As a reward he obtained a commandery of Malta named Beauvais, in Gatinois, near St. Jean de Nemours, where he died in the month of December, 1575. (Richer.)

THE END.

THE OLDEST TOWN.

Preparations for Celebrating the 333d Anniversary of the Founding of Santa Fé Next July.

[New York World.]—Ex-Chief Justice L. Bradford Prince, of New Mexico, gave a *World* reporter yesterday an interesting account of the preparations for the celebration of the 333d anniversary of the founding of the city of Santa Fé, New Mexico, to be held during the month of July next. Cabeza de Vaca, after serving with Narvaez in Florida, went westward, and after thrilling adventures was the first European to set foot in New Mexico. This was in 1531. Ten years later an expedition under Coconado explored the country in search of treasure, and nine years afterward the town of Santa Fé was founded. This was only twenty-nine years after the conquest of Mexico by Cortez. Jamestown, Va., formerly had the honor of being the most ancient town in the United States. After Florida was annexed, St. Augustine held that distinction, but since the acquisition of New Mexico St. Augustine has given place to the city of Santa Fé in that Territory.

The citizens of New Mexico have been arranging for some time for the proper celebration of this anniversary, but did not make public their plans until the necessary funds had been secured. These arrangements have now been completed. The two chief features of the exhibition will be the display of the historical treasures of the Territory and of the material resources. New Mexico is very rich in both and especially in the former. It contains tribes of Pueblo Indians living in the same manner as they existed when Columbus discovered America. The pueblo at Taos, a building five stories high, stands as it did centuries ago. New Mexico also possesses antiquities of the stone age and also of the Spanish conquest. Descendants of the ancient Spanish families yet reside there and they will lend many relics. Relics of the old American trappers and scouts will also form a part of the exhibition. A special building will be dedicated to the antiquities. Another building will contain the exposition of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the Territory. New Mexico's exhibit of gold, silver, copper, lead, coal, mica, and other minerals at the recent Denver exhibition was the most creditable one there.

The exhibition will last during the entire month of July, a delightful season in New Mexico. It will be opened by special proceedings, including probably an address by the Rev. Dr. Storrs, of Brooklyn. Twice a week there will be special days devoted to some interesting purpose. One day there will be a representation, in which 1,500 persons will take part, of the entry of Spaniards into Mexico. Another day there will be performances by the Pueblo Indians. There will also be excursions to the interesting cave dwellings in the vicinity. Special rates will be established on all the railroads.

Discovery of the Bones of Spanish Explorer in the Old Bed of the Mississippi.

St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 14.—[Special.]—Townsend, of Helena, Ark., left St. Louis this morning for Washington with a collection of prehistoric relics in his possession, and that he has found the remains of Ponce de Soto, and tells the following story in support of his claim: "At last April two darkies digging along the shore of Old Town Lake, a few miles from Helena, turned them up at three feet in the sand and loam. One of the Spanish conquerors who had been buried there might have been lost out for the discovery among the bones of a large number of beads and a large silver cross, which was offered to sell me. I saw through the incrustations on the cross that it was of Spanish workmanship, and when they told me they found it near Old Town Lake, where so many valuable archaeological discoveries have been made, I gave them the cross and beads, and had them taken to the spot. They had scattered them in a lively manner, and the place where they had been was disturbed by the darkies' recognition by the darkies' fragments of the trunk were present in the loam, and two pieces of rude workmanship that if they might have been hastily made on a forest forge were there. As I was thinking of the thought suddenly to my mind that I had found De Soto, and now I am convinced that I had found the bones in that box were of the man who sought fortune, Wallace said of Cortez and his banishing the sun around the earth, as a fate in the New World somewhere that of Prince de Leon and Philip de Narvaez. "The silver cross," said Mr. Townsend, "I had carefully examined by experts, and are that it came from some Castilian of the sixteenth century. It is an affair, weighing nearly two pounds, such a personal ornament as was worn by the cavaliers of Ferdinand and Isabella, when religion was the rage and displayed upon the breast was the badge of a true Christian brave warrior. The pearls which have been pierced by red wax, and except as substantiating my theory the bones are comparatively worthless if you know anything about the march of De Soto through the Florida and along the Wichita and Arkansas, as he pursued his way in the land of gold, you will remember that shortly before the terrible battle of the Princess of Cofachual with her own hands a necklace of pearls from her own shoulders upon the shoulders of De Soto. These pearls had been turned through them, as have the spikes were part of that stock taken from the timbers of Spanish vessels, and that were poorly fastened the heavy lid upon De Soto's coffin before they dropped the coffin into the waters of the Mississippi. All the articles I sent on to Washington two days ago. It is a wonder to me the coffin did not leak out long before this, but here is a desire on the part of our government to get and retain possession of the valuable relics before any great damage is made about them. Louis de

Soto's edge, forged were provided, vessels built, arms repaired, horses shod, and her body was entombed. The Mississippi was today perhaps thirty miles east of its former channel of De Soto's time occupied by Old Town Lake, and it is in this lake that the body of the Spaniard rested. The name given the lake by Indians, and then by white people, is significant of fact which I advert. The Spaniards built the old town left on the lake's western margin at the base of Crowley's Ridge, nine miles below Helena. Then the restive river, always flowing east, changed its course and chose to run along the front of Gov. Alcorn's estate in Coahoma County, Mississippi. The depth of the lake is that of the river less the thickness of soft sediment, and De Soto's body, encased in a green tree and weighted as it was and sunken in the bottom of the river, reposed until now in the mud near the lake's margin. It is to be hoped that it will be given a proper burial in the Congressional graveyard at Washington or among the dead Kings at Madrid. Twenty-three years ago I visited Old Town Lake with the late Gen. Pillow who owned there, before the War, a magnificent plantation. Reading the description of De Soto's burial-place, and the spot at which the Spaniards were encamped while building boats in which to reach Mexico, I was thoroughly satisfied that the lake had been there, and that the spot described by those who accompanied De Soto would have been necessarily identified by modern writers if the Mississippi had not been deflected, perhaps many years ago, from its original channel. In view of these facts I was impelled to make a great many visits to Old Town Lake, and to spend much time along its shores, where hammer-handles and gun-stocks have been unearthed, and where burnt earth and charcoal, heaped up by blacksmiths, were then to be seen.

"Capt. John Cowdon, President of the New Orleans & Barrataria Ship-Channel Company, who has been over forty years a navigator of the Mississippi, has often visited the spot. He had read Irving's translation of the recital of his adventures and incidents made by those who accompanied De Soto, and after long experience in raising sunken steamers on the Mississippi and its tributaries was often heard to urge the raising of De Soto's body in its unique coffin from the bed of the river. He was of the opinion that the coffin and remains would be found there undisturbed. The coffin, however, has gone, all except bits of its wood that I gathered, and which I now have at my home in Helena, and the bones, as far as I was able to pick them from the clay, are fairly preserved. Not more than two years ago a distinguished archaeological writer urged that the task of recovering De Soto's remains be assigned to Capt. Cowdon by the Government, and, indeed, that the latter go further and make the Captain sailingmaster of an expedition to explore the terra incognita believed to abound in many wonderful relics of the aboriginal race, and with a breadth of fifty miles extending 1,200 miles from Cairo to the sea.

"My idea," he continued, "is to have the matter thoroughly sifted out and the facts in the case investigated. I am now going to hand the bones over to the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. I have not sold them. No, although I was negotiating with Señor Barca, the Spanish Minister, before he committed suicide in New York. See, here I have five letters from Señor Barca on this subject, the first as long ago as May 14, 1882, and the last a few days before his death. He said his King and himself were very anxious to obtain the remains of their distinguished countryman for honorable and distinguished interment in the home country, whence he sailed nearly three centuries and a half ago to discover the Mississippi."

THE ST. LOUIS POLICE.

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